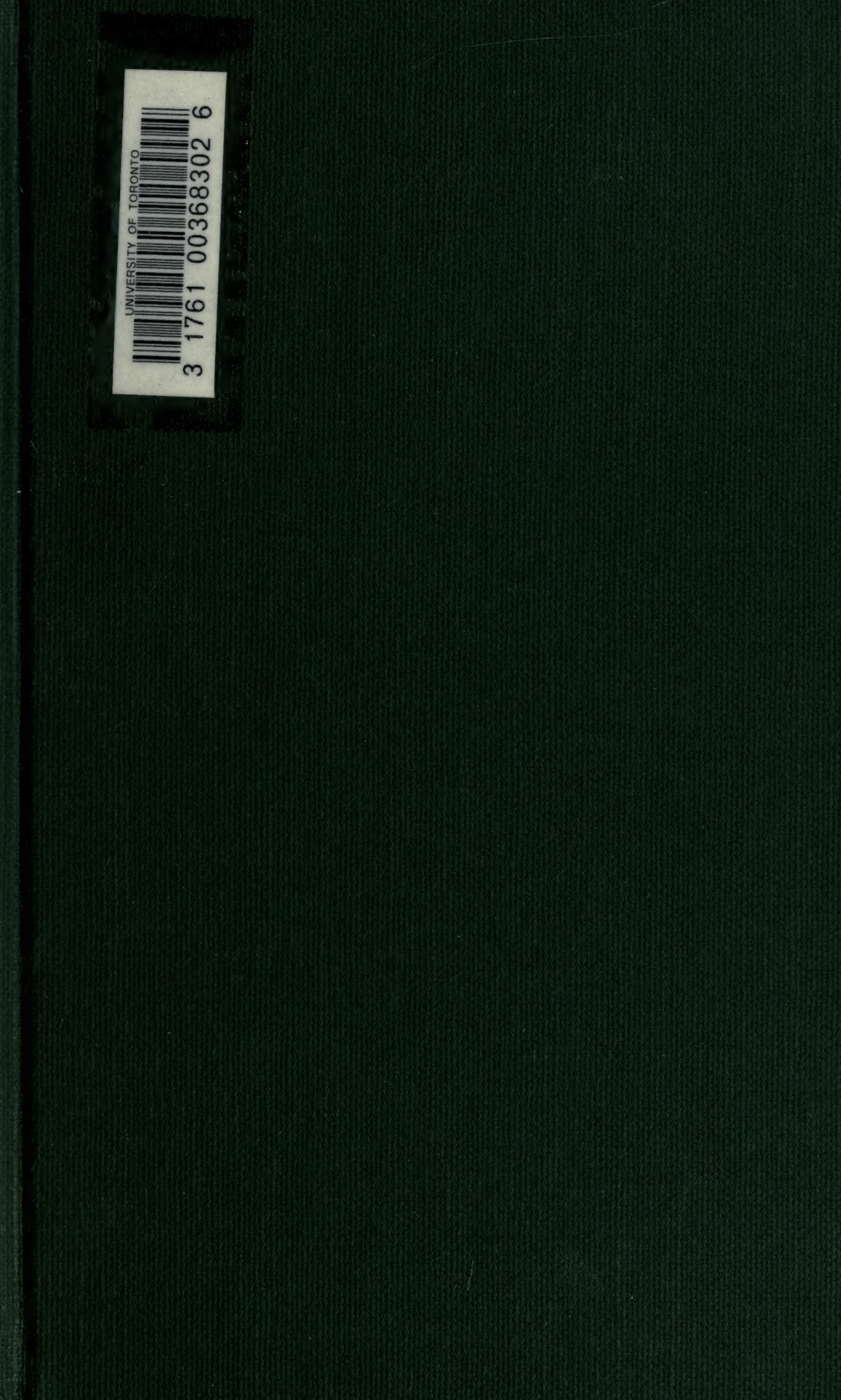
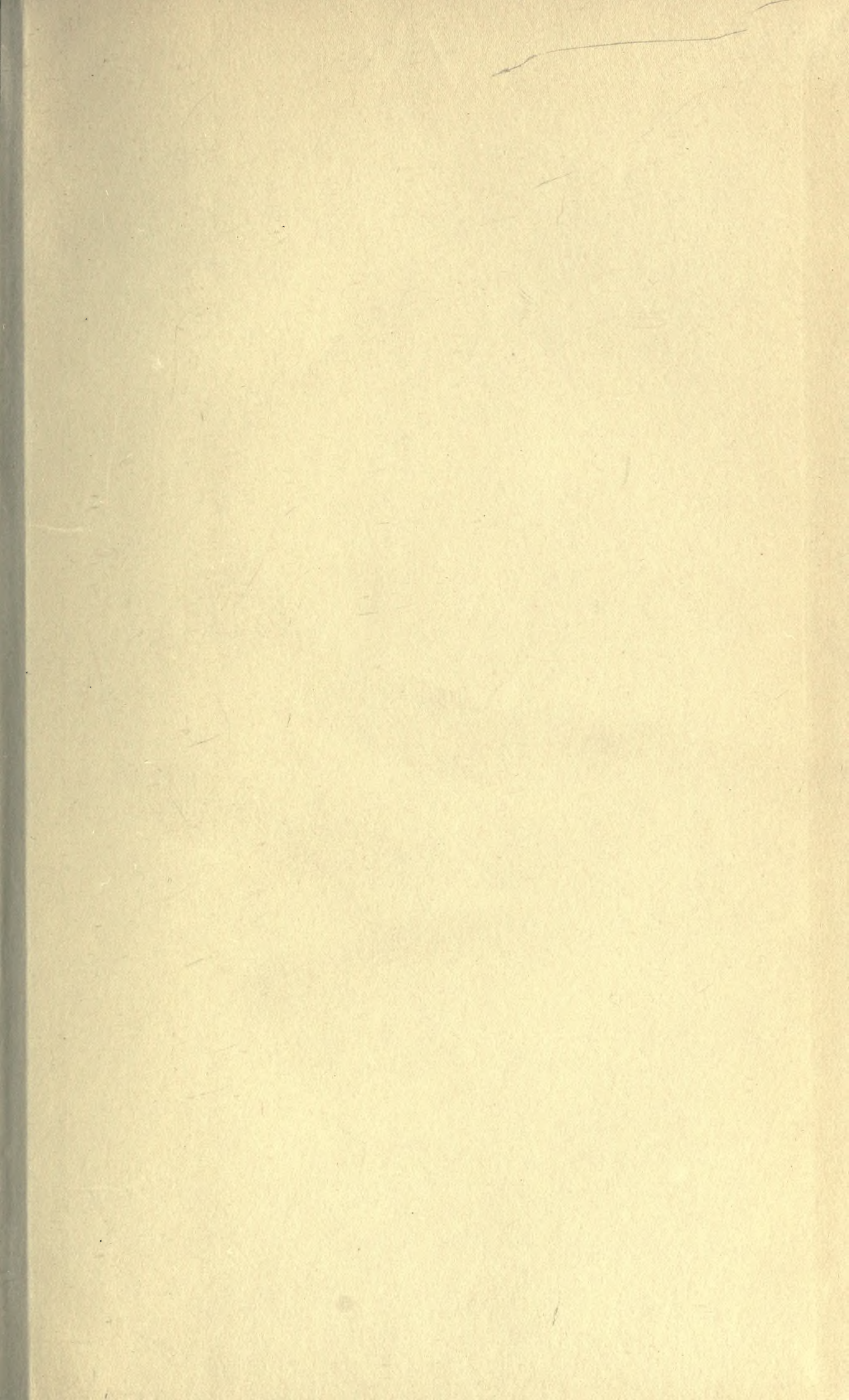
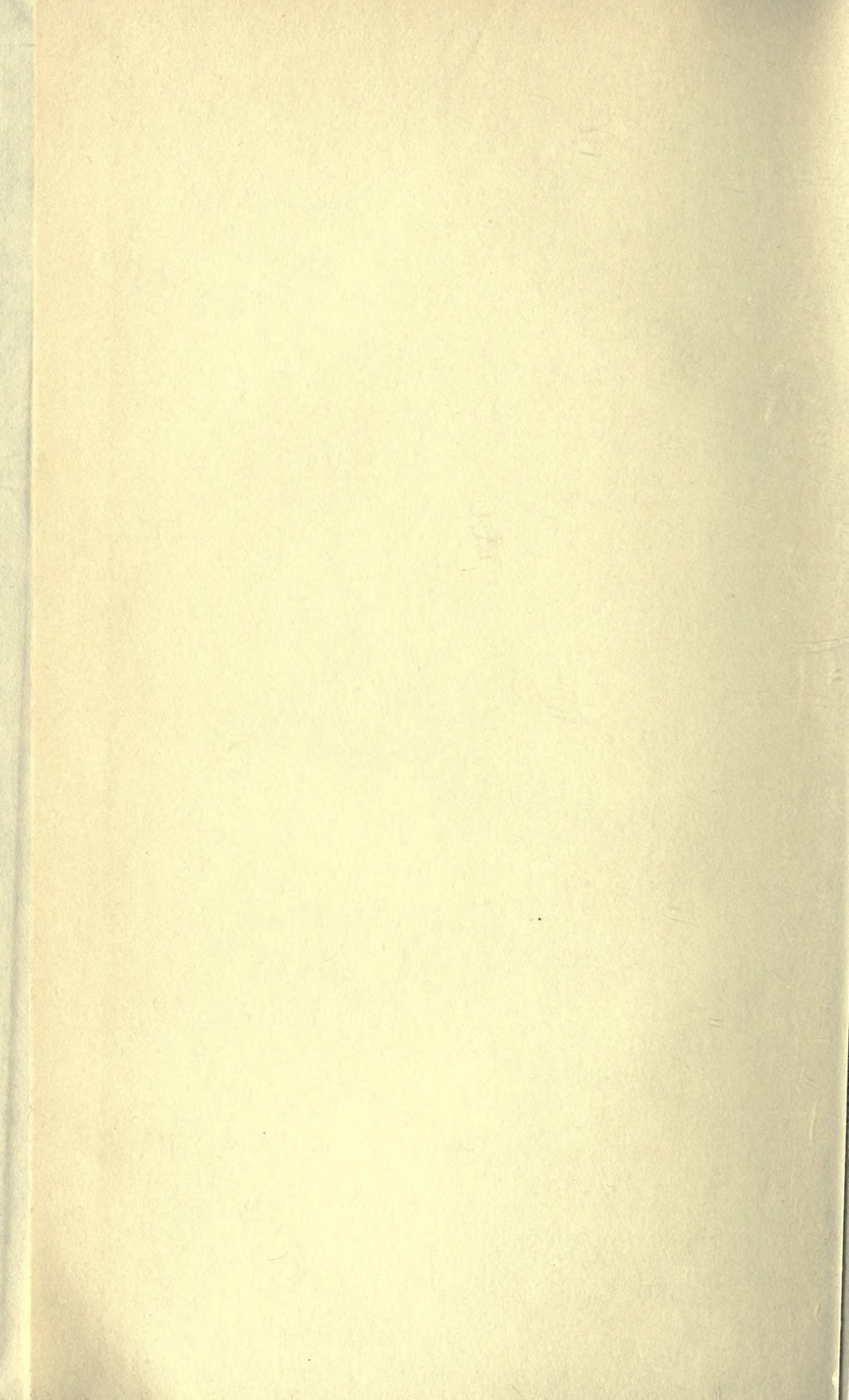
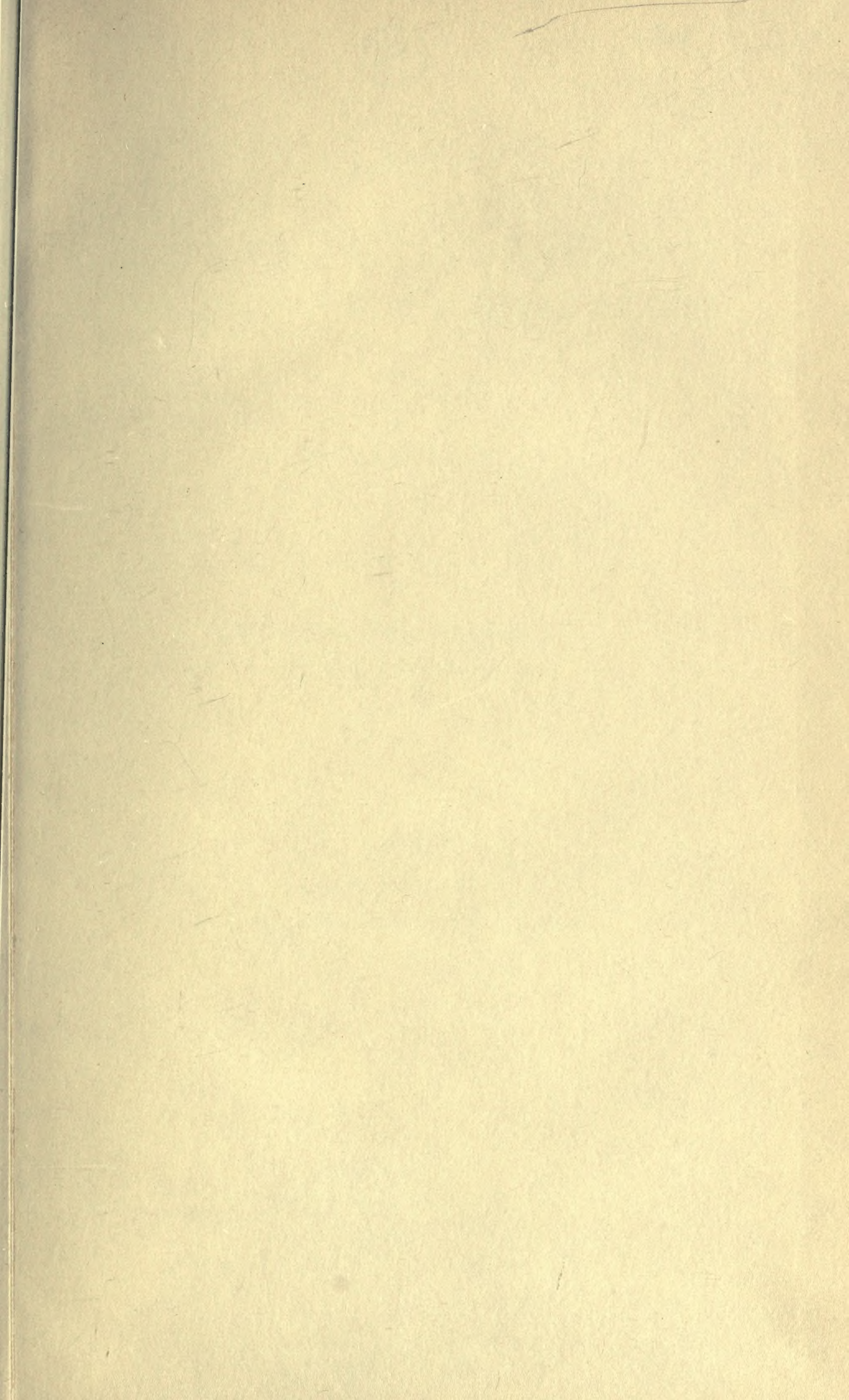












STUDIEN
ZUR
ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

LORENZ MORSBACH,
O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN.

Heft V. –7

OTTO SCHMEDING:

ÜBER WORTBILDUNG BEI CARLYLE.

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER.
1900.

ÜBER

WORTBILDUNG BEI CARLYLE

VON

Dr. OTTO SCHMEDING.

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER.
1900.

Meinen lieben Eltern.



Vorwort.

Zweck der folgenden Abhandlung war, eine besonders charakteristische der vielen Eigentümlichkeiten des Carlyleschen Stiles ausführlich darzustellen und zu besprechen. Eine derartige Specialuntersuchung durfte sich nicht mit einer Heranziehung nur der Hauptwerke begnügen, die durchaus gerechtfertigt war bei den für alle Besonderheiten Belege bringenden Sammlungen Krummachers (Engl. Studien VI., XI., XII.), denen auch der Verfasser dieser Arbeit viel Belehrung verdankt; sie musste vielmehr beruhen auf einer Verwertung der gesamten schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen des Autors, soweit sie im Druck erschienen und erreichbar waren. Dabei war darauf Bedacht zu nehmen, dass, wo angängig, nur gute und zuverlässige Ausgaben zu Grunde gelegt wurden; daher ist für die eigentlichen Werke die von Carlyle selbst durchgesehene dreiunddreissigbändige „Library Edition", London 1869 ff., für die „Reminiscences" nicht die Ausgabe von Froude, sondern die von C. E. Norton (vgl. dessen Vorrede), benutzt worden; bei den andern Schriften rechtfertigt sich die Wahl der Ausgaben von selbst dadurch, dass keine anderen vorliegen.

Was nun die Arbeit selbst anbelangt, so werden zunächst einige Bemerkungen über die gegebene Einleitung zu machen sein. Sie nimmt allerdings einen reichlich breiten Raum ein, doch liess sie sich, wollte man nicht auf Wesentliches verzichten, nicht wohl weiter kürzen. Es sind dort zunächst in historischer Folge eine Reihe der wichtigsten und eingehendsten Besprechungen von Carlyles Stil zusammengestellt, die in charakteristischer Weise beleuchten, wie des Autors Sprache

von Seiten der Kritiker eine durchaus verschiedenartige Auffassung gefunden hat, und wie mannigfaltig die Sondererscheinungen sind, die die einzelnen Beurteiler zur Abgabe ihres Votums veranlasst haben. Diesen gegenübers ind dann Aeusserungen des Autors selbst angeführt, die einerseits dessen Stellung zur Kritik, andererseits seine persönliche Ansicht über seine Schreibweise kundthun. Die Beifügung dieser Einleitung schien nicht überflüssig schon deshalb, weil der Verfasser bei seinen Ausführungen vielfach durch aus ihr mitgewonnene Erwägungen angeregt war, hier und da auch direkt auf einzelne Stellen Bezug zu nehmen wünschte; dann aber glaubte er auch hoffen zu dürfen, dass ein solcher Beitrag, der Carlyles Stil im Urteil seiner Leser und in seinem eigenen sehen lässt, schon wegen des durch seinen Inhalt gewährten hohen Interesses nicht unwillkommen sein würde, ganz abgesehen von der manchmal recht bedeutenden Schwierigkeit, die z. T. die Erlangung der Quellenwerke, z. T. die Auffindung der einzelnen in den betreffenden Schriften überall verstreuten Citate bietet.

Die eigentliche Abhandlung schien naturgemäss in zwei Hauptteile zu zerfallen. In dem ersten war unter Darlegung der chronologisch-psychologischen Entwicklung Carlyles auf dem behandelten Gebiete, und unter gleichzeitigem Hinweis auf gewisse charakteristische Begleiterscheinungen, das erforderliche Material beizubringen. Dieses durfte nun nicht streng nach dem Grundsatze, ausschliesslich zweifellos neue Formen aufzunehmen, beschränkt werden, sondern war nach Massgabe bestimmter umfassenderer Gesichtspunkte zu sammeln, da gerade bei einem an Neologismen so reichen Autor wie Carlyle eine Unterscheidung zwischem Neuem und Entlehntem, trotz Berücksichtigung seiner grossen Belesenheit, in vielen Fällen weder möglich noch thunlich war.

Der zweite Hauptteil hatte die Ergebnisse des ersten nach der grammatischen Seite hin zu verwerten, indem die einzelnen Formen, hier natürlich nur die füglich als Carlyles Eigentum zu betrachtenden, nach Gruppen geordnet, in Hinsicht auf Art und Charakter ihrer Prägung zu besprechen und zu beurteilen waren, wobei dann eventuelle Uebereinstimmung mit oder Abweichung von dem herrschenden Sprachgebrauch — Erweiterung desselben lag ja im Grunde stets vor — konstatiert,

sowie hier und da auch eingehender auf Einflüsse fremder Sprachen hingewiesen werden musste, soweit sich dazu nicht schon im ersten Teil Gelegenheit geboten hatte. Für diese Behandlung wurde dann die Methode gewählt, dass zunächst unter engem Anschluss an die einschlägigen Werke nach kurzem Ueberblick über Quellen und historische Entwicklung der einzelnen Erscheinungen ihre in der modernen Prosa zu Tage tretende Ausdehnung dargestellt und durch geläufige Beispiele erläutert wurde, woran sich dann leicht eine vergleichende Betrachtung des Carlyleschen Gebrauchs anfügte.

In einem Anhange sollten endlich noch in kurzen statistischen Zusammenstellungen der wichtigeren Beispiele, Berührungen der Sprache Carlyles einerseits mit der früherer, andererseits mit der späterer Autoren aufgezeigt werden, woraus indessen noch kein genauerer Schluss auf irgendwelche passive oder aktive Einwirkung gezogen, sondern nur angedeutet werden konnte, dass wenigstens von einem Teile der bei Carlyle auffallenden Formen englische Schriftsteller auch sonst vereinzelt Gebrauch gemacht haben. —

Auf diesem eingeschlagenen Wege glaubte Verf. unter Gewinnung einer festen sprachhistorischen und psychologischen Basis sein Thema in einer angemessenen und alles Wesentliche berücksichtigenden Weise behandeln zu können. — Es soll nicht in Abrede gestellt werden, dass bei dem Mangel an eingehenderen Vorarbeiten über die Geschichte der Wortbildung im Englischen einige der besprochenen Erscheinungen vielleicht nicht ganz zutreffend beurteilt sind und nach weiteren Forschungen möglicherweise in anderem Lichte erscheinen werden, doch wird das hoffentlich den Gesamtinhalt der Arbeit nicht wesentlich beeinträchtigen. —

Zum Schluss möchte der Verfasser nicht unterlassen, auch an dieser Stelle noch einmal seinen herzlichsten Dank auszusprechen allen, die ihn bei seiner Arbeit so bereitwillig unterstützt haben: vor allem seinem hochverehrten Lehrer, Herrn Professor Dr. L. Morsbach, Göttingen, der ihm das Thema der Abhandlung vorgeschlagen und bei der Ausführung stets mit freundlichem Rat zur Seite gestanden hat; ferner auch Herrn Lektor Dr. Geo. Tamson, Göttingen, der dem Verfasser manchen

wertvollen Wink gegeben und ihm zumal in liebenswürdigster Weise die Benutzung seines „Century Dictionary“ gestattet hat. Herr Dr. Heinr. Spies, Bremen, hat die Freundlichkeit gehabt, die ersten drei der in der Einleitung gebrachten Kritiken (über „Wilhelm Meister“) für den Verf. im Britischen Museum zu kopieren, bzw. kopieren zu lassen; auch ihm sei hier nochmals aufrichtig dafür gedankt.

Wolfenbüttel, im Oktober 1899.

Otto Schmeding.

Inhaltsverzeichnis.



Einleitung.

Wohl nie hat ein Schriftsteller von dem Ansehen und der Bedeutung Carlyles in so hohem Masse wie dieser allgemeines Aufsehen und lebhaften Widerspruch in der literarischen Welt gerade durch die stark ausgeprägten Eigenheiten seines Stiles erregt. Es giebt kaum einen Punkt auf dem Gebiete des Wortschatzes und der Grammatik, in dem er nicht von dem allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch abwiche oder sich gar in völligen Gegensatz zu ihm stellte, und auch hinsichtlich der Phraseologie und der Technik der Darstellung geht er durchaus seine eigenen Wege. Ueberall finden sich in seinen Schriften unmittelbar neben hohen Vorzügen und Schönheiten, die selbst der Uebelwollende nicht leugnen kann, so weitgehende Freiheiten und Absonderlichkeiten, dass auch der Wohlgesinnte, bei äusserster Nachsicht und Berücksichtigung der Individualität des Verfassers, die Berechtigung gar mancher der gegen seine Schreibweise erhobenen Vorwürfe zugestehen muss.

Schon früh hat sich die Kritik auch mit dieser Seite der Schriften Carlyles beschäftigt. Freilich noch kaum mit seinem „Life of Schiller", das, in einer von Auffälligkeiten noch freien Sprache geschrieben, auch nur geringen Anlass dazu bot, wenngleich es in mancher Hinsicht bereits den zukünftigen Carlyle ahnen liess. Aber schon sofort über sein folgendes Werk, die Uebersetzung des „Wilhelm Meister", erschienen, dank dem behandelten Gegenstande und dem dabei verfolgten Zweck, von angesehener Seite Besprechungen, die freilich zu ganz verschiedenen Ergebnissen führten: Jeffrey sprach sich abfällig über das Buch aus, billigte aber die Uebersetzung, Blackwood lobte, de Quincey verurteilte beide. Man gewinnt indessen aus dem Artikel des Letzteren den Eindruck, als ob er nicht

ohne Voreingenommenheit und Parteilichkeit zu Ungunsten Carlyles geschrieben sei, und dies wird auch verständlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass de Quincey in dem begeisterten jungen Vorkämpfer für die deutsche Litteratur einen Nebenbuhler in Hinsicht auf seine eigenen Bestrebungen sehen und fürchten musste. Mit grosser Sorgfalt hat er seine Ausstellungen an der Sprache der Uebersetzung nach den verschiedensten Gesichtspunkten hin zusammengetragen und, um sein Gesamturteil zu rechtfertigen, ausführlich begründet, und gar manche feine Beobachtung legt Zeugnis ab für des Kritikers scharfes Auge und eindringendes Verständnis. Ein besonderes Interesse gewinnt seine Recension noch dadurch, dass sie deutlich erkennen lässt, wie sich schon hier im W. M. einzelne der später so stark entwickelten charakteristischen Züge der Carlyleschen Schreibweise in ihren Anfängen zeigen. Der Inhalt dieser Besprechung wie die Bedeutung ihres Verfassers werden es demnach rechtfertigen, wenn die in ihr gemachten Bemerkungen über den Stil der Uebersetzung hier möglichst vollständig wiedergegeben werden:

„All these preliminaries settled, we shall now begin. And first, before we speak of the book itself (which is our thesis) a word or two on the translation. This part of our task we would most gladly have declined from the unaffected spirit of courtesy in which we retreat from the office of sitting in judgment upon any contemporary author of our own Country except when we can conscientiously say that we have found nothing of importance to blame: even to offer our praise ex cathedrâ is not pleasant to us. Nevertheless for the credit of anything which we shall allege against Goethe, it is necessary to declare our opinion very frankly that this translation does not do justice to the original work — which, however worthless in other respects, is not objectionable in the way in which the translation is so. ... He [Goethe] is no great master, nor was ever reputed a master, of the idiomatic wealth of his own language, but he does not offend by provincialisms, vulgarisms, or barbarisms of any sort: with all which the translation is overrun. First for provincialisms: these are in this case chiefly (perhaps altogether) Scotticisms. Saying this, we must call

upon the reader to distinguish two kinds of Scotticisms. A certain class of Scotch words and phrases, wich belong to the poetic vocabulary of the Nation, have deservedly become classical; as much so as the peculiar words and peculiar forms of the Greek Dialects; and for the same reason; viz. not because they have been consecrated by the use of Men of Genius (for that was but the effect): but because they express shades and modifications of meaning, and sometimes more than that — absolutely new combinations of thought and feeling, to wich the common language offers no satisfactory equivalent. Indeed every language has its peculiar combinations of ideas to which every other language not only offers no equivalent, but which it is a mistake to suppose that any other can ever reach for purposes of effect by any periphrasis. But Scotticisms of this class are not to be confounded with the mere Scotch provincialisms, such as are banished from good company in Scotland itself. These are entitled to no more indulgence than cockneyisms, or the provincialisms of Lincolnshire and Somersetshire. For instance the Scotticism of „open up“ is perfectly insufferable. We have lived a little, for these last ten years, in the Scotch capital; and there at least we never heard such an expression in any well bred society. Yet in the work before us hardly a page but is infested with this strange phrase, which many a Scotch gentleman will stare at as much as the „English“ of every class. No man in these volumes opens a book: he opens it „up“, No man opens a door; he opens it „up“, No man opens a letter; he opens it „up“. The Scotticism of „in place of“ for „instead of“, and the Scotticism of „inquire at a man“ instead of „inquire of him“, are of that class which we have sometimes heard from Scotch people of education: the more's the pity: for both disfigure good composition and polished conversation more than a Scotchman will believe; the latter being generally unintelligible out of Scotland; and the former, which is intelligible enough, sounding to an English ear about upon a level in point of elegance with the English phrase „in course of“ for „of course“, which is confined to the lowest order of cockneys. However, Scotch provincialisms, though grievous blots in regular composition, are too little familiar to have the effect of vulgarisms

upon southern ears: they are in general simply uncouth or unintelligible; amongst which latter class by the way we must ask the translator, in the name of Hermes Trismegistus, to expound for us all the meaning of „backing a letter“: to „break up a letter“, we presume, is simply what in England we call opening a letter or breaking the seal; but „backing a letter“ has baffled the penetration of all expositors whom we have consulted: some have supposed it in the plain English sense, to mean betting on the side of a letter, but this is impossible: two letters cannot be brought up „to the scratch“: such a match was never heard of even in Lombard-Street, and not to be reconciled with the context. Is it possible that this mysterious expression is no more than a Scotch vulgarism for writing the address or direction on a letter? — From these however, which are but semi-vulgarisms to an English ear, because but doubtfully intelligible, we pass to such as are downright, full, and absolute vulgarisms. At p. 233, vol. 1, we find the word „wage“, for „wages“, — a vulgarism which is not used in England even by respectable servants, and by no class above that rank: „wage“ is not an English word; — at p. 143, vol. 1, we find „licking his lips“, which is English, but plebeian English from the sewers and kennels; again „discussing oysters“, which is English of that sort called slang; and neoteric slang besides; not universal slang, not classical: — this for dramatic purposes is sometimes serviceable; but ought surely not to be used by the author speaking gravely in his own person. Elsewhere we find „doxies“ for girls, which is not only a low comedy word, but far more degrading to the women so designated than Goethe could have designed. Of all plebeianisms however, which to this hour we ever met with in a book the most shocking is the word „thrash“ as used in the following passage, vol. II, p. 111: „His father was convinced that the minds of children could be kept awake and stedfast by no other means than blows: hence in the studying of any part, he used to thrash him at stated periods.“ In whatever way men will allow themselves to talk amongst men, and where intimate acquaintance relaxes the restraints of decorum, every gentleman abjures any coarse language which he may have learned at school or elsewhere under two

circumstances: in the presence of strangers and in the presence of women; or whenever, in short, he is recalled to any scrupulous anxiety about his own honour and reputation for gentlemanly feeling. Now an author, with some special exceptions, is to be presumed always in the presence of both; and ought to allow himself no expressions but such as he would judge consistent with his own self-respect in a miscellaneous company of good breeding and of both sexes. This granted, we put it to the translator's candour whether the word „thrash" (except in its literal and grave meaning) be endurable in „dress" composition? For our own parts, we never heard a gentleman of polished habits utter the word, except under the circumstances pointed out above, where people allow themselves a sort of „undress" manners. Besides, the word is not even used accurately: „to thrash" is never applied to the act of beating without provocation, but to a retaliatory beating: and the brutal father, who should adopt the treatment of an unoffending child which Goethe here describes, would not call a beating, inflicted under the devilish maxim supposed, „a thrashing".

These instances are sufficient to illustrate the coarseness of diction which disfigures the English translation, and which must have arisen from want of sufficient intercourse with society. One winter's residence in the metropolis either of England or of Scotland, or the revisal of a judicious friend, would enable the translator to weed his book of these deformities, which must be peculiarly offensive in two quarters which naturally he must wish to conciliate; first to his readers, secondly to Mr. Goethe, who, besides that he is Mr. von Goethe and naturally therefore anxious to appear before foreigners in a dress suitable to his pretensions as a man of quality, happens to be unusually jealous on this point; and would be more shocked than perhaps a „philosopher" ought to be, if he were told that his Wilhelm Meister spoke an English any ways under-bred or below the tone of what is technically understood in England by the phrase, „good company" or company „comme il faut". —

Thirdly, under the head of barbarisms, we shall slightly notice such expressions as disturb the harmony of the style whether exotic phrases, hostile to pure English; or mere lawless innovations, which violate idiomatic English; or Archaisms,

which violate simple English. Of exotic phrases, the very opposite to that of provincialisms, these are instances: „Philina tripped signing down stairs“: signing in English means „subscribing her name“, and was never used for „beckoning“ or „making signs, which is what the translator here means. „His Excellence“ which is obstinately used for „his Excellency“, is a Gallicism; and is alone a proof of insufficient intercourse with the world; otherwise the translator must have been aware that no such title of address is or ever was in use. „The child laid the right hand on her breast, the left on her brow.“ This form of expression is most offensively exotic: probably it was here adopted to evade the clash of the word „her“ four times repeated: but in this situation „her“ is not less indispensable in English, than it is offensive in most continental languages. „The breast is inflamed to me“ would be as shocking to an English ear, as „my breast“ would be to some foreign ones. „What fellow is that in the corner? said the count, looking at a subject who had not yet been presented to him“; this use of the word „subject“ is a gallicism.—As mere licentious coinages or violations of the English idiom without reference to any foreign idiom or (we presume) to any domestic provincialisms, we notice such expressions as „youthhood“ vol. II, p. 104, „giving a man leave“, vol. I, p. 160 (apparently for dismissing him) etc. But here it is so difficult to distinguish the cases where the writer has, and has not any countenance from provincial peculiarites, that we shall pass on to complain of his archaisms or revivals of obsolete English phrases, which however may also be provincialisms, many old English expressions being still current in the remote provinces, which have long been dismissed from our literature. Be that as it may, these are the peculiarities which are least licentious; for the phrases are in themselves often beautiful. Yet they break the simplicity of a prose style. Thus for example the word „unrest“ is a beautiful and a Shaksperian word; and is very advantageously restored to the language of poetry: but in prose it has the air of affectation. „He wanted to be at one with me“, vol. II, p. 279, was never common, and is now quite obsolete, and mysterious to most people. Again, the word „want“ used in the antique sense exposes the writer to be

thoroughly misunderstood. „I cannot want them“, said Charles I, speaking of some alleged prerogatives of his crown; and his meaning was that he could not do without them, that they were indispensable to him. But in modern English, he who says „I cannot want them“, gives his hearer to understand that no possible occasion can arise to make them of any use to him. This archaic use of the word „want“ survives however, we believe, as the current use in some parts of Scotland.—But enough of the defects of the English Wilhelm Meister, which we have noticed upon a scale of minuteness proportioned (as the reader must already be aware) not to our own sense of the value of the original work, but to the pretensions made on its behalf by former critics, and more extravagantly than ever by the present translator.“

De Quincey sucht dann noch an einigen Punkten des längeren nachzuweisen, dass Carlyle sich zu eng an die Vorlage gehalten habe; so wird hauptsächlich getadelt, dass „Braut“ stets durch „bride“ wiedergegeben werde, obgleich die beiden Begriffe sich nicht völlig decken. Mit folgenden Worten schliessen dann die Bemerkungen über die Uebersetzung als solche:

„Not to insist however invidiously on errors of this nature, we shall conclude our notice of the English Wilhelm Meister with two remarks apparently inconsistent but yet in fact both true: first, that the translation too generally by the awkward and German air of its style, reminds us painfully that it is a translation; and in respect to fidelity therefore, will probably on close comparison appear to have aimed at too servile a fidelity. Secondly that, strange as it may appear, the verses which are scattered through the volumes and which should naturally be the most difficult part of the task have all the ease of original compositions, and appear to us executed with very considerable delicacy and elegance. Of a writer, who has shown his power to do well when it was so difficult to do well, we have the more right to complain that he has not done well in a case where it was comparatively easy.“

The London Magazine. Vol. X. August 1824.

So de Quincey. — Gewiss ist sein Tadel, wenn auch offenbar viel zu scharf gefasst, von dem gewählten Standpunkt aus immerhin begreiflich. Er hält sich eben starr konventionell ausschliesslich an die in der guten Gesellschaft gebräuchliche und durch die besten Autoren sanktionierte Sprache und verdammt Alles, was auch nur im geringsten von den durch sie festgelegten Regeln abweicht. Bei alledem aber ist doch überaus bezeichnend, dass er nur Worte des Tadels hat, keine der Anerkennung für etwaige Vorzüge der Übersetzung — ausgenommen die Schlussbemerkung über die Wiedergabe der Lieder, die dann auch noch in einen Vorwurf ausläuft —; dass nicht der geringste Versuch gemacht wird, die gerügten Eigenheiten in einem anderen, günstigeren Lichte betrachten, oder irgendwie verstehen zu wollen, während es auf der andern Seite nicht an geschickten Insinuationen und Schlussfolgerungen fehlt, die in dem Leser eine starke Voreingenommenheit gegen den Uebersetzer des „Wilhelm Meister“ erwecken müssen.

Ganz anders hört sich an, was Blackwood in seinem „Edinburgh Magazine“ Vol. XV, No. LXXXIX, June 1824, über denselben Gegenstand zu sagen hat.

pag. 623.

„The book is now for the first time before us in an English shape, and we must begin with saying, that Goethe has, for once, no reason to complain of his translator. The version is executed, so far as we have examined it, with perfect fidelity; and, on the whole, in an easy, and even graceful, style, very far superior, we must say, to what we have been much accustomed to in English translations from the German. The translator is, we understand, a young gentleman of this city, who now for the first time appears before the public. We congratulate him on his very promising debut; and would fain hope to receive a series of really good translations from his hand. He has evidently a perfect knowledge of German; he already writes English much better than is at all common even at this time; and we know no exercise more likely to produce effects of permanent advantage upon a young mind of intellectual ambition — to say nothing of the very favourable reception which we are sure translations of such

books so executed cannot fail to receive in the present state of public feeling.

ibid. p. 631.

Whatever ordinary novel-readers may think, it is no trifle that we now possess in the English language a faithful and complete version of one of those works by which Goethe has established his fame as a novelist. The English translation of The Sorrows of Werther is abominable, and no one can have any proper notion of that work from it. We trust this young gentleman may be prevailed upon to do for Werther the same service which Meister has received at his hands. The task will be a far lighter one, and the juvenile work, whatever Goethe himself may think or say, is, after all, a superior one even to his Meister. It is, at all events, a work much more certain to find favour with English readers, if it were but presented to them in a decent English dress.

In his future versions, we hope this gentleman will please to dispense with his Frau — Herr — Fräulein — Stallmeister — Amt — Stadthaus, and the other purely German words with which in this instance he has here and there most absurdly and offensively interlarded his excellent English. Mr., Mrs., Miss, Master-of-the-horse, Magistrate, Town-house, and the like, are quite as good words in sound, and considerably more intelligible. This hint will, we hope, be taken in good part."

Den Inhalt von Jeffrey's Artikel bildet vorwiegend eine Besprechung des „Wilhelm Meister" vom ästhetischen Gesichtspunkte aus, allerdings unter völliger Verkennung seiner Bedeutung. Der Sprache der Übersetzung ist nur in folgenden kurzen Worten gedacht:

„We have perused it, indeed, only in the translation of which we have prefixed the title: But it is a tranlation by a professed admirer, and by one who is proved by his Preface to be a person of talents, and by every part of his work to be no ordinary master, at least of one of the languages with which he has to deal."

Edinburgh Review. No. LXXXIV. August 1825. p. 414.

Hatte der „Wilhelm Meister“ Anerkennung sowohl wie Tadel gefunden, so folgte dem Erscheinen des „Sartor Resartus“ nur Eine laute und heftige Stimme ärgerlicher Unzufriedenheit. Freilich hatten schon einige der ihm vorhergegangenen kleineren Essays, mehr noch als der W. M., in gewissen charakteristischen Punkten ziemlich klar angedeutet, was man von der Eigenart des Autors vielleicht noch erwarten könne. Hier schien nun aber die Bizarrerie auf die Spitze getrieben zu sein: Sprache und Inhalt schienen sich gegenseitig an Seltsamkeit überbieten zu wollen, und die Kühnheit, mit der der jugendliche Schriftsteller der Leserwelt ein in so „barbarischem“ Stil geschriebenes Werk zu bieten wagte, musste besonders dort, wo man ihn nicht verstand, ganz natürlich den lebhaftesten Unwillen und Widerstand hervorrufen.

Der „Sun“ vom 1. April 1834 giebt über die Schreibart des Werkes folgendes Urteil ab:

„Sartor Resartus is what old Dennis used to call „a heap of clotted nonsense“, mixed however, here and there, with passages marked by thought and striking poetic vigour. But what does the writer mean by „Baphometic fire-baptism“? We quote by way of curiosity a sentence from the S. R. which may be read either backwards or forwards, for it is equally intelligible either way . . .“

No. 89 der „North-American Review“, Oktober 1835, fragt, ob die Erzählung thatsächlich z. T. eine Uebersetzung aus dem Deutschen sei, und ob ihr wirklich reale Personen zu Grunde lägen. Sie kommt zu einem negativen Resultat. Am Schluss heisst es:

„The only thing about the work, tending to prove that it is what it purports to be, a commentary on a real German treatise, is the style which is a sort of Babylonish dialect, not destitute, it is true, of richness, vigour, and at times a sort of singular felicity of expression, but very strongly tinged throughout with the peculiar idiom of the German language. This quality in the style, however, may be a mere result of a great familiarity with German Literature; and we cannot, therefore, look upon it, as in itself decisive, still less as outweighing so much evidence of an opposite character . . .“

Aeusserst günstig, aber, selbst wenn man berücksichtigt, dass S. R. in Amerika eine verhältnismässig gute Aufnahme fand, wohl nicht ganz als tendenzfrei zu betrachten ist eine Stelle aus der „New English Editor's Preface to Sartor Resartus", Boston 1835 u. 37:

„We believe, no book has been published for many years, written in a more sincere style of idiomatic English, or which discovers an equal mastery over all the riches of the language. The Author makes ample amends for the occasional eccentricity of his genius . . ." [1])

Selbst Carlyles aufrichtige Anhänger und Bewunderer konnten sich mit diesem Stile nicht befreunden. Sein amerikanischer Verehrer R. W. Emerson schreibt ihm im Jahre 1834:

„But has literature any parallel to the oddity of the vehicle chosen to convey this treasure? I delight in the contents; the form which my defective apprehension for a joke makes me not appreciate, I leave to your merry discretion. And yet did ever wise and philanthropic author use so defying a diction? ... Can it be that this humour proceeds from a despair of finding a contemporary audience, and so the Prophet feels at liberty to utter his message in droll sounds? . . . and so be pleased to skip those excursive involved glees, and give us the simple air, without the volley of variations. At least in some of your prefaces you should give us the theory of your rhethoric." C. E. I, 13/14.

Ebendort, S. 15, spricht er von „uncritical truth-seekers . . . whose instincts assure them that there is wisdom in this grotesque Teutonic apocalyptic strain of yours"; und S. 84 sagt er: „I cherish carefully a salutary horror at the German style."

Am eingehendsten beschäftigt sich John Sterling mit der Sprache des S. R., in einem von Carlyle selbst in L. St., p. 134 ff. abgedruckten Briefe an den Autor vom 29. Mai 1835. Er hebt besonders auch Einzelheiten hervor und weist sie als ungehörig

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[1]) Alle drei „Testimonies of Authors" sind als Anhang zum S. R. in der benutzten „Library Edition" p. 292 ff. abgedruckt. — Bezüglich der im Verlauf dieser Abhandlung angewendeten Abkürzungen vgl. die Litteraturangabe am Ende dieser Einleitung.

nach; darum seien die betreffenden Abschnitte dieses Briefes, obgleich einzeln schon von anderer Seite kurz darauf hingewiesen ist, hier ausführlicher wiedergegeben:

„I have now read twice, with care, the wondrous account of Teufelsdröckh and his Opinions; and I need not say that it has given me much to think of. It falls in with the feelings and tastes which were, for years, the ruling ones of my life; but which you will not be angry with me when I say that I am infinitely and hourly thankful for having escaped from ...“

Es folgen nun Bemerkungen über Inhalt und Charakter des Buches. Dann heisst es weiter (p. 136):

„Of the other points of comparison there are two which I would chiefly dwell on: and first as to the language. A good deal of it is positively barbarous. „Environment“, „vestural“, „stertorous“, „visualised“, „complected“, and others to be found I think in the first twenty pages, — are words, so far as I know, without any authority; some of them contrary to analogy; and none repaying by their value the disadvantage of novelty. To these must be added new and erroneous locutions; „whole other tissues“ for *all the other,* and similar uses of the word *whole*; „orients“ for *pearls*; „lucid“ and „lucent“ employed as if they were different in meaning; „hulls“ perpetually for coverings, it being a word hardly used, and then only for the husk of a nut; „to insure a man of misapprehension“; „talented“, a mere newspaper and hustings word, invented, I believe, by O'Connel.

I must also mention the constant recurrence of some word in quaint and queer connection, which gives a grotesque and somewhat repulsive mannerism to many sentences ... (p. 138) Under this head, of language, may be mentioned, though not with strict grammatical accuracy, two standing characteristics of the Professor's style, — at least as rendered into English: *First,* the composition of words, such as „snow-and-rosebloom maiden“: an attractive damsel doubtless in Germany, but, with all her charms, somewhat uncouth here ... *Secondly,* I object, with the same qualification, to the frequent use ef *inversion* ...

Another class of considerations connects itself with the heightened and plethoric fulness of the style: its accumulation

and contrast of imagery; its occasional jerking and almost spasmodic violence; — and above all, the painful subjective excitement, which seems the element and ground-work even of every description of nature; often taking the shape of sarcasm or broad jest, but never subsiding into calm . . ."

Die Fr. Rev. fand, wenngleich Carlyles Stileigenheiten in ihr womöglich noch auffälliger zu Tage traten als im S. R., im ganzen doch eine befriedigende Aufnahme. Denn einerseits wurde hier nicht, wie im Buch von Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, der ungünstige Eindruck, den des Autors seltsame Sprache hervorrufen musste, durch einen noch seltsameren Inhalt verschärft, andererseits hatten eben S. R. wie auch die bereits erschienenen kleineren Essays die Leser schon einigermassen gelehrt, Carlyles bizarre Schreibweise als notwendiges Uebel mit in Kauf zu nehmen. Ein nicht geringes Verdienst um den Erfolg des Werkes hatte Stuart Mill, der frühzeitig durch eine auch die Sprache als den Gedanken in glücklicher Weise angepasst lobende Besprechung alle folgenden Kritiker gezwungen hatte, sich in ihren Vorwürfen gegen den Stil des Verfassers zu mässigen. Gleichwohl liessen sich Stimmen des Tadels noch immer laut genug vernehmen.

Die „Times" brachte am 3. August 1837 einen Artikel von Thackeray,[1] in dem dieser der Fr. R. in Bezug auf ihren Inhalt zwar volle Anerkennung zollt, die Schreibweise jedoch charakterisiert wie folgt:

„But never did a book sin so grievously from outward appearance, or a man's style so mar his subject and dim his genius. It is stiff, short, and rugged, it abounds with Germanisms and Latinisms, strange epithets, and choking double words, astonishing to the admirers of simple Addisonian English, to those who love history as it gracefully runs in Hume, or struts pompously in Gibbon — no such style is Mr. Carlyle's. A man, at the first onset, must take breath at the end of a sentence, or, worse still, go to sleep in the midst of it. But these hardships become lighter as the traveller grows accustomed

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[1]) Abgedruckt in „Sultan Stork and other Stories and Sketches." By W. M. Thackeray. London. George Redway. 1887. p. 99 ff.

to the road, and he speedily learns to admire and sympathise; just as he would admire a Gothic cathedral in spite of the quaint carvings and hideous images in door and buttress.

There are, however, a happy few of Mr. Carlyle's critics and readers to whom these very obscurities and mysticisms of style are welcome and almost intelligible; the initiated in metaphysics, the sages who have passed the veil of kantian philosophy, and discovered that the „critique of pure reason" is really what it purports to be, and not the critique of pure nonsense, as it seems to worldly men: to these the present book has charms unknown to us, who can merely receive it as a history of a stirring time, and a skilful record of men's worldly thoughts and doings. Even through these dim spectacles a man may read and profit much from Mr. Caryle's volumes."

Etwas später, nachdem er eine Stelle aus der Erstürmung der Bastille citiert hat, fragt er: „Did ‚Savage Rosa' ever ‚dash' a more spirited battle sketch?", und nach Anführung einer andern Stelle desselben Kapitels sagt er:

„This is prose run mad — no doubt of it — according to our notions of the sober gait and avocations of homely prose; but is there not method in it, and could sober prose have described the incident in briefer words, more emphatically, or more sensibly?"

Die Fr. R. begründete Carlyles Ruf auch auf dem Kontinent, und begreiflicherweise beschäftigte man sich mit ihr hauptsächlich in Frankreich. In sehr eingehender und geistreicher Weise, und mit specieller Berücksichtigung des Stils, behandelt sie Philarète Chasles in der „Revue des deux Mondes", Tome 24. 1840. p. 109 ff. Sein Urteil ist als das eines Nicht-Engländers besonders interessant.

Nach einer kurzen, recht ansprechenden, wenn auch vielleicht nicht in allen Punkten annehmbaren Darlegung der damaligen Stellung Carlyles in der zeitgenössischen englischen Litteratur und seines bisherigen Entwicklungsganges als Schriftsteller, kommt Chasles auf die Fr. R. selbst zu sprechen:

„Il a paru, dans ces derniers temps, en Europe, peu d'ouvrages aussi dignes d'attention; il en est peu que distinguent

autant de qualités répulsives à la fois et sympathiques. Si votre coup d'oeil s'arrête aux surfaces, et que les singularités extérieures vous répoussent, ne lisez pas cet étrange livre. La forme mystique et obscure choisie par Carlyle vous fatiguerait bientôt, et vous vous plaindriez de tant de voiles qui ne sont pas même transparens. Si la pureté de la diction vous charme, si vous êtes habitué au style anglo-français d'Addison, à la phrase brève, incisive et toute britannique de Bacon, à la période énergique et robuste de Southey, Carlyle vous déplaira: vous ne saurez que faire de ces mots composites, que la phraséologie anglaise a toujours repoussés, de ces incises perpétuelles, qui jettent à travers la pensée mère une forêt de broussailles parasites . . .

Ce n'est ni un livre bien écrit, ni une histoire exacte de la révolution française. Ce n'est pas une dissertation éloquente, — encore moins une transformation des évènements et des hommes en narration romanesque. C'est une étude philosophique mêlée d'ironie et de drame, rien de plus.

Elle ne se concentre pas dans le cercle de la révolution française. Elle s'attache au cours entier de la civilisation européenne, dont ce mouvement terrible est une des cataractes les plus imposantes. En l'écrivant, l'auteur s'est beaucoup plus occupé de la pensée que du mot; il a médité son oeuvre plus qu'il ne l'a élaborée. Il a presque toujours bien vu; il a souvent mal dit . . .

En analysant Carlyle, on est obligé d'expliquer perpétuellement l'opération de sa pensée et de dire les motifs de cette opération. Quant à son style, qui n'est ni anglais ni allemand, nous ne nous chargeons point de le défendre; c'est assez de le comprendre, ou plutôt de le deviner. Il se distingue surtout par la recherche, la manière, l'exagération et l'affectation; mais ce qui est singulier, c'est que cette affectation est naïve. Il ne la revêt pas comme un costume; elle est devenue lui-même. Elle résulte de ses longues études, de l'éducation excentrique qu'il a imposée à sa vie intellectuelle, et de la retraite dans laquelle il vit. Comme ensemble et comme plan, l'oeuvre offre des disparates; un accès lyrique interrompt pendant six pages une description matérielle, et l'apostrophe hasardée tache presque tous les chapitres de points d'exclamation interminables. La

répétition des mêmes épithètes, appliquées sans cesse aux mêmes hommes, comme dans Homère, produit un effet nauséabond; vous vous ennuyez fort de retrouver toujours l'incorruptible verdâtre au lieu de Robespierre, et le lieutenant-olive-noire pour le jeune Bonaparte. L'art de la composition, celui des nuances heureusement fondues, le goût, la modération, la grâce, tout ce qui s'apprend dans un certain monde élevé, manquent à Carlyle. Cette habitude de style, péniblement forte et sèchement étudiée, rappelle la vieille école de peinture allemande, dont nous ne contestons pas les mérites, mais qui, à son énergie, à sa précision et à un sentiment profond de l'art, joignait une sècheresse si laborieuse.

Tels sont les défauts de forme et de composition qui rendent cet ouvrage intraduisible et à peine intelligible. Au lieu de trouver un livre fait, une pensée accomplie, un plan mis en oeuvre, comme c'est la loi et la juste loi en France, vous découvrez accumulés dans un espace assez adroit, les élémens de la pensée, les suggestions les plus diverses, les points de vue les plus originaux, les excitations les plus vives de l'esprit. Ce travail, qui n'est pas achevé, tente et stimule toutes les capacités et toutes les facultés de votre intelligence. Tout ce que vous avez d'activité et de mouvement dans le cerveau s'ébranle et s'émeut à cette impulsion originale. Ce serait un chef-d'oeuvre si Carlyle avait réalisé, par la grande perfection de la forme, la profondeur et la variété du sens que son livre contient . . ."

Nach Anführung eines Abschnittes aus der Fr. R. heisst es weiter:

Ce n'est pas là le bon style historique assurément. Dans l'original, l'enchevêtrement de la diction, l'excès du néologisme, l'audace bizarre des mots inventés, rendent cette manière d'écrire encore plus burlesque. Mais il est impossible d'assigner mieux et plus nettement à chaque personnage sa place pittoresque dans l'histoire . . ."

Die folgenden Schriften, wie H. W., P. Pr. und L. D., forderten in erster Linie zur Kritik der in ihnen entwickelten Gedanken heraus; und wenn es auch in stilistischer Hinsicht kaum weniger als bei der Fr. R. auszustellen gab, so waren

doch diese Werke nicht umfangreich genug, um sich über ihre Sprache im einzelnen auszulassen, zumal bei Gelegenheit der Fr. R. bereits die wesentlichen Punkte hervorgehoben waren. In „Cromwell" war allerdings wieder ein Werk grösseren Massstabes erschienen, indessen bot hier der im allgemeinen ruhige und unauffällige Stil wenig Grund zu Vorwürfen. Um so mehr war über „Fr. Gr." zu sagen. Gar manchem Leser mag es freilich bei einigem guten Willen ergangen sein wie Emerson, der anfänglich von Carlyles Schreibweise auch wenig angenehm berührt worden war, bald jedoch gelernt hatte sie zu verstehen, ja sogar sich mit ihr zu befreunden. Dies ist der Grund, weshalb Emerson in seinen Briefen Einwendungen gegen den Stil der dem S. R. folgenden Werke in diskreter Weise vermeidet und für die Sprache von Fr. Gr. sogar nur Worte warmer Anerkennung hat, wie z. B. das folgende:

„The book, too, is sovereignly written. I think you the true inventor of the stereoscope, as having exhibited that art in style long before we had yet heard of it in drawing." C. E. II. 270.

Ein Kritiker jedoch, der, von weniger wohlwollenden Voraussetzungen ausgehend, nur den Massstab des geläufigen und nach der allgemeinen Anschauung guten Englisch anlegte, musste zu einem ganz anderen Ergebnis kommen. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist ein Artikel, der anonym in „Blackwood's Magazine", Februar 1859, erschien. Er zerfällt in zwei Teile, einen einleitenden, betitelt „Mirage Philosophy", in dem die früheren Schriften Carlyles besprochen werden, und einen Hauptteil „History of Frederick." Der Verfasser ist ein entschiedener Gegner Carlyles inbezug auf seine socialpolitischen Ansichten. Ueber seinen Stil äussert er sich in „Mirage Philosophy" folgendermassen:

„In discussing his works, it is impossible not to notice his singular style. Odd as it is, we think it may be accounted for without charging him with affectation. It appears to us that a writer inculcating such opinions, who says, — ‚I will be genuine; I will transcribe my exact thought in the language that most exactly pictures it, without regard either to elegancies of style or conventional forms of expression — of anything but literal rendering of the ideas as I see them, — true even in

this to my philosophy of dealing not with semblances but with underlying ideas,' — may, without affectation or conscious wish to strike the attention by singularity, write in Carlyle's manner, by simply watching and recording his thoughts, and the state of mind they produce in him. If his thoughts habitually present themselves in the concrete, there will be a large amount of imagery and metaphor. If he wishes to convey in briefest space the whole of what presents itself to his mind's eye, he must resort to pregnant allusive epithets; and, to keep his thought-laden sentences within compass, he must, in order to admit what he thinks essential, clip off all that is not as redundancy. As he says himself of Cromwell's style, „Superfluity, as if by a natural law of the case, the writer had to discard. Whatsoever quality can be dispensed with is indifferent to him." If he wants to convey a shade of meaning for which only an approximate word exists, and he is not satisfied with a paraphrase, he must alter the word or invent a new one. Feeling strongly, he expresses those feelings, and seeks to arouse them in the reader, not by description, but by interjection, allusion, sarcasm, or passionate appeal.

It is possible to transcribe thought literally, and yet never pass the limits of a correct style. In fact the very essence of a good style is to convey the thought with the greatest nicety, combined with the greatest vigour. There are many passages in Carlyle's works of the finest eloquence, to which no purist could take exception ... But Mr. Carlyle's subject-matter, though often, is not always of this high cast; and when it is not, he sinks from manner into a most abject mannerism ...

But there is one habit of his which we can never get accustomed to, and which always recurs to us in a ridiculous light — that of keeping some of his images constantly about him, and reproducing them, as if they were puppets in a box ..."

In „History of Frederick" heisst es dann weiter:

„The foregoing preamble, we hope, may afford a standpoint from whence to view, with some fair scheme of appreciation, a work of Carlyle, which, seen from the ordinary level, would appear in violently disturbed perspective. Generally the new work of a well-known author may be considered on its own

ground simply, without reference to previous performances. But there are many passages in this history which must be unintelligible to those who are not familiar with the doctrines and imageries shadowed forth with dusky vividness in his former works; for, like some distinguished writers in other walks of literature, he seems to take it for granted that all his readers have carefully perused, and religiously remember, everything that he has previously written; and this is the case, not only with the ideas and images, but with the phraseology. Strange phrases, epithets, and nicknames, occur so frequently, that a concordance, or at least a glossary, seems necessary to render them intelligible to a reader who has begun with the author's last work. He is expected to be not merely a reader but a student; with each successive production he is supposed to start, not from the ground, but from the last landing-place; and for the intelligent prosecution of his career, he is required not only to equip himself with all the author's previous conclusions, but to encumber himself with all his crotchets and absurdities . . .

In a former part of this paper we said that, considering the style in which Carlyle's thinking is done, the popularity it has attained is marvellous. One distinguishing feature renders it especially so. It is probably the most arrogant style that anybody that did not profess to believe himself inspired ever wrote in. The author seems to look down on us as if from some skyey eminence — much as Jove . . . One might suppose from his invariable tone, that the only veracious, the only sincere, the only clearsighted individual, who surveyed this terrestrial scene, was Thomas Carlyle . . . Even his favourite heroes he patronises as if they were good little boys — patting them on the back, pinching their ears, and calling them nicknames as Cromwell and Napoleon did with their generals. But take comfort, Thomas, — be assured you are not the sole excellence hitherto produced, or producible, by this despicable nineteenth century. Other men have appeared, and will appear in it, sounder in philosophy, clearer of vision, more original in genius, of no less pure, though less uproarious rectitude, and of more commendable modesty than yourself . . .

With all his obtrusive faults we, like most careful readers

of Carlyle, feel grateful to him for two things. First for his suggestiveness; starting as he so often does, ideas high or deep, productive of trains of thought in other minds; secondly because he has always successfully opposed the vile Utilitarian spirit, whether manifesting itself in the methodic plainness of Bentham, or the specious worldliness of Macaulay. And most sincerely should we rejoice to see his great gifts, freed from crotchet and affectation, as nobly employed as heretofore."

In der „Quarterly Review" vom Jahre 1872, vol. 132, pag. 365 ff. ist folgendes Urteil über Carlyles Sprache zu lesen:

„We have said nothing hitherto of that feature in Mr. Carlyle which first strikes and astonishes the casual reader — his style; yet it is a feature which it is impossible to pass over. It is a style which sacrifices clearness in the central idea to vividness in particular points; and this is a characteristic which no brilliance can prevent from being a signal fault. So great a fault is it that not only Mr. Carlyle's reader, but Mr. Carlyle himself, is at times prevented, by the eccentricities of his style, from knowing what the real thing is which he means to impress. He flings out a crowd of ideas pell-mell; but each separate idea is left to take its chance by itself; there is no subordination in the motley assemblage. This is not good; and of all causes none has been so powerful as this in hindering that complete success which Mr. Carlyle by his capacity was qualified to attain. For there has been a certain amount of wilfulness, and (to say the truth) even of affectation in it; he will often prefer an uncouth and unusual phrase where an ordinary word would express the meaning without the smallest shadow of a difference. This may seem a small matter, but it is precisely in small matters that people ought to conform to the common usage. To differ invests them with an artificial and unnatural importance."

Auch von Ansichten, die nach des Autors Tode über seine Schreibweise, wie sie sich allgemein in seinem Gesamtwerk darstellt, geäussert sind, seien einige angeführt, und zwar zunächst wieder ein Zeitschriftartikel. Das „Athenaeum" vom 12. Februar 1881 schreibt auf S. 234:

„No man's style has been more characteristic. He imported into our language new words and forms of expression,

of which some are still strange and uncouth, though others have been naturalized; but his mode of phraseology no less than his use of figures of speech was natural to him, though the apparent unnaturalness hinders the due recognition of his great mastery of language. If, like his modes of thinking, his modes of expressing his thoughts have had a marked effect on contemporary literature and produced a great many servile imitators, he can hardly be said to have been a slave to his own rules. His style, even when most extravagant, was not an affectation, but a reality. He wrote in eccentric ways only because he thought in eccentric ways; and his greatest eccentricities can be traced directly from the central idea of life and duty which has been just referred to. His was eminently, to use the adjective in its correct sense, a philosophical, but not at all a scientific, mind. In picturesque writing, when at his best, he is almost without a rival, especially in his use of similitudes and figures of contiguity, of apostrophe and irony. Even his stormiest and most „Titanic“ outbursts will generally bear analysis, and be found to err in nothing but redundancy of expression, an error due to his intense desire to force his whole meaning upon his readers.“

Den Schluss dieser kleinen Sammlung von Kritiken über Carlyles Stil mögen die Aeusserungen von einigen bekannten englischen Gelehrten der Gegenwart bilden.

Von Minto, der in seinem „Manual of English Prose Literature“, Edinburgh and London 1881, Carlyle recht eingehend bespricht, seien folgende Stellen citiert:

pag. 144. „His command of words must be pronounced to be of the highest order. Among the few that stand next to Shakespeare he occupies a very high place.“

pag. 145. „Two circumstances in particular make his command of acknowledged English appear less than it really is. First, revelling in his immense force of Comparison or Assimilation, he shows a prodigious luxuriance of the figures of similarity — nicknaming personages, applying old terms to new situations, and such-like. He often substitutes metaphorical for real names, when the real are quite sufficient, and perhaps more suitable for the occasion. Now this habit, not to speak

of its lowering the value and freshness of his genius by overdoing and over-affecting originality of phrase, often makes it appear as if he did not know the literal and customary names of things, and were driven to make shift with these allusive names. Another circumstance produces the same impression. He is most liberal in his coinages of new words, and even new forms of syntax . . . .

pag. 146. To give an adequate view of his verbal eccentricities would be no small labour. He extends the admitted licences of the language in every direction, using one part of speech for another, verbs for nouns, nouns for verbs, adverbs and adjectives for nouns. His coinages often take the form of new derivatives — „benthamee“, „amusee“. He abuses the license of giving plurals to abstract nouns: thus „credibilities“, „moralities“, „theological philosophies“, „transcendentalisms and theologies“. This excess of metaphors, new words and grammatical licences is in favour of the reader's enjoyment, but not so much in favour of the student's instruction.“

Leslie Stephen schreibt im „Dictionary of National Biography“ IX, p. 124 f.:

„Every page of Carlyle's writings reveals a character of astonishing force and originality. The antagonism roused by his vehement iconoclasm was quenched by respect during his last years, only to break out afresh upon the appearance of the „Reminiscences“. His style whether learnt at home or partly acquired under the influence of Irving and Richter (see Froude I. 396), faithfully reflects his idiosyncrasy. Though his language is always clear, and often pure and exquisite English, its habitual eccentricities offended critics, and make it the most dangerous of models. They are pardonable as the only fitting embodiment of his graphic power, his shrewd insight into human nature, and his peculiar humour, which blends sympathy for the suffering with scorn for fools.

His faults of style are the result of the perpetual straining for emphasis of which he was conscious, and which must be attributed to an excessive nervous irritability seeking relief in strong language, as well as to a superabundant intellectual

vitality. Conventionality was for him the deadly sin. Every sentence must be alive to its finger's ends."

J. A. Froude, Carlyles Biograph, giebt zur Stilfrage folgende interessante Notiz:

„This style, which had been such a stone of stumbling, originated, as he often said to myself, in the old farm-house at Annandale. The humour of it came from his mother. The form was his father's common mode of speech, and had been adopted by himself for its brevity and emphasis. He was aware of its singularity and feared that it might be mistaken for affectation; but it was a natural growth, with this merit among others, that it is the clearest of styles. No sentence leaves the reader in doubt of its meaning." T. C. III. 40.

Eine Hypothese, die zwei verschiedene Stilarten Carlyles annimmt, findet man geäussert in „Handbooks of English Literature". Edited by Professor Hales. „The Age of Tennyson." By Hugh Walker, M. A. London, George Bell and Sons. 1897.

Man liest dort pag. 34/5:

„It is necessary to add a word about Carlyle's much-debated style. But, in the first place, we ought in propriety to speak of Carlyle's *styles*. He had two, practised mainly, though not exclusively, in different periods of his life. His early style was a clear, strong, simple English, almost wholly free from the ellipses, inversions and mannerisms associated with his name. These gradually grew, and appeared fully developed for the first time in *Sartor Resartus*. Carlyle retained, but seldom exercised, the power of writing in his earlier style. The *Life of Sterling* has more affinity to it than to his later mode. But when Carlyle's style is spoken of, what is meant is invariably the style of his later books. It is over this that the battle has raged. There is no style more strange and unexampled in English, or more at war with the ordinary rules. It is in the highest degree mannered, it seems to be affected, it is anything but simple. Certainly it is the last and worst of all styles to select for imitation. No man would ever advise another to give his days and nights to the study of Carlyle in order to learn how to write English. In the

abstract, if it were possible to take it in the abstract, it would be described as an exceedingly bad style; but whether it was bad for Carlyle is less clear. Though it is not natural in the sense of being born with him, it is natural in the sense that it seems peculiarly adapted to his turn of thought. Could Carlyle have expressed his humour and irony otherwise? It is difficult to say; but at least he never did it with perfect success until he developed this style. If the style was really necessary to the complete expression of what was in Carlyle, then that is its sufficient justification. Among the various „supreme virtues“ which have been assigned to style, the only genuine one is just this that it, and it alone, whether simple or ornate, curt or periodic, best expresses the thought of the writer. Yet we are apt to exclaim after all, „the pity of it“! If only the humour and irony, the intensity and passion, could have found a voice more nearly in the key of other voices! This style will almost certainly tell against the permanence of Carlyle's fame. The world is a busy world, and the simple clear, direct writer, the man whom he who runs may read, has a double chance of the busy world's attention. Swift, whom Carlyle resembled in not a few ways, wrote a style unsurpassed for clearness and simplicity, yet he is not much read. How much less would he be read, were *Gulliver's Travels* written in the style of *Sartor Resartus.*“

Sehr instruktiv nach mehreren Seiten hin sind endlich auch noch die Aeusserungen G. Saintsbury's in „A Short History of English Literature“. London, Macmillan and Co., 1898.

pag. 761/2.

The style which he used for this purpose, and which undoubtedly had not a little to do with the success of the method, could hardly have come into existence except at the time of the revolt of prose, following that of poetry, against the limitations and conventions of the eighteenth century. Representing as it did, that revolt pushed to its very furthest, it naturally shocked precisians, some of whom are not reconciled to this day; and it must be admitted that it was susceptible of degradation and mannerism even in its creator's hands, and has proved, almost without exception, a detestable

thing in those of imitators. But Carlyle himself at his best, and sometimes to his last, could use it with such effect of pathos now and then, of magnificence often, of vivid and arresting presentation in all but a few cases, as hardly any prose-writer has ever excelled. His expression, like the matter conveyed in it, may bee too strong for the weak, to varied and elusory in its far-ranging purport for the dull, to much penetrated with ethical gravity and clear-eyed recognition of fact for those who like mere prettiness and mere aesthetic make-believe; but both are of the rarest and greatest.

Its characteristics, like those of nearly all great styles, are partly obvious, partly recondite or altogether fugitive, even from the most acute and persevering investigation. In the lowest place come the mechanical devices of capitals — a revival of course, of an old habit — italics, dashes, and other recourses to the assistance of the printer. Next may be ranked certain stenographic tricks as regard grammar — the omission of conjunctions, pronouns, and generally all parts of speech which, by relying strictly on the reader's ability to perceive the meaning without them, can be omitted, and the omission of which both gives point and freshness to the whole and emphasises those words that are left. Next and higher come exotic, and specially German, constructions, long compound adjectives, unusual comparatives and superlatives like „beautifuller“, unsparing employment of that specially English idiom by which, as it has been hyperbolically said, every verb can be made a noun and every noun a verb, together with a certain, though not very large, admixture of actual neologisms and coinings like „Gigmanity“. Farther still from the mechanical is the art of arrangement in order of words and juxtaposition of clauses, cadence and rhythme of phrase, all of which go so far to make up style in the positive. And beyond these again comes the indefinable part, the part which always remains and defies analysis.

The origin of the whole has been much discussed. It is certain that in his first published book there is, as has been said, no trace of it. The *Life of Schiller* is not very distinguishable from the more solemn efforts of Lockhart or Southey; while in Sartor Resartus, partly written almost at

the same time, the style is full-blown and in its very wildest luxuriance. It used to be put down almost wholly to imitation of the Germans, especially Richter; but though some influence from Jean Paul is not to be denied, it may be very easily exaggerated. Undoubtedly there are some reminiscences from Sterne, Jean Paul's master. Carlyle is said himself to have attributed much of it to family slang caught from his father and mother, and it is certain that there are strong resemblances in it to Scottish writing of the seventeenth century of the more fantastic kind, such as that of Sir Thomas Urquhart. But we find premonitions of Carlyle in many places, even such unexpected ones as Johnson, and on the whole the manner may be most safely and accurately described as in the smaller part a mosaic from his immense reading, in the larger part due partly to the creative, but more to the arranging and transforming, power of his own genius."

Ganz entsprechende Ansichten entwickelt Saintsbury auch in seiner „Nineteenth-Century Literature", London 1896, pag. 239.

Der diametrale Gegensatz zwischen den Urteilen Froude's und Walker's, von denen der eine Carlyle's Schreibweise „the clearest of styles" nennt, während der andere demselben Autor gerade wegen der Unklarheit seiner Sprache künftige Vergessenheit prophezeihen möchte, bildet eine vereinzelte Ausnahme. Die Allgemeinheit der Kritiker, von denen fast ein jeder andere Besonderheiten hervorhebt, äussert sich, wie weit ihre Meinungen über Einzelheiten auch von einander abweichen mögen, im ganzen doch im Sinne Walker's. Ohne so weit zu gehen wie dieser, geben sie bald mehr bald weniger laut, doch immer deutlich genug, ihrer Unzufriedenheit und ihrem Bedauern darüber Ausdruck, dass Carlyle seine Gedanken in ein Gewand von so beispielloser Excentricität gekleidet habe. Und solcher Besprechungen, zum Teil von weit heftiger angreifender und tadelnder Art, hat er, besonders zur Zeit des S. R., gar manche hören und lesen müssen. Doch haben sie alle ohne Ausnahme auch nicht den geringsten Einfluss zu Gunsten einer Aenderung in seiner Schreibweise auszuüben vermocht. Sie ist, von kleinen aus dem Charakter der einzelnen Werke zu erklärenden Schwankungen abgesehen, durchaus die gleiche geblieben.

Im allgemeinen hat Carlyle, den man im Folgenden nun selbst hören möge, auf die verurteilenden Auslassungen seiner Kritiker überhaupt keinen, oder doch nur sehr geringen Wert gelegt. Bereits im Jahre 1822 schreibt er in seinem Briefe an seinen Bruder Alexander:

„The critics, too, may say of it [Essay on the Civil Wars] either nothing or anything, according to their own good pleasure; if it once please my own mighty self, I do not value them or their opinion a single rush. Long habit has inured me to live with a very limited and therefore a dearer circle of approvers: all I aim at is to convince my own conscience that I have not taken their approbation without some just claims to it.“ E. L. II. 57.

Sehr abfällig und scharf spricht er sich über De Quincey und dessen Artikel über „W. Meister“ aus. In einem Briefe an seinen Bruder John aus dem Jahre 1825 liest man Folgendes:

„There was a luckless wight of an opium-eater here, one De Quincey, for instance, who wrote a very vulgar and brutish Review of „Meister“ in the London Magazine. I read three pages of it one sick day at Birmingham; and said: ‚Here is a man who writes of things which he does not rightly understand; I see clean over the top of him, and his vulgar spite, and his commonplace philosophy‘ ... A counter-criticism of Meister (or something like one) is to appear in the February number, I believe: to this also, I hope I shall present the same tolerant spirit.“ E. L. II. 302/3.

Diese Zeilen, in denen im Grunde eigentlich recht wenig von „Toleranz“ zu spüren ist, sind offenbar in sehr gereizter Stimmung geschrieben. Drei Jahre später äussert er sich einem Bekannten, Mr. Henry Inglis, gegenüber viel massvoller und günstiger:

„... you will find de Quincey a man of very considerable genius, and labouring in a state of depression (for he is by birth a man of fortune) which renders him still more interesting. He also is a German, a Kantist; a Mystic also, I suppose.“ L. I. 182.

Aber noch nach vielen Jahren, in den „Reminiscences“, kommen ihm bei der Erinnerung an jene Zeit wenig freundliche Worte in die Feder. Er berichtet dort, er habe eines

Tages in einer Zeitschrift eine durchaus feindlich gehaltene Kritik über seine Uebersetzung des „Wilhelm Meister", über Goethe und sich selbst gelesen, und darauf bei sich gedacht:

„‚This man is perhaps right on some points; if so, let him be admonitory!' And he was so (on a Scotticism or perhaps two); — and I did reasonably soon (in not above a couple of hours) dismiss him to the devil, or to Jericho, as an ill-given, *un*serviceable kind of Entity in my course through this world. It was De Quincey, as I often enough heard afterwards from foolish talking persons ... He was a pretty little creature, full of wire-drawn ingenuities; bankrupt enthusiasms, bankrupt pride ... A bright, ready and melodious talker; but in the end an inconclusive and longwinded." R. II. 151/2.

Eine andere Stelle, die für Carlyles Stellung zur Kritik in jener früheren Zeit charakteristisch ist, findet sich in einem Briefe an seinen Freund Johnstone, vom 26. Oktober 1825:

„In the last Edinburgh Review you would find a critique of Wilhelm Meister, apparently by Jeffrey himself. It amused me not a little; and, I may say, gratified me too. I think the critic very honest, and very seldom unjust in this feeling of individual passages; but for the general whole, which constitutes the essence of a work like this, he seems to have no manner of idea of it, except as a heap of beautiful and ugly fragments. True criticism, thanks to our Reviews and Magazines, bids fair to become one of the *artes perditae* ere long." E. L. II. 330/1.

Auch die verhältnismässig günstige Beurteilung der „German Romance" lässt ihn seine Ansicht über den Wert derartiger Besprechungen nicht ändern. Am 16. Februar 1827 schreibt er an seine Mutter:

„The German Book is getting praise rather than censure: I was about sending Alick a copy of the last Examiner Newspaper, where it was rather sensibly criticised. The man praises me for this or that: but then, it seems I am terribly to blame for condemning Voltaire and the Sceptics! This is exactly as it should be. But what care I for their Reviews?" L. I. 31.

Die Empfindungen, welche die allgemeine schlechte Aufnahme des S. R. in ihm erregte, machen sich lange nachher noch in den „Reminiscences" geltend, wenn er dort schreibt:

„The beggarly history of poor Sartor among the Blockheadisms is not worth my recording, or remembering, — least of all here.“ R. I. 92.

Womöglich noch deutlicher spricht die Geringschätzigkeit, mit der er sich über Murray, der hinsichtlich jenes Werkes eine unentschiedene und ausweichende Haltung beobachtet hatte, äussert:

Murray, a most stupendous object to me; tumbling about, eyeless, with the evidently strong wish to say ‚Yes *and* No‘.“ R. I. 92.

„Stupider man than the great Murray in look, in speech, in conduct in regard to this poor Sartor question, I imagined I had seldom or never seen!“ R. II. 200.

Allerdings ist bei Betrachtung dieser letzten Citate stets zu berücksichtigen, dass sie über 35 Jahre nach den geschilderten Ereignissen niedergeschrieben sind, und zwar in einer überaus niedergeschlagenen, fast verzweifelten Stimmung, durch die auch die bittere Schärfe der Aeusserungen zu erklären ist; indessen sind diese ihrem eigentlichen Inhalte nach doch als zutreffend zu erachten, auch stimmen sie völlig zu sonstigen derartigen Angaben Carlyles.[1]) — Das Gleiche gilt von den folgenden Worten, die Aufschluss geben über den Eindruck, den der Erfolg der Fr. R. auf ihren Verfasser gemacht hat:

„Thackeray's laudation, in the Times, I also recollect the arrival of... — but neither did Thackeray inspire me with any emotion, still less with any ray of exultation: ‚One other poor judge voting‘, I said to myself; ‚but what is he, or such as he? The fate of that thing is fixed! I have written it; that is all my result‘.“ R. II. 288.

Auf den ersten Blick könnte man diese Angabe für nicht wahrscheinlich halten, sie ist aber durchaus richtig. Carlyle grollte nämlich in der damaligen Zeit noch der Kritik wegen ihrer verständnislosen Stellungnahme zum S. R., bei der ihn weniger die direkten Angriffe als der Umstand tief verletzt hatte, dass viele das Buch verleugnet und totgeschwiegen hatten. Auch dies geht wieder aus den „Reminiscences“ her-

[1]) Vgl. auch die in Teil I., A. als Beleg angeführte Stelle von M. III. 95, aus dem im Jahre 1831 geschriebenen Essay „Schiller“.

vor. Er berichtet dort, dass auch Southey sich ihm gegenüber sehr zufrieden betreffs der Fr. R. geäussert habe, und fährt dann fort:

„As Southey was the only man of eminence that had ever taken such a view of me, and especially of this my first considerable Book, it seems strange that I should have felt so little real triumph in it as I did. For all other eminent men in regard to all my Books and Writings hitherto, and most of all in regard to this latest, had stood pointedly silent; dubitative, disapprobatory, many of them shaking their heads. Thus when poor Sartor passed through Fraser, and was done up from the Fraser types as a separate thing, perhaps fifty copies being struck off, — I sent six copies to six Edinburgh Literary Friends; from not one of whom did I get the smallest whisper even of receipt; a thing disappointing more or less to human nature, and which has silently and insensibly led me, Never since to send any copy of a book to Edinburgh, or indeed to Scotland at all, except to my own kindred there, and in one or two specific *un*literary cases more.“ R. II. 289.

Auch in späten Jahren hat sich, wie man schon gesehen hat, trotz des Erfolgs von Fr. Gr. sein Urteil über den Wert derartiger Kritiken im allgemeinen nicht günstiger gestaltet. Alle Lobeserhebungen erschienen ihm als übertrieben, denn er empfand, dass sein höchster Wunsch, der, verstanden zu werden, nur selten erfüllt wurde. Das lässt sich entnehmen einer Begleitnotiz Carlyles zu einem Briefe seiner Gattin, in dem diese ihrer Bewunderung für die ersten Bücher von Fr. Gr. Ausdruck gegeben hatte.

Es heisst dort: „Except a small patch of writing by Emerson, this is the only bit of human criticism in which, across the general exaggeration, I could discover real lineaments of the thing.“ L. M. II. 332.

Wenn sich Carlyle aber auch einer oberflächlichen und nur nach Aeusserlichkeiten urteilenden Kritik gegenüber durchaus ablehnend verhielt, so darf man daraus nicht etwa folgern, dass er sich gegen alle Vorwürfe, von denen doch manche wohlbegründet waren, gänzlich verschlossen hätte. Er hat im Gegenteil die Mängel und Schwächen seiner Schreibweise selbst

genau gekannt, wie klar hervorgeht aus der eingehenden humorvollen Charakteristik, die er von Teufelsdröckhs Stil im S. R. pag. 29/30 giebt.

Am Schluss dieses Buches kommt er mit folgenden Worten, die scheinbar zugleich seine persönlichen Stileigenheiten erklären sollen, noch einmal darauf zurück:

„What a result, should this piebald, entangled, hypermetaphorical style of writing, not to say of thinking, become general among our literary men! As it might so easily do. Thus has not the Editor himself, working over Teufelsdröckh's German, lost much of his own English purity? Even as the smaller whirlpool is sucked into the larger and made to whirl along with it, so has the lesser mind, in this instance, been forced to become portion of the greater, and, like it, see all things figuratively: which habit time and assiduous effort will be needed to eradicate." S. R. 283.

Die wohlgemeinten Ausstellungen seiner Freunde nimmt er daher auch gern hin, giebt ihre Berechtigung in vollem Umfange zu und verspricht sogar, nach Besserung streben zu wollen. Zugleich aber unterlässt er in bezeichnender Weise nicht, die Gründe hervorzuheben, die ihn zur Anwendung der ganz bestimmten Schreibart bewogen haben. So antwortet er auf Emerson's oben z. T. citierten Brief:

„With regard to style and so forth, what you call your „saucy" objections are not only most intelligible to me, but welcome and instructive. You say well that I take up that attitude because I have no known public, am *alone* under the heavens, speaking into friendly or unfriendly space; add only that I will not defend such attitude, that I call it questionable, tentative, and only the best that I, in these mad times, could conveniently hit upon ... For the rest, if you dislike it [S. R.], say that I wrote it four years ago, and could not now so write it, and on the whole (as Fritz the Only said) ‚will do better another time'." C. E. I. 22.

Sterling's Vorwürfe werden in ganz analoger Weise beantwortet in folgendem Briefabschnitt, der auch wertvolle Aufschlüsse giebt über Carlyles Ansicht von der Notwendigkeit des gewählten Stiles, besonders auch der neugeprägten Wörter,

für ihn, und von seiner Berechtigung in Hinsicht auf die damals in der englischen Literatur sich überall offenbarenden Neuerungstendenzen. In dem Schreiben, das vom 4. Juni 1835 datiert ist, liest man u. a.:

„The objections to phraseology and style have good grounds to stand on. Many of them are considerations to which I myself was not blind, which there were unluckily no means of doing more than nodding to as one passed. A man has but a certain strength; imperfections cling to him, which if he wait till he have brushed off entirely, he will spin forever on his axis, advancing nowhither. Know thy thought — believe it — front heaven and earth with it, in whatsoever words nature and art have made readiest for thee. If one has thoughts not hitherto uttered in English books, I see nothing for it but you must use words *not* found there, but *make* words, with moderation and discretion of course. That I have not always done it so proves only that I was not strong enough, an accusation to which I, for one, will never plead not guilty. For the rest pray that I may have more and more strength. Surely, too, as I said, all these *coal marks* of yours shall be duly considered for the first, and even for the second time, and help me on my way. But finally do you reckon this really a time for purism of style, or that style (mere dictionary style) has much to do with the worth or unworth of a book? I do not. With whole ragged battalions of Scott's novel Scotch, with Irish, German, French, and even Newspaper Cockney (where literature is little other than a newspaper) storming in on us, and the whole structure of our Johnsonian English breaking up from its foundations, revolution *there* is visible as everywhere else." T. C. III 41.

Aehnliche Gedanken finden sich auch über die Fr. R. Dass Carlyle sich thatsächlich bemüht hat, hier möglichst jeglichen Grund zum Anstoss in seinem Stil zu vermeiden, bezeugt folgende Stelle aus einem Briefe an seinen Bruder Dr. Carlyle:

„The first three Chapters are finished; and now there is a kind of pause for a day or two, before I start with the fourth, which may be headed *„Taking of the Bastille"*! One

knows not well what to think of so singular an attempt as it is; for though studying rather zealously to avoid cramp phrases and all needless cause of offence, I feel at every sentence that the work will be strange; that it either must be so, or be nothing but another of the thousand-and-one „Histories", which are so many „dead thistles for Pedant-chaffinches to peck at and fill their crops with"; a kind of thing I have for one wish to have no hand in." L. II. 237/8.

Aber er muss bald genug selbst einsehen, dass die in den vorhergehenden Worten ausgesprochene Ahnung durchaus richtig und seine Anstrengungen erfolglos gewesen sind, dass er gegen seine Natur nicht ankämpfen und nicht anders schreiben kann. So muss er denn Emerson gegenüber gestehen:

„My familiar friends tell me farther that the Book [Fr. R.] is all wrong, style cramp, &c., &c.: my friends, I answer, you are very right; but this also, Heaven be my witness, I cannot help." C. E. I. 92.

„As to the Book, I do seriously say that it is a wild, savage, ruleless, very bad Book; which even you will not be able to like; much less any other man. Yet it contains strange things; sincerities drawn out of the heart of a man very strangely situated." C. E. I. 104.

Noch deutlicher sprechen die folgenden Worte aus seinem „Journal":

„The poor people seem to think a style can be put off or put on, not like a skin, but like a coat. Is not a skin verily a product and close kinsfellow of all that lies under it, exact type of the nature of the beast, not to be plucked off without flaying and death?" T. C. III. 45.

Weder der heftige Tadel seiner Gegner, noch der wohlgesinnte Rat seiner Freunde, noch der eigene gute Wille haben also Carlyle bewegen können, in seinem Stil irgend eine merkliche Aenderung eintreten zu lassen. Nicht einmal das „Schreckgespenst der Bettelarmut, das ihn immer verfolgt hatte, seit er Mann geworden war," [1]) vermochte, auch nicht in der Zeit

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[1]) „Thou beggarliest Spectre of Beggary that hast chased me ever since I was man, come on then, in the Devil's name, let us see what is in thee!" C. E. I. 152.

der drohendsten Not, als S. R. überall vom Druck zurückgewiesen wurde, den geringsten Einfluss in diesem Sinne auszuüben. Aus der obigen Aeusserung geht hervor, dass Carlyle selbst die Unmöglichkeit, anders zu schreiben als er gethan, erkannt hatte. Er selbst sucht einmal den Grund hiervon in einem gewissen Mangel an Gewandtheit und Behendigkeit, die jeder civilisierte Mann besässe:

„On the whole, I am rather stupid; or rather I am not stupid (for I feel a fierce glare of insight in me into many things); not stupid, — but I have *no sleight of hand.* A raw untrained savage; for every trained civilised man *has* that sleight, and is a bred workman by having it: the bricklayer with his trowel, the painter with his brush, the writer with his pen.“ L. II. 357. (Brief an Dr. Carlyle, 1835.)

In der That wird hiermit eine der Hauptursachen für die Eigenartigkeit des Carlyle'schen Stiles angedeutet. Freilich nur eine mittelbare; denn der Ausdruck „sleight of hand“ ist im Grunde nicht direkt auf die Schreibweise selbst anzuwenden, sondern hat zunächst hauptsächlich von den im Innern des Autors vor sich gehenden Gedankenprocessen zu gelten. Seine Werke schritten so langsam vorwärts und kosteten ihn soviel mühevolle Arbeit, dass er, besonders in der Zeit der ersten selbständigen Schriften, den Grund davon wohl in einem Fehlen der bezeichneten Eigenschaft suchen konnte. Ein solcher Mangel soll auch, wenigstens für die Anfangsperiode originellen Schaffens, in der er ja ganz natürlich war, durchaus nicht bestritten werden. Indessen als die eigentliche Ursache ist doch etwas anderes anzusehen, nämlich die Tiefe und Intensität seines Denkens, verbunden mit einer peinlichen Gewissenhaftigkeit, die ihn keinen Satz niederschreiben liess, bevor er sich nicht völlig von seiner Richtigkeit und Wahrheit überzeugt hatte, verbunden aber ausserdem noch — und das ist ein Punkt von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung — mit einer überaus hohen leidenschaftlichen Erregbarkeit, die durch seine stetigen körperlichen Leiden noch gesteigert wurde. — So ist auch zu erklären, dass jene Erscheinungen sich bei allen späteren Werken wiederholen. Carlyle schrieb sie sämtlich ohne Ausnahme aus seinem innersten Herzen heraus. Eine bestimmte

Idee beherrschte ihn dann völlig, und er musste schreiben, um sie ganz zu überwinden und sich von ihr frei zu machen. In einem Zustande äusserster nervöser Erregung, und unter Anspannung aller Kräfte rang er mit den in ihm arbeitenden Gedanken, die zum Ausdruck kommen wollten. Immer wieder klagt er in den Briefen an seine Verwandten und Freunde wie auch in seinem „Journal" laut über die peinvolle Mühe und inneren Kämpfe, die seine Werke ihm verursachen, und die stete Wiederkehr, wie der ganze Charakter der betreffenden Aeusserungen bezeugen auf das deutlichste, dass hier nicht etwa nur eine Wichtigthuerei mit übertriebenen oder gar erdichteten Schwierigkeiten vorliegt. — Es ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht sehr interessant, Carlyle selbst in dieser Weise reden zu hören, daher möge eine grössere Zahl solcher Stellen hier Platz finden.

Bereits ziemlich früh trifft man auf Klagen jener Art, sogar schon inbezug auf die kleineren Essays. So schreibt er von dem Essay „German Playwrights":

„After tea, I sometimes write again (being dreadfully slow at the business)." L. I. 176;

von „Voltaire":

„What am I to say of Voltaire? His name has stood at the top of a sheet for three days and no other word! Writing is a dreadful labour, yet not so dreadful as idleness." „Journal". T. C. II. 75;

von einer Abhandlung über die deutsche Literatur, die aber in ihrer ursprünglichen Form nicht veröffentlicht worden ist:

„I am about beginning the second volume of that German Literary History; dreadfully lazy to start. I know and feel that it will be a trivial insignificant book, do what I can; yet the writing of it sickens me and inflames my nerves as if it were a poem! Were I done with this, I will endeavour to compile no more." „Journal". T. C. II. 82.

Aehnlich heisst es vom S. R.:

„What is more to the purpose, I am daily busy with *Teufelsdreck*, which I calculate on finishing early next month. But like James Brown, „I write dreadfully slow". L. I. 289.

„I am struggling forward with *Dreck*, sick enough, but not in bad heart. I think the world will nowise be enraptured

with this (medicinal) *Devil's Dung*; that the critical republic will cackle vituperatively or perhaps maintain total silence: *à la bonne heure*! It was the best I had in me, what God had given me, what the Devil shall not take away." L. I. 299.

„In any case, God be thanked, I am done with it." C. E. I. 22.

Von Aeusserungen über die Fr. R. seien z. B. angeführt:

„As for the *French Revolution,* the worst fault of it is, it gets on so dreadfully *slowly*." L. II. 283.

„If this Book were done, I feel all but quite clear for giving up Literature as a trade, *whatsoever* other I fall to." L. II. 389.

„It is impossible for you to figure what mood I am in. One sole thought, That Book! that weary Book! occupies me continually: wreck and confusion go tumbling and falling around me, within me." C. E. I. 90.

„For the present, really, it is like a Nessus' shirt, burning you into madness, this wretched Enterprise; nay, it is also like a kind of Panoply, rendering you invulnerable, to all *other* mischiefs." C. E. I. 91.

„Many a man will find it a hard nut to crack; but it is they that will have to crack it, not I any more." T. C. III. 95.

Noch in späten Jahren findet man in den „Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle" diese Angaben von Carlyle selbst durchaus bestätigt:

„My health had suffered much by „French Revolution" and its accompaniments, when I used to ask myself, shall I ever actually get this savagely cruel business flung off me, then, and be rid of it? — a hope which seemed almost incredible." L. M. I. 76.

Von H. W. sagt er zu Emerson:

„My lectures were in May, about *Great Men.* The misery of it was hardly equal to that of former years, yet still was very hateful." C. E. I. 293.

Ueber P. Pr. schreibt er an denselben:

„... so there it is written; and I am very sick, but withal a comparatively free man." C. E. II. 22.

„... it is a somewhat fiery and questionable „Tract of the Times“ *not* by a Puseyite, which the terrible aspect of things here has forced from me.“ C. E. II. 22.

Auch über „Cromwell“ äussert er sich in der gleichen Weise:

„You ask after *Cromwell*: ask not of him; he is like to drive me mad.“ C. E. II. 6.

„After four years of the most unreadable reading, the painfulest poking and delving, I have come at last to the conclusion that I *must* write a Book on Cromwell; that there is no rest for me till I do it.“ C. E. II. 44.

„Engaged in a book on the *Civil Wars,* on Oliver Cromwell, or whatever the name of it prove to be; the most frightfully *impossible* book of all I have ever before tried... Most part of that time I have been really assiduous with this book, or one or the other adjuncts of it, and there really stands now on my paper in any available shape, as it were correctly — nothing. Much I have blotted, fairly burnt out of my way. What will become of it and of me?“ „Journal“ 1844. T. C. III. 335.

Und betreffs Fr. Gr. endlich schreibt er:

„Still struggling and haggling about Frederick. Ditto ditto, alas! about many things. No words can express the forlorn, heart-broken, silent, utterly *enchanted* kind of humour I am kept in.“ „Journal“ 1853. T. C. IV. 128/9.

„No way made with my book, nor like to be made. I am in a heavy stupefying state of health, too, and have no capacity of grasping the big chaos that lies round me, and reducing it to order.“ „Journal“ 1854. T. C. IV. 154.

„I have sat here in my garret, wriggling and wrestling on the worst terms with a Task that I cannot do, that generally seems to me not worth doing, and yet *must* be *done.* These are truly the terms. I never had such a business in my life before.“ C. E. II. 246 (1855).

Man könnte noch manche ähnliche Stellen beibringen, doch werden die gegebenen genügen, um erkennen zu lassen, wie sehr Carlyle stets mit seinem Stoffe zu ringen hatte. — Die bei so grossen Schwierigkeiten notwendige strenge Concentrierung des gesamten Könnens auf die Herausarbeitung

der den Geist bewegenden Empfindungen konnte nun aber nicht ohne bedeutende Einwirkung auf den Stil bleiben. Zunächst musste ihm unter diesen Umständen schon der behandelte Stoff in hohem Masse eine seinem Inhalt und Charakter entsprechende Färbung verleihen. Je grösser die Eigenart des vorliegenden Materials war, und je mehr es zugleich den Autor mit sich fortriss, desto eigenartiger wurde naturgemäss auch die angewendete Schreibweise. Eine andere notwendige und nicht minder wichtige Folge war ferner die, dass zugleich auch alle die mannigfaltigen persönlichen Eigentümlichkeiten Carlyles in seinem Stil zum Ausdruck kommen mussten. Je mehr ihn seine inneren Gedanken beschäftigten, desto weniger war er im Stande, bei ihrer äusseren Darstellung die allgemeinen Regeln genau zu beobachten und innezuhalten, und um so freier und charakteristischer wurde folglich seine Sprache. — Von diesen Gesichtspunkten aus betrachtet wird dem aufmerksamen Leser die Schreibart Carlyles als ein sein Inneres getreu wiedergebendes Bild erscheinen. Und mag man sie in ästhetischer Hinsicht vielleicht noch so wenig schätzen, so wird doch, von gelegentlichen Uebertreibungen, die durchaus nicht geleugnet werden sollen, abgesehen, jeder Grund zu subjektiven Vorwürfen gegen den Autor schwinden müssen. Man wird vielmehr gern durch ein sorgsames Studium in seinem bei allem Ungewöhnlichen und bei aller scheinbaren Maniriertheit doch im weitesten Sinne des Worts natürlichen Stil den Menschen zu erkennen und zu verstehen suchen. —

Nach den Schlusserörterungen des vorigen Abschnitts muss es eine ebenso lehrreiche wie anregende und dankbare Aufgabe sein, sich mit der Sprache Carlyles eingehender zu beschäftigen. Im Folgenden soll zunächst nur eine Seite seines Wortschatzes, nämlich die auffallenden Wortbildungen, behandelt werden. Es ist dies freilich nur ein kleiner Teil der Stileigenheiten des Autors, aber auch hier schon lassen sich manche interessante und charakteristische Beobachtungen machen. — Allerdings hat bereits Krummacher in seinen Abhandlungen über Sprache und Stil Carlyles, Engl. Studien Bd. VI. XI. XII., reichhaltige Sammlungen auch für diesen Punkt gegeben. Er hat jedoch allein die Hauptwerke berück-

sichtigt; ein völliges und richtiges Verständnis ist aber nur zu erreichen, wenn man ausserdem noch die Jugend- und Altersschriften, die kleineren Essays, und insbesondere die Briefe und anderen Privatschreiben des Autors hinzuzieht. Ferner hat Krummacher, „auf Raumersparnis bedacht“, da er zahlreiche Belege noch für viele andere Besonderheiten von Carlyles Stil bringt, „eigener Reflexionen sich fast ganz enthalten“, sowie — was besonders zu betonen ist — von vereinzelten Fällen abgesehen, lediglich die betreffenden Wörter, losgelöst von allem Zusammenhange, und in alphabetischer Ordnung, angeführt. Auf diese Weise erhält man wohl einen ganz allgemeinen Eindruck von der Mannigfaltigkeit der Bildungen und der Seltsamkeit vieler von ihnen, aber wichtige und bezeichnende Einzelheiten bleiben unbekannt. Zunächst ist es bei vielen Wörtern unmöglich, ihre genaue Bedeutung zu erkennen, zumal ihnen Carlyle häufig einen ganz speciellen Sinn verleiht; in gleicher Weise kommen, weil der Zusammenhang fehlt, die oft sehr deutlichen und interessanten Motive, die zur Prägung der Ausdrücke geführt haben, nicht zur Anschauung. Endlich bleibt infolge der bezeichneten Anordnung der Beispiele völlig unklar, wie sich die einzelnen Werke unter und zu einander verhalten, geschweige dass es möglich wäre, ein Gesamtbild von der Entwicklung Carlyles in dieser Hinsicht zu gewinnen. — Unter Berücksichtigung dieser Gesichtspunkte möchte die folgende Arbeit verfahren und Einiges zum Verständnis der Carlyleschen Spracheigentümlichkeiten beizutragen versuchen.

Die Natur des Gegenstandes brachte es mit sich, dass bei Angabe der Belege grössere Vollständigkeit angestrebt wurde, als bei andern Stilfragen wohl nötig wäre. Jede der einzelnen Formen verdiente schon an sich erwähnt zu werden; dazu kam aber noch, dass nur bei möglichster Ausführlichkeit die verbalen Besonderheiten Carlyles nach allen Richtungen hin angemessen zur Geltung gelangen konnten. — Bei der Auswahl der Beispiele sind zu Grunde gelegt worden vor allem das „Oxford Dictionary“ (bis „Heel“), und, für den noch nicht erschienenen Teil dieses Werkes, das „Century Dictionary“. Daneben sind noch herangezogen besonders Webster's „Complete Dictionary“,

in den Ausgaben von 1877 und 1882, sowie auch Flügel, Muret, und gelegentlich noch andere. In erster Linie sind die in diesen Werken nicht, oder ausschliesslich bei Carlyle, oder auch bei Carlyle zuerst, belegten Wörter aufgenommen. Ausserdem sind dann solche Formen berücksichtigt worden, die in früheren Jahrhunderten vereinzelt nachgewiesen sind, bei denen es demnach mindestens zweifelhaft sein konnte, ob Carlyle sie gekannt habe, bei denen aber berechnete Verwendung zu archaisierenden Zwecken jedenfalls ausgeschlossen war. Endlich erschien auch die Erwähnung von Ausdrücken jüngeren Ursprungs dann berechtigt, wenn sie sich vor Carlyle etwa in Briefen, in specialwissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen oder ähnlichen Quellen einzeln belegt fanden, wo jener sie schwerlich kennen gelernt haben konnte. Wörter, die mehrmals vor Carlyle gebraucht sind, haben in ganz wenigen Sonderfällen, und nur dann Aufnahme gefunden, wenn offenbar „nonce-use“ bei ihm vorlag. Die Nichtangabe der zu den letzteren Klassen gehörigen Formen bei Webster etc. liess auch diese als immerhin selten und daher erwähnenswert erscheinen. — Bei der im zweiten Hauptteil der Arbeit noch wieder gegebenen kurzen Auswahl charakteristischer Sonderformen sind natürlich ausnahmslos Bildungen von der in der erstgenannten Gruppe bezeichneten Art verwendet worden. —

Für die folgende Untersuchung sind sämtliche Schriften Carlyles, soweit sie gesammelt und herausgegeben sind, als Material benutzt worden,[1]) und zwar nach folgenden Ausgaben:

Zunächst die in der vom Autor selbst revidierten „Library Edition“, London, Chapman and Hall, 1869 ff., gedruckten Werke, die hier in zeitlicher Reihenfolge, soweit wie möglich, aufgeführt seien; die hinzugefügten lateinischen Buchstaben geben die in der Abhandlung gebrauchten Abkürzungen, die römischen Ziffern die Zahl der Bände an.

Life of Schiller. 1823. [L. S.]

Translations. 1824—1827. [Tr. I—III. I. u. II. = Wilhelm Meister. III. = German Romance.]

Miscellaneous Essays. [M. I—VI. Sie umfassen kleinere Zeitschriftartikel aus den Jahren 1827—1867.]

Sartor Resartus. 1831. [S. R.]

French Revolution. 1837. [Fr. R. I—III.]

Heroes and Hero-Worship. 1840. [H. W.]

Past and Present. 1843. [P. Pr.]

Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. 1845. [Cr. I—V.]

Latter-Day Pamphlets. 1850. [L. P.]

Life of Sterling. 1851. [L. St.]

Frederick the Great. 1858—1865. [Fr. Gr. I—X.]

Ferner wurden noch benutzt:

Thomas Carlyle's first Essay on Goethe's Faust (Reprinted from the Edinburgh Review January—April, 1822).

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[1]) Von einer Heranziehung der im Jahre 1838 gehaltenen „Lectures on the History of Literature“ Edited by Professor J. Reay Greene. London 1892; ist abgesehen worden, da sie nicht das Original, sondern nur ziemlich genaue Aufzeichnungen eines der Hörer, also gewissermassen ein Kollegheft über die „Lectures“ bieten.

With an Introduction by Dr. Richard Schroeder, Translated by Ashbel P. Fitch. The Knickerbocker Press, New York. [E. G.]

Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle. Another Edition. Edited by C. E. Norton. 2 vols. London 1887. [R. I—II.] 1866 ff.

The Early Kings of Norway: also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox. By Thomas Carlyle. Second Edition. London. Chapman and Hall. 1875. [K. N. bzw. P. K.] 1872.

Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, prepared for Publication by Thomas Carlyle, edited by J. A. Froude. London. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1883. [L. M. I—III.]

Last Words of Thomas Carlyle.[1]) London. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1892. [L. W.[1]]

Last Words of Thomas Carlyle. On Trades' Unions, Promoterism and the Signs of the Times Edited by J. C. A. Edinburgh. W. Paterson. 1882. [L. W.[2]] 1872.

Thomas Carlyle, A History of the first forty years of his Life. By J. A. Froude. 2 vols. London. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1882. [T. C. I.—II.]

Thomas Carlyle, A History of his Life in London. By J. A. Froude. 2 vols. London. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1884. [T. C. III.—IV.]

Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle. [1814—1826.] Edited by C. E. Norton. London. Macmillan and Co. 1886. [E. L. I.—II.]

Letters of Thomas Carlyle. [1826—1836]. Edited by C. E. Norton. London. Macmillan and Co. 1887. [L. I.—II.]

Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle. Edited by C. E. Norton. London. Macmillan and Co. 1887. [G. C.]

The Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson. [1834—1872]. Edited by C. E. Norton. London. Chatto & Windus. 1883. [C. E. I.—II.]

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[1]) „Last Words“ — ein sonderbarer Titel für ein Buch, in dem der „Wotton Reinfred“, die „Excursion (futile enough) to Paris“, „Letters written by Thomas Carlyle to Varnhagen von Ense in the years 1837—1857“, „Letter of Thomas Carlyle to Karl Eduard Vehse“ [1853] — also alles Schriftstücke, die aus Carlyles jüngeren bezw. reiferen Mannesjahren stammen — sowie ausserdem einige „Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle to Amely Bölte, 1843—1849“, gesammelt sind.

Noch eine Bemerkung ist hinsichtlich des Druckes zu machen: Die betreffenden Bildungen sind durch *Kursivdruck* gekennzeichnet. In Fällen, wo Carlyle selbst Wörter oder Wortteile in dieser Weise hat hervorheben wollen — was nicht selten geschieht — ist dies, sobald es eines der Beispielswörter selbst betraf, durch *K u r s i v s p e r r d r u c k* zur Anschauung gebracht; sonst aber ist darauf keine Rücksicht genommen worden, weil es ausserhalb des weiteren Zusammenhanges unnötig war, und hier nur Verwirrung verursachen würde.

A. Substantiva.

Wie gewaltig Carlyles Kraft der Wortprägung auch ist in den Werken seiner Hauptschaffensperiode, wo sie sich in immer grösserer Mannigfaltigkeit und Kühnheit der Formen äussert, sie hat sich doch erst ganz allmählich aus kleinen Anfängen heraus entwickelt. Man kann das Fortschreiten ihres Wachstums und die Entfaltung, die sie auf den einzelnen Gebieten genommen hat, deutlich verfolgen; zugleich aber wird man hier auch stets beobachten können, wie der Charakter und Geist der einzelnen Schriften für den Stil und seine Eigentümlichkeiten bestimmend gewesen sind. — Schon in den frühesten Aufzeichnungen, die von Carlyle vorliegen, in den „Early Letters“ und den in T. C. I. gesammelten Briefen, welche überall die ausserordentliche Geschicklichkeit ihres Schreibers in der Handhabung der Sprache und ihrer Mittel klar zu erkennen geben, tritt hier und da eine Neigung zur Bildung neuer Wörter unverkennbar zu Tage. Dies ist um so bezeichnender, als ihm der Inhalt der Briefe kaum je ernstlich Veranlassung geben konnte, über den so reichen Wortschatz seiner Muttersprache hinauszugehen. Aber wie jene zwanglosen Schriftstücke bereits eine ganze Reihe anderer Besonderheiten des Carlyleschen Stiles offenbaren, so weisen sie auch Spuren dieser Art auf. Freilich nicht von Anfang an, sondern während vom Jahre 1814 an zahlreiche Briefe erhalten sind, tauchen erst von etwa 1822 an vereinzelte Fälle auf, die jedoch gerade wegen des Charakters der Schreiben, die sie enthalten, nicht unwichtig sind. Wie aus den angeführten Beispielen ersichtlich, sind ein paar der betreffenden Wörter von Carlyle selbst im Manuscript unterstrichen, er war sich ihrer Ungewöhnlichkeit also wohl bewusst, und hatte sie in ganz bestimmter, meist humoristischer, Absicht gebildet.

I only regret that he should select me for his Mentor, especially when actually enduring the operation of so much speculation upon *ephemeralities.* E. L. II. 67. (i. J. 1822!)

without aid from any grinder or *honer* whatever II. 349.

I have still another *notule* to write, which you will not fail to deliver. II. 351.

therefore, with the most profound *dorsoflexions,* I beg to wish you all good-morning as soon as may be. T. C. I. 192. (1823!)

The breath of life is but a higher *intensation* of light and electricity. 372.

Then, if so, whence in Heaven's name, comes this sympathy, the pleasure of this association, the *obligancy* of this utility? 372.

Damit ist aber auch erschöpft, was sich in dieser Beziehung an Beispielen über E. L. und T. C. I. anführen lässt.[1])

Wenn sich im „Essay on Goethe's Faust" und dem „Life of Schiller", den ersten selbständigen Werken, mit denen Carlyle vor die Oeffentlichkeit trat, kaum Auffälliges findet, so ist dies leicht verständlich daraus, dass der junge Autor hier noch eine gewisse Zurückhaltung beobachtete, und vermied, durch ungewöhnliche Wendungen Anstoss zu erregen. Das musste ihm auch um so leichter werden, als die Darstellung im allgemeinen ruhig dahinfliesst und sich nur selten zu grösserer Lebhaftigkeit erhebt.

Anders steht es nun aber mit den „Translations". Es war ganz natürlich, dass Carlyle, in dem Bestreben, seinen Landsleuten ein möglichst genaues Bild auch von der Sprache der Vorlagen zu geben, sich an diese in der Uebersetzung ziemlich eng anschloss. Auch später noch ist er bei solcher Gelegenheit in derselben Weise verfahren, wie er es anlässlich

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[1]) Es braucht wohl kaum ausdrücklich darauf hingewiesen zu werden, dass infolge der notwendigen Scheidung der Sonderformen nach bestimmten Wortklassen ihre grosse Zahl und hohe Mannigfaltigkeit in ihrer Gesamtheit nicht mit dem Nachdruck zur Geltung gebracht werden konnten, der wohl wünschenswert gewesen wäre, und dass man, um eine richtige Allgemeinvorstellung von allen hier behandelten verbalen Besonderheiten eines bestimmten Werkes zu erhalten, die für die verschiedenen Gruppen getrennt gegebenen Citate zusammen betrachten müsste.

eines besonders bezeichnenden Falles, als er Jean Pauls Kritik über Mme. de Staël's „Allemagne" übersetzt, in der Vorrede dazu selbst ausspricht:

„We have done our endeavour to preserve the quaint grotesque style so characteristic of Jean Paul; rendering with literal fidelity whatever stood before us, rugged and unmanageable as it often seemed." M. II. 363.

Ein solches Vorgehen, das alle Umschreibungen möglichst zu meiden suchte, musste zur Folge haben, dass der Uebersetzer von Werken so sprachgewaltiger Meister trotz des grossen Wortreichtums seiner eigenen Sprache sich doch nicht selten gezwungen sah, zu Neubildungen seine Zuflucht zu nehmen, von denen er mit der Zeit, wie man deutlich beobachten kann, auch immer häufiger Gebrauch macht. — Es ist ganz natürlich, dass die in den „Translations" sich findenden neuen Formen sich zum grössten Teil deutlich als Germanismen charakterisieren. Hierher gehören in erster Reihe die von ihm gebildeten Feminina derjenigen Personalsubstantiva, die im Englischen durch dasselbe Wort die männliche und die weibliche Person bezeichnen. Durch sein eingehendes Studium des Deutschen hat Carlyle sich so sehr in diese Sprache eingelebt, dass er ihre Eigentümlichkeit, alle Feminina von Personalsubstantiven durch ein besonderes Suffix kenntlich zu machen, unbedenklich in das Englische übernimmt.

Zu dieser Beeinflussung durch das Deutsche kommt aber noch ein anderes mit dem ersteren zusammenwirkendes Motiv hinzu: ein stark ausgeprägtes Streben nach Klarheit des Ausdrucks, das alles Unbestimmte und daher auch jene doppeldeutigen Wörter verbannt. So ist auch zu verstehen, dass in den späteren Werken noch einzeln solche Formen ebenso auftreten wie hier. Dass ihm für die Anwendung jener Bildungen die Deutlichkeit der Rede in der That ein Hauptanlass mit war, ersieht man aus einer Aeusserung Carlyles in seiner Kritik über W. Taylor's „Historic Survey of German Poetry". Taylor hat jenes Wort Gretchens im „Faust": „Nachbarin, Euer Fläschchen!" sehr verständnis- und geschmacklos übersetzt mit: „Neighbour, your drambottle!" Carlyle bemerkt dazu: „Will Mr. Taylor have us understand, then, that ‚the noble

German nation', more especially the fairer half thereof (for the ,Neighbour' is *Nachbarin, Neighbouress*), goes to church with a decanter of brandy in its pocket?" — M. III. 321.

Der Einfluss der deutschen Sprache auf die des Uebersetzers macht sich noch in vielen andern Punkten bemerkbar und geht nicht selten sogar soweit, dass Carlyle echt deutsche zusammengesetzte Ausdrücke in der Weise wiedergiebt, dass er das eine Kompositionsglied unverändert beibehält, beim andern aber die englische Form wählt, wie z. B. *Hofrathship* Tr. III. 289. *Exchequer-Rath* Tr. III. 290. *Build-räthin* Tr. III. 296 u. a. — Zwitterbildungen dieser Art kommen auch später noch häufig vor, besonders in Fr. Gr. (vgl. z. B. *Kaisership* I. 102 u. ö.; *Kaiserhood* VI. 113. *Kammerherrships* II. 176. *Dorfship* X. 183), sind aber zweckmässiger in einem andern Kapitel, betreffend die Anwendung deutscher Wörter etc., für sich zu behandeln. —

Bei Anführung der folgenden Beispiele sind in wichtigeren Fällen auch die entsprechenden Ausdrücke der deutschen Vorlage in eckigen Klammern hinzugefügt, da man hierdurch einen recht interessanten Einblick in Carlyles Verfahren erhält. —

The strange caperings of these Moors and Mooresses, these shepherds and shepherdesses, these dwarfs and *dwarfesses*. Tr. I. 10.

Every actor now figured to himself how, ere long, in helm and harness; every actress how, with a monstrous spreading ruff, she would present her *Germanship* [ihre Deutschheit] before the public. 102.

Young as he was, his eye was open to the budding *youthhood* [Jugend] of his native country 221. (Die kollektivische Bedeutung des Worts ist hier mit feinem Verständnis zum Ausdruck gebracht.)

When the nightingale to lovers Lovingly her *songlet* [Liedchen] sings I. 266. (Uebers. aus e. Gedicht.)

On this occurrence, unexampled in the annals of *Dwarfdom* [des Zwergenreiches], the Sages were assembled. II. 300.

The quaint, fitful and most dainty story of the Foolish *Pilgrimess* II. 308.

a time when Julia ... had taken it into her head to become a *milleress* II. 321.

he ... bought some stones of flax, and, by means of a *negotiatress,* whom he gained, had it offered to the mother for a cheap price. III. 12.

The talking *brokeress* [Mäklerin], of course, was far from giving him a true disclosure of her blabbing. III. 13.

Neighbour Grudge, the scandal-*chewer* [Lästerzüngler], was obliged to conclude that ... 51.

not in the selfish view of becoming *participatress* [Teilhaberin] in a large fortune; but for her mother's sake .. 52. und ebenso: to prepare his wife for a *participatress* in her marriage rights 146.

Weary of this fruitless waiting, both of them retired from the Court of their Princess, and settled, with secret discontent, upon the *affeoffments* [Kriegspfründen] which Duke Krokus had conferred on them. 79.

he was apprehensive, that if it delighted the Sultan as little as it did himself ... his *favourateship* [Günstlingschaft], at the very least, might take wings and fly away. 121.

... Chian wine; which Grecian care-*dispeller* [Sorgenbrecher] did not fail in its effect. 130.

he lost his jovial humour altogether, and wore the aspect of an *atrabiliar* [Lebenssatten] 149. (Rückbildung zum Adjektiv atrabiliary.)

to become an increaser of the vermin kingdom, the moment he may cease to be a *lessener* [Minderer] of it. 268.

the physiognomical *mensurator's* [Messkünstler's] own facial structure 275.

there is a whole crowning Academy to stand and blush for the *crownee* [Koronanden] 289.

many a *Neusattelitess* [Neusattlerin] 289.

Thienette ... watches like a *wardeness* [Schlosshauptmännin], quite alone, the thirteen void disfurnished chambers. 311.

The *provokee* [Provokat], therefore, determined that the plebeian provoker and honour-stealer should never more speak to him 313.

and hat and stick were his *proppage* [Druckwerk] and balance-wheel, in short, his bowing-gear, without which it was out of his power to produce any courtly bow. 318.

thus did the two ... turn always with a smile, as they approached the head of the ancient *gardeneress,* standing like a window-bust through the little lattice. 318/9. Ebenso noch 386. 396.

This is a precious moral *Rolfinkenism* 336. [„Rollfinken", d. h. ein Verfahren, wie Rollf. es anwendete.]

this notion he named stuff and *oldwifery* [Narrethei], red-letter-titles of joy, which it would bring out on the cheeks of his drinkers and *drinkeresses* 347.

she was his Oeconoma, his Castle-Stewardess and *Legatess* [Legatin] a Latere for his domestics. 361.

and the evenig-star ... deprives no single *starlet* [Sternchen] of its light. 383.

we maintain popular conversation, that so the *parsoness* and the *gardeneress* may be able to take share in it. 396.

In den „Translations" hatte Carlyle seiner Neigung, neue Wörter zu bilden, nach Belieben einen ziemlich weiten Spielraum lassen können, da hier in jedem Falle der Charakter der Schriften als Uebersetzung zum Vorwand oder zur Entschuldigung dienen konnte. In der Folgezeit musste in der gleichen Hinsicht der Umstand sehr fördernd wirken, dass zunächst nur kleinere Essays, und zwar in periodischen Zeitschriften, erschienen. Hauptsächlich Carlyles Verbindung mit dem leichten Monatsblatt „Fraser's Magazine" war günstig für eine freie Entwicklung aller seiner Eigenheiten. Gleichwohl musste das, worüber man in einer schwierigen und umfangreichen Uebersetzung leichter hinweggesehen hatte, in einem Originalwerk trotz der Art seiner Veröffentlichung peinlich auffallen, und das ganz besonders in jener Zeit. Denn damals fanden neue Wörter, gleichviel ob von englischen oder fremdsprachlichen Stämmen gebildet, und die man heutzutage als unentbehrlich ansieht, nur äusserst schwer Annahme. Emerson wagt, selbst in einem Privatbrief, „potentially" nur unter Beifügung der entschuldigenden Worte „as Mr. Coleridge would say", zu gebrauchen; John Edward Tailor lässt noch 1830

„nescience“ als ungewöhnlich gesperrt drucken, und James Grant trägt Bedenken, das Wort „uncouth“ anzuwenden.[1])

Man erinnere sich ferner daran, dass Sterling in dem oben citierten Passus von dem „disadvantage of novelty“ spricht. Hiernach kann man etwa ermessen, in wie hohem Grade die viel gewagteren Prägungen der „Essays“ wie der späteren Schriften Anstoss erregen mussten. Ihre Zahl ist in den ersten Bänden der „Miscellaneous Writings“ allerdings noch nicht gerade gross im Verhältnis zu der in den folgenden Werken, indessen ist zu berücksichtigen, dass zu den hier zunächst nur angeführten Substantiven sich noch Adjektiva, Verba und andere Bildungen in kaum geringerer Menge hinzugesellen, die in ihrer Gesamtheit doch nachdrücklich auffallen mussten.

Was die Formen selbst betrifft, so zeigen sie, obwohl die meisten Essays dieser Zeit noch die deutsche Litteratur behandeln, im ganzen ein durchaus originelles Gepräge, wie denn auch der Autor in seinen Abhandlungen jetzt selbständige Ideen entwickelt. —

we scarcely ever find the affair alluded to, except in terms of contempt, by the title Aufklärerei (*Illuminationism*) M. I. 80.

he was now courting for himself a third wife, „a young *Poless* of the highest personal attractions.“ 139. 142.

Faust ... representing not so much his own *Faustship* as the Tradition of Faust's Adventures. 210.

a seeming blessing, such as years and *dispiritment* will of themselves bring to most men 263.

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[1]) Vgl. Life of Thomas Carlyle, by Richard Garnett. LL. D. in „Great Writers“. London 1887. pag. 72. — Die Tendenz, wenigstens vorerst den früheren Reichtum des englischen Wortschatzes wieder herzustellen, war nach einer Zeit des Rückschritts von etwa hundert Jahren, während der die Versuche, die Sprache nach strengen Regeln zu modeln, nur ihre Verarmung herbeigeführt hatten, um die siebziger Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts erwacht; besonders fruchtbar hatten in diesem Sinne gewirkt Burke und sein Kreis. Ihnen schlossen sich dann fernere, weitergehende Versuche an, die aber, wie gesagt, mannigfachem Widerstande begegneten. — Nähere Angaben hierüber siehe in: „Storm, Englische Philologie“, Leipzig 1896, I. 2. pag. 751 ff., wo „Fitzedward Hall, Modern English, New York 1873“ besprochen wird. Vgl. besonders pag. 751/2 und 758/9.

Most of us have heard of the late Queen of Prussia, and know whether or not she was genteel enough, and of real *ladyhood* 268.

For is not the very essence of such a man that he be new? And who will warrant us that, at the same time, he shall only be an *intensation* and continuation of the old 291/2.

Thought, except by mere juxtaposition, or at best united with it by some decayed stump and dead boughs, which the more cunning *Decorationist* (as in our Historic Novel) may have selected for the basis and support of his agglutinations. 296.

They are German Novelists, not English ones; and their *Germanhood* I have all along regarded as a quality, not as a fault. 314.

like so many frontispieces in La Belle Assemblée, with ... no shade of character or meaning to mar their pure *idealness.* 315.

That painful class [Aristocracy], stationed ... there to stand siege and do battle against the intrusions of *Grocerdom* and *Grazierdom* M. II. 55.

A licentiate in divinity, one Sonntag, took pity on his *houselessness,* and shared a garret with him. 91.

wich curse, being strengthened by a sin of very old standing, in the family of the *cursee,* takes singular effect. 153.

It may be expected that men's opinions concerning Voltaire, which is of some moment, and concerning *Voltairism,* which is of almost boundless moment, will ... approach towards meeting 175.

laughter seems to depend not less on the laugher than on the *laughee* 183/4.

There is, truly, no *Werterism* in him [Voltaire] 199.

Pope also had his Mrs. Martha Blount; and in the midst of that warfare with united *Duncedom* his daily tale of Egyptian bricks to bake. 206. 268.

Voltaire ... was, therefore, intrinsically no Philosopher, but a highly accomplished *Trivialist* 231.

a great and original principle, very different both from that of our idle theorisers and *generalisers,* and that of the still more melancholy class who merely „collect facts". 267

The true Scholastic is a mystical *Subtlist.* 289 (übs. a. Novalis).

[they] hold their views as the results of weakness, as *Inconsequentism.* 290 (übs. a. Novalis).

To review a *Revieweress* of two literary Nations is not easy. 363. 393 (übs. a. Jean Paul, wie die folgenden 5 Beispiele).

Indeed, those same religious, old-fashioned, sentimental dispositions must . . . be from time to time warmed-up anew by some writer, or still better, by some *writeress,* of genius. 368.

this gifted *Inspectress* of Germany has done us little furtherance with the French. 377.

Thus, for example, our Authoress, profitably for us, holds up and reflects our German longueurs (*interminabilities*). 378.

Readeresses, why will every one of you insist on thinking herself a reader? 387.

the *Parisianess,* who again half understands the Parisian. 391.

Auch *pilgrimess* findet sich wieder 397 u. 399 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

you express your contradiction of our importunate *Visitress.* 400 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Wendet man sich nun dem seinerzeit so viel geschmähten „Sartor Resartus" zu, den man seiner ursprünglichen Anlage und Bestimmung nach auch halbwegs mit unter die „Essays" rechnen kann, so ist zunächst allerdings eine erhebliche Zunahme in der Zahl der Neubildungen nicht zu verkennen. Ein Blick auf die folgenden Belege wird den Beobachter auch schon von dem hier eingenommenen Standpunkte aus die schlechte Aufnahme des Buches in der damaligen litterarischen Welt recht gut verstehen lassen, zumal wenn man erwägt, dass die Leser, durch den eigenartigen humoristisch-bizarren Gesamtcharakter der Darstellung verleitet, in jedem ungewöhnlichen und neuen Worte nur eine übermütige und launenhafte Spielerei erblickten, eine Auffassung, zu der sie sich um so mehr berechtigt glauben konnten, als in der That bei einigen

seltsamen Formen die Absichtlichkeit ihrer Prägung auf der Hand lag. — Mag aber „Sartor Resartus" auch manches Auffällige bieten, man muss doch, vergleicht man ihn mit den späteren Werken Carlyles, sagen, dass er sowohl in Bezug auf die Häufigkeit wie auf die Gewagtheit der Bildungen noch beträchtlich hinter ihnen zurückbleibt und sich insofern als eine der Erstlingsschriften des Autors zu erkennen giebt.

Einige der Ausdrücke sind unverkennbar, absichtlich oder unabsichtlich, unter Anlehnung an entsprechende deutsche Wörter geformt und tragen an ihrem Teile dazu bei, das Werk als eine teilweise Uebersetzung eines deutschen Originals erscheinen zu lassen. —

Man's whole life and *environment* have been laid open and elucidated. S. R. 4.

Ebenso: In such *environment,* social, domestic, physical, did Teufelsdröckh, at the time of our acquaintance, and most likely does he still, live and meditate. 25. desgl. 64. 82. 112. 119. 139. 147. 244.

Old Lieschen (*Lisekin,* 'Liza) ... had no sovereign authority in this last citadel of Teufelsdröckh. 22/3.

there is that within which unspeakably distinguishes him from all other past and present *Sansculottists.* The grand unparalleled peculiarity of Teufelsdröckh is, that with all his *Descendentalism,* he combines a Transcendentalism, no less superlative; whereby if on the one hand he degrade man below most animals ... he, on the other, exalts him beyond the visible Heavens. 63.

whose dingy Priest ... preaches forth (exoterically enough) one little *textlet* from the Gospel of Freedom, the Gospel of Man's Force. 69.

the *Mankin* feels that he is a born Man, that his vocation is to work. 92.

Ebenso: he too had Rights of Man, or at least of *Mankin.* 104.

Daneben wird auch, im Zusammenhang besser passend, das mehr archaische *manikin* gebraucht: Nay, I think with old Hugo von Trimberg: „God must needs laugh out-

right, could such a thing be, to see his wondrous *manikins* here below." 174.

Be this as it may, his progress from the passive *Auscultatorship,* towards any active *Assessorship,* is evidently of the slowest. 122. 123 u. ö.

as young ladies (Mädchen) are, to mankind, precisely the most delightful in those years; so young gentlemen (Bübchen) do then attain their maximum of *detestability.* S. R. 125.

It appears, in this otherwise so happy meeting, there talked one „Philistine"; who even now, to the general weariness, was dominantly pouring-forth *Philistinism* (Philistriositäten). 138.

neither Disenchanter nor *Disenchantress,* mere „Children of Time", can abide by Feeling alone. S. R. 141.

not being born purely a *Loghead* (Dummkopf), thou hadst no other outlook. 158.

„He himself", says the Professor, „was among the completest Ideologists at least *Ideopraxists*: in the Idea (in der Idee) he lived, moved and fought." 172.

„Has not thy Life been that of most sufficient men (tüchtigen Männer) thou hast known in this generation? An *outflush* of foolish young Enthusiasm, like the first fallow-crop, wherein are as many weeds as valuable herbs. 178.

If it where not that the tone, in some parts, has more of *riancy,* even of levity, than we could have expected! 180.

For you have the whole Borough, with all its love-makings and *scandal-mongeries,* contentions and contentments, as in miniature. 181.

Be no longer a Chaos, but a World, or even *Worldkin.* 189.

Does Teufelsdröckh mean, then, to give himself out as the originator of that so notable Eigentumskonservierende („*Owndom*-conserving") Gesellschaft? 192.

The task of a daily pair of shoes, coupled even with some prospect of victuals, and an honourable Mastership in *Cordwainery* . . . was nowise satisfaction enough to such a mind. 203.

Man is by birth somewhat of an owl. Perhaps, too, of all the *owleries* that ever possessed him, the most owlish, if we consider it, is that ... 213.

Helotage. 219. (Ueberschrift von Buch III, Cap. 4.)

Our European *Mechanisers* are a sect of boundless diffusion, activity, and cooperative spirit. 226. 227.

Wert thou, my little *Brotherkin,* suddenly covered-up within the largest imaginable Glas-bell, — what a thing it were ... 237.

the sacredness of Majesty, and all inferior Worships (*Worthships*) are properly a Vesture and Raiment. 260.

if any one chooses to name it revived *Ahrimanism,* or a new figure of Demon-Worship, I have ... no objection. 266.

Dandyism as yet affects to look-down on *Drudgism.* 275. 276 u. ö.

Die zeitlich nun folgenden Essays in M. III stehen hinsichtlich der Anzahl der auftretenden neuen Wörter etwa auf der gleichen Stufe wie M. II, bleiben also hinter S. R. zurück, was nicht verwunderlich, da sie in viel ruhigerer Stimmung als dieser geschrieben sind. Hier erscheinen in grösserer Menge besonders die charakteristischen Bildungen auf -ism, von denen schon M. II und S. R. mehrere aufwiesen, und für die Carlyle mit der Zeit eine wachsende Vorliebe zeigt, da sie für ihn ein äusserst bequemes und mit grosser Geschicklichkeit gehandhabtes Mittel sind, um einen breiteren Begriffskomplex kurz auszudrücken. Man möge einmal auf die so überaus verschiedene Bedeutung, die er derartigen Bezeichnungen besonders in den späteren Werken verleiht, genauer achten; man wird gerade hieran sehr schön sehen können, mit welcher Freiheit er bei ihrer Anwendung verfährt, nicht minder aber auch, mit wie grosser Kunst er aus einem solchen Mittel zur Vereinfachung der Rede Nutzen zu ziehen weiss. Ueberhaupt wird man bei näherer Betrachtung der einzelnen Formen die Wahrnehmung machen, dass ein sehr beträchtlicher Teil von ihnen seinen Ursprung einem deutlich hervortretenden Streben nach Kürze des Ausdrucks verdankt. Je weiter man in den Werken fortschreitet, desto auffälliger wird eine ganz ausge-

sprochene Abneigung Carlyles vor Umschreibungen werden, desto klarer wird man sein Bemühen erkennen, einen zusammengesetzten aber einheitlichen Gedanken auch möglichst durch ein Wort wiederzugeben. Und diese Tendenz, die sich bei anderen Eigenheiten seines Stiles als Motiv wiederfindet, ist auch vollkommen erklärlich. Denn da er sich, wie oben ausgeführt ist, bei der Arbeit fast ausschliesslich auf die Entwicklung der in ununterbrochener Reihe in seinem Innern auftauchenden Ideen konzentrierte, musste sich bei ihm ganz von selbst das Verlangen einstellen, sie, soweit seine ganze Art es gestattete, bei der schriftlichen Fixierung in möglichst einfacher und prägnanter Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen, wobei ihm seine persönliche Vorliebe für neue und ungewöhnliche Wörter nur zu Statten kommen konnte. —

A part from its duelling punctilios ... *Burschenism* is not without its meaning more than *Oxfordism* or *Cambridgeism* (= Leben und Treiben der „Burschen" auf den deutschen Universitäten, bezw. der englischen Studenten in Oxford und Cambridge). M. III. 31.

But no *disheartenment* availed with him. 39.

One consequence has already been a degree of *Dapperism* and Dilettantism. 42.

that the daughters may sit as *confessoresses* therein. 66. (übs. a. Dtsch.).

It is not always our duty to marry, but it is always our duty to abide by right ... not to avoid *unweddedness* by untruthfulness. 67 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Auch *environment* findet sich wieder:

The Pyramid can be measured in geometric feet, and the draughtsman represents it, with all its *environment*, on canvas, accurately to the eye. 88. Ebenso noch M. IV, 16. 117. u. ö.

With ourselves too, who are troubled with no controversies on Romanticism and Classicism, — the Bowles controversy on Pope having long since evaporated without result, and all critical guildbrethren now working dilig-

ently, with one accord, in the calmer sphere of *Vapidism* or even *Nullism,* — Schiller is no less universally esteemed. 95.

Like the full moon Her eyes (*eyelings,* pretty eyes) gave sheen. 155.

Her hair was beautifully girt With noble silk (band) fine; She let it flow down, The lovely *maidling.* 156 (beide übs. a. d. Mhd.).

„This *Bookling* [Büchlein] may well be called the Gem.“ 239.

For all which, Anton and his kindred had *countships* and *princeships* in abundance. M. III, 259.

Reinecke was not only the cheater in this case, but also the *cheatee.* 279.

Last, not least, among our evidences of *Philo-Germanism,* here is a whole Historic Survey of German Poetry. 287.

Werterism, Byronism, even *Brummelism,* each has its day. 361.

Kantism, ... *Fichteism,* ... *Schellingism,* ... *Hegelism,* ... *Cousinism,* ... *Pyrrhonism,* ... sämtlich auf pag. 373.

Vom Jahre 1832 ab lässt sich ein schnelles Anwachsen der Zahl der Neubildungen beobachten; man sieht, wie leicht Carlyle sich daran gewöhnt hat, seine Ideen unbedenklich in die ihm geeignetst scheinende und am meisten zusagende Form einzukleiden. Hauptsächlich die beiden Essays über Diderot und Cagliostro weisen Prägungen von komisch-bizarrem Charakter auf, mit denen der Verfasser es meisterhaft verstanden hat, seinem Stil eine Färbung zu verleihen, die durchaus dem Inhalt der Schriften angepasst ist. Dass er hier nicht ganz unbewusst, sondern zum Teil mit gewisser Absicht so verfahren ist, ersieht man aus einer Stelle in der Einleitung zu „Count Cagliostro“: „Meanwhile, the style at least shall if possible be equal to the subject.“ M. IV. 323.

criticisms, vituperative and laudatory, stream from their thousand throats of brass and of leather; here chanting Jo-paeans, there grating harsh thunder or vehement shrewmouse *squeaklets.* M. IV, 26.

The iron may be a Scottish *squirelet,* full of gulosity and „*gigmanity*“; the magnet an English plebeian. 35.

Wie Carlyle zu dieser Bildung veranlasst ist, und was er darunter verstanden wissen will, giebt er selbst in folgender Anmerkung, die er bei dieser Stelle hinzugefügt hat, zu erkennen:

„Q. What do you mean by „respectable“? —

A. He always kept a gig.“ (Thurtell's Trial.) —

„Thus“, it has been said, „does society naturally divide itself into four classes: Noblemen, Gentlemen, *Gigmen* and Men.“ (Die gleiche Anmerkung findet sich noch zu M. V. 4.)

His devout discipleship seemed nothing more than a mean *Spanielship* 37.

Doubtless the man was laughed at, and often heard himself laughed at for his *Johnsonism* 38.

How the babbling Bozzy ... unconsciously works together for us a whole *Johnsoniad* 39.

Or, the servile *imitancy* ... of Mankind might be illustrated under a different figure ... of a Flock of Sheep. 52.

The purfly, sand-blind, lubber and *blubber,* with his open mouth ... 59 (= one who blubs. Oxford Dict.).

Neither, it is very true, was the new way of Bookseller *Maecenasship* worthless. 68.

with greedy stupidity, not to say entire *woodenheadedness* and disgust 70.

The Courage that can go forth, once and away, to Chalk-Farm, and have itself shot ... is nowise wholly what we mean here ... Is the Chalk-Farm *Pistoleer* inspired with any reasonable Belief and Determination ... 92.

Considered as Duellist, what a poor figure does the fiercest Irish *Whiskerando* make in comparison with any English Game-Cock. 93.

Work out thy *Artisanship* in the spirit of an Artist! 96.

under which predicament come also our reverence for his *counthood* ... 117 (= seine Stellung als „count“).

instead of a man, we have but a gigman, — one who „always kept a gig,“ two-wheeled or fourwheeled. Consider, too, what this same *gigmanhood* issues in; 132.

Here is an earnest truth-speaking man; no theoriser, *sentimentaliser,* but a practical man. 187.

a man, Workman or *Idleman,* ... should nevertheless shake off Insincerity 188.

many a sickly and sulky Byron or *Byronlet* 202.

one of those ancient craftsmen (now, alas! nearly departed from the earth, and sought, with little effect, by *idylists*) 239.

Saumaises ... anon cast forth (being scouted and confuted), and dying of heartbreak, coupled with *henpeck* 257. (Zum Partic. henpecked.)

It seems probable that Denis ... walked chiefly in the subterranean shades of *Rascaldom.* 248. Ebenso 280 u. 342.

But is the reader aware what the fault of him ... was? A series of *ravelments* and squabbling grudges 263.

Desgleichen: There is no resource for it, but to get into that interminable *ravelment* of Reward and Approval. 297.

there shall ... be not only Philosophers but *Philosophesses* 267/8. 275.

the whole North swarms with kinglets and *queenlets* of the like temper. 270.

their special ambassador in *Philosphedom* 270.

Yet there is a certain sardonic *subacidity* in Père Hoop. 276.

and himself, in a moment of *sibylism,* emitted that surprising enouncement ... 282.

The fool! who had such a relish in himself for all things, for kingship and *emperorship* 295/6.

with vehemence enough, with even a female *uncontrollableness* 306.

reducing that same *Memoirism* of the Eighteenth Century into History. 307.

him [Cagliostro] the visibly rising Professor of *Swindlery* 332.

had there been no sumptuary or adultery or *swindlery* Law-Acts 348.

In such periods of Social Decay ... increases the number of Unprofessionals, *Lackalls,* Social Nondescripts. 337. (= one who „lacks all".)

the easy cushions on which Knaves and *Knavesses* repose and fatten. 344.

for she also was made a Mason or *Masoness* 352. (= Freimaurerin)

the apt *Recipiendary* is rapidly promoted through the three grades of Apprentice, Companion, Master. 352. 355. 357. 358. (Dem frz. „récipiendaire" nachgebildet, aus der frz. Quelle übernommen.)

There ... can the great Sheepstealer see his whole flock of *Dupeables* assembled in the penfold. 359. 363.

Auch in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung eines Adjektivs gebraucht:

Some boiling muddleheads of a *dupeable* sort. 386.

If the ancient Father was named Chrysostom, or Mouth-of-Gold, be the modern Quack named *Pinchbeckostom,* or Mouth-of-Pinchbeck. 364. 371. u. ö.

The wayworn *Grand-Cophtess* has begun to blab family secrets. 387.

to me also a Capability has been intrusted; shall I strive to work it out, manlike, into Faithfulness, and Doing; or quacklike, into *Eatableness,* and Similitude of Doing? 389.

Man wird aus dem Resultat deutlich genug erkennen, ein wie günstiger Boden für die Entwicklung Carlyles nach der formalen Seite hin die kleineren Essays gewesen sind, und wie überaus leicht und schnell er zu einer wahrhaft erstaunlichen Gewandtheit und Kühnheit in der Erfindung und Anwendung neuer Wörter fortgeschritten ist. Und doch vermochte Carlyle hierin unter gegebenen Verhältnissen noch bedeutend weiterzugehen. Das zeigt die „French Revolution", wo die innere Kraft und das innere Feuer, mit denen sie geschrieben ist, des Autors Sprachgewalt sich in ihrer ganzen reichen Vielseitigkeit, aber auch mit allen ihren Sonderbarkeiten, entfalten lässt. Hier wird so recht offenbar, wie weit die in den Essays erworbene Freiheit im Ausdruck seiner

Gedanken Carlyle führen konnte. So oft er das Bedürfnis empfindet, neue Begriffe oder Begriffsschattierungen wiederzugeben, wozu ihm Umschreibungen zu weitläufig oder nicht prägnant genug sind, formt er nach Belieben alte Wörter um, oder erfindet völlig neue mit bewundernswerter Sicherheit und Originalität. Oft genügt ihm auch dieses nicht, dann erweitert er das Gebiet der einzelnen Wortklassen, gebraucht Adjektiva, Adverbia, Verba als Substantiva, und umgekehrt. — In dieser beschränkten Darstellung kann von der Häufigkeit der Neubildungen, und von dem Geschick, mit dem sie verwendet werden, nur ein unvollkommener Begriff gegeben werden. Es muss genügen zu betonen, dass, sobald eine wichtigere neue Form geprägt ist, sie im Verlaufe dieses Werkes, wie auch in allen späteren, ähnlich wie „environment" im S. R., wieder und wieder auftaucht und so zu erkennen giebt, dass sie ganz in des Autors Wortschatz übergegangen ist. —

Unter den Ausdrücken selbst wird dem Betrachtenden aufs neue die grosse Zahl der mittelst der Suffixe -ism und -ist gebildeten auffallen, deren häufiges Auftreten überall in der gesamten Darstellung insofern recht interessant und bezeichnend ist, als sich der philosophische Charakter derselben schon äusserlich in dieser an sich nur unbedeutenden Erscheinung kund giebt. — An vielen der Beispiele wird man, wie schon früher mehrfach, eine mit der Zeit noch öfter wahrnehmbare Eigentümlichkeit Carlyles beobachten können. Er lässt sich nämlich überaus leicht zur Bildung neuer Wörter durch andere, die ganz gebräuchlich sind, veranlassen, mögen diese im Zusammenhange vorangehen oder folgen.[1]) Und zwar ist es da meist eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit oder Zusammengehörigkeit in der Bedeutung, die ihn beeinflusst hat, nicht selten aber auch schon die blosse äussere Form. Neben Prägungen dieser Art weist die Fr. R. andere womöglich noch phantastischere Bildungen auf, die nicht unter Analogie zu bestimmten in ihrer Nähe befindlichen Ausdrücken, sondern lediglich aus der momentanen Stimmung Carlyles heraus entstanden sind. Er verfährt bei der Anwendung derartiger in ihrer Bizarrerie nicht

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[1]) In der Arbeit ist unter dasjenige Wort, welches die Bildung des andern hervorgerufen zu haben scheint, ein Pfeil (⟶) gesetzt.

selten an das Burlesque streifenden Bezeichnungen mit einer ganz beispiellosen Freiheit und Sorglosigkeit, die man in dem humoristischen Teil einer Zeitung allenfalls zu finden gewohnt sein mag, die aber in einem wissenschaftlichen Werke von so ernstem Grundcharakter wie die Fr. R. höchst frappieren müssen. Für die Erklärung dieser Erscheinung sind die beiden oben bereits ausgeführten Erwägungen massgebend. Zunächst war es der Eindruck, den die Seltsamkeit der dargestellten unerhörten Ereignisse unmittelbar auf den Autor machte, der ihn bei ihrer Schilderung ganz von selbst auch einen ungewöhnlichen, aber ihnen völlig entsprechenden Stil gebrauchen liess. Zu diesem Moment trat nun noch ein anderes hinzu, das den sonderbaren Formen eine ganz bestimmte Färbung verlieh: sein Humor. Dieser Zug nimmt im Wesen Carlyles einen sehr breiten Raum ein, er tritt überall in der Art der gesamten Darstellung zu Tage, und ist auch bei den meisten jener excentrischen Bildungen als bestimmendes Motiv unschwer zu erkennen. Indessen wäre Carlyle in dieser Richtung doch wohl kaum so weit gegangen, wie er gegangen ist, hätte er auf die ästhetische Wirkung seines Stiles auch nur einigermassen Gewicht gelegt. Aber dies ist ein Punkt, auf den er, bei solchen Gelegenheiten wenigstens, durchaus keine Rücksicht nahm, vielleicht auch garnicht nehmen konnte; es war stets einzig und allein die inhaltliche Wirkung, nach der er mit allen ihm zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln strebte, und dass er diese in der That in vollstem Masse dabei erreicht habe, wird niemand leugnen wollen. — Weit zahlreicher jedoch als derartige „nonce-words“, und auch weit wichtiger, weil sie eben eine wirkliche und brauchbare Bereicherung des englischen Wortschatzes darstellen, sind andere Neubildungen der verschiedensten Art, die nicht einen so excentrischen Charakter tragen, und auch nicht den vorhin erwähnten Gründen, sondern lediglich einem augenblicklichen Bedürfnis nach befriedigendem Ausdruck ihre Entstehung verdanken. Bei der Art, wie Carlyle schrieb, war es ihm absolut unmöglich, die in ganz bestimmter Folge und Form aus seinem tiefsten Innern unaufhörlich hervorquellenden Gedanken den beschränkten Bedingungen der gewöhnlichen Rede entsprechend umzugestalten, daher musste die Sprache den an sie gerichteten Anforderungen zu genügen

suchen. Und darin zeigt sich eben Carlyles Meisterschaft auf diesem Gebiete, dass er mit unübertrefflicher Sicherheit und Klarheit neue Wörter so zu erfinden weiss, dass sie genau das, und nur das ausdrücken, was er sagen will. Deshalb ist auch bei allen diesen Formen nichts Gezwungenes oder gar Affektiertes zu bemerken, ein Eindruck, dessen man sich bei den Beispielen der vorigen Gruppe nicht immer ganz erwehren kann, sondern sie ergeben sich ganz natürlich, man möchte fast sagen selbstverständlich, aus dem Zusammenhang.

Es ist nun noch auf eine in manchen Ausdrücken sich kundgebende Eigentümlichkeit hinzuweisen, die in dem Inhalt des Werkes ihren Ursprung hat. Wie schon früher kurz erwähnt ist, fanden sich in den Schriften, die deutsches Leben zum Gegenstande hatten, zahlreiche Wörter, die mehr oder minder genaue Nachbildungen von deutschen waren. In gleicher Weise fallen hier neue Formen lateinisch-romanischen Charakters auf. Der behandelte Stoff, sowie die stetige Beschäftigung mit den französischen Quellen brachten es mit sich, dass dem Autor bei seiner hohen Eindrucksfähigkeit immer wieder französische Bezeichnungen in die Feder kamen. Diese gebraucht er nun entweder direkt als solche — und so verfährt er meist — oder er übernimmt sie mit leichter Anglisierung in seine Sprache.[1]) Nur in seltenen Fällen erfindet er dafür ein englisches Wort. Indessen auch die Beispiele der zweiten Klasse sind nicht allzuhäufig, — sie kommen bei den Adjektiven vielleicht noch mehr zur Geltung als hier —; und weil sie ferner bei dem grossen Bestandteil romanischer Wörter im Englischen ziemlich unauffällig zu den bereits vorhandenen hinzutreten, sind sie unter diese Fälle gleich mit eingereiht.

Wie weit Carlyle sich durch das Französische auch in Hinsicht auf seinen Wortschatz beeinflussen liess, geht sehr anschaulich aus dem Folgenden hervor: Obwohl er nämlich das gute englische Wort „parliament“ hat, wendet er in der Fr. R. mit Beziehung auf das französische Abgeordnetenhaus

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[1]) Dabei kam ihm sehr zu statten die „hohe Aufnahmefähigkeit der englischen Sprache Fremdwörtern gegenüber, die sie befähigte, auch den reichentwickelten romanischen Sprachen allmählich in der Ausbreitung den Rang abzulaufen“. (Prof. Schröer).

stets die französische Form „parlement" an. Er ist hier wohl lediglich unter Einwirkung des so oft gelesenen französischen Ausdrucks verfahren, wobei die Aussprache des englischen noch mit gewirkt haben mag, und es ist ihm vielleicht gar nicht ganz zum Bewusstsein gekommen, dass er hier eine fremde Form gebraucht, wenigstens lässt hierauf der Umstand schliessen, dass er „parlement" stets völlig wie ein englisches Wort behandelt, d. h. auch im Anfang nie, wie andere französische Bezeichnungen solcher Art, gesperrt druckt, sowie besonders, dass er die gleiche Orthographie auch in den englischen Weiterbildungen „Parlementeer" und „Parlementary" beibehält. Man vergleiche:

Duke d'Aiguillon too, Maupeou and the *Parlement* Maupeou. Fr. R. I. 2.

And with him there rose Maupeou, the banisher of *Parlements.* I. 3. Ebenso 16. 36. und so fast immer.

„States"? said a lively *Parlementeer.* I. 102. II. 50 u. ö.

Malouet; whose Presidential *Parlementary* experience ... I. 177.

Indessen so ganz absichtslos und unbewusst scheint Carlyle hier doch nicht vorgegangen zu sein; wenigstens weiss er fein zu unterscheiden, indem er zur Bezeichnung des englischen Parlaments, und wenn das Wort in allgemeiner Bedeutung steht, „parliament" schreibt:

Why, in that free country [England], does one Minister driven out by *Parliament* ... I. 96.

Nay, might there not be a Female *Parliament* too? II. 34.

To a Children's *Parliament* would I gladly consent. II. 34.

In dieser Zeit schreibt er sonst noch ausnahmslos „parlement", die Orthographie „parliament" ist also hier recht bezeichnend. Später, etwa von II. 241 ab gebraucht er allerdings beide Schreibweisen unterschiedslos neben einander, und in Fr. R. III. überwiegt zuletzt die Schreibung „parliament". —

And so have these individuals ... built them a Domdaniel, or enchanted *Dubarrydom* Fr. R. I. 4.

Dubarrydom and its D'Aigillons are gone forever. 36 u. ö.

Mit feiner Unterscheidung hiervon ist gebildet:

With *Pompadourism* and *Dubarryism,* his [Louis XV.] Fleur-de-lis has been shamefully struck down. 16.

Was Louis, then, no wickeder than this or the other Donothing and *Eatall*? 26. (= one who „eats all"; vgl. Lackall).

through lowest subterranean depths ... of *Harlotdom* and Rascaldom 27.

and eleutheromaniac *Philosophedom* grows ever more clamorous. 55. 69.

Little elf or imp ... with its withered air of premature vice, of knowingness, ot completed *elfhood* 60.

This is the epitome of our Controller's difficulties: and then his means? Mere *Turgotism.* 89.

nothing but insubordination, *eleutheromania,* confused unlimited opposition in their heads. 101. 150. u. ö.

it begins questioning Lettres-de-Cachet generally, their legality, *endurability* 115.

Captain D'Agoust may now therefore look forward to Majorship, *to Commandantship* of the Tuileries. 128. III. 377.

from the heights of Political Economy, of *Neckerism* and Philosophism 135.

The grasping old man has already got his *Archbishopship* of Toulouse exchanged for the richer one of Sens: and now ... he shall have the Coadjutorship for his nephew ... a *Dameship of the Palace* for his niece 135.

How an ideal, all-seeing Versailles Government, sitting there on such principles, in such an *environment,* would have determined at this new juncture, may even yet be the question. 148. u. ö.

by Bailliages, by *Seneschalsies,* in whatsoever form men convene. 152.

Wich organic groups, again, hold smaller organic *grouplets* 152.

Not otherwise sounded the clang of Phoebus Apollo's silver bow ... and it too walked in formless *immeasurability,* having made itself like to the Night (*νυκτὶ ἐοικώς*)! 158.

These are the thrice-famed Brigands: an actual existing *quotity* of persons 158.

Poor *Lackalls,* all betoiled, besoiled, encrusted into dim defacement. 163. Auch 158 u. ö.

before Democracy go through its due, most baleful, stages of *Quackocracy* 167.

make known, not without *longwindedness,* the determination of the royal breast. 204.

List to the *brool* of that royal forest-voice 205. (Onomatopöetische Bildung zur Bezeichnung des „Brüllens“ eines Löwen, mit dem Mirabeau hier verglichen wird. Vgl. auch *broolings* unter „Verba“, Fr. R. II. 205/6.)

Paleness sits on every face; confused tremor and *fremescence*; 217.

„you who were our saviours did yourselves need saviours“, — the brave *Bastillers* namely. 259.

Hierarchies and Dynasties of all kinds, Theocracies, Aristocracies, Autocracies, *Strumpetocracies*, have ruled over the world. 264. II. 285.

Patrollotism 297. (Ueberschrift von Buch VII. cap. I.; dem frz. „Patrouillotisme“ nachgebildet, vgl. pag. 302: Le Patrouillisme chassant le Patriotisme, Patriotism driven out by *Patrollotism.*) II. 37 u. ö.

Could featherheaded young ensigns do other than ... by vociferation, *tripudiation*, sound, fury and distraction, within doors and without, — testify what tempest-tost state of vacuity they are in? 307. 374.

Demoiselle Théroigne ... sits there as *gunneress* 317.

He persuades his Menads, clamorous for arms and the Arsenal ... he hastily nominates *generalesses,* captains of tens and fifties. 319.

And *Menadism,* meanwhile, and Sansculottism takes counsel with the National Assembly 337. 339. 342 u. ö.

we are bringing you the Baker, the *Bakeress,* and Baker's boy (le Boulanger, la Boulangère et le petit Mitron) 358.

Welcome is his [Mirabeau's] word, there where he speaks and works; and growing ever welcomer; for it alone goes to the heart of the business: logical *cobwebbery* shrinks itself together and thou seest a thing, how it is, how it may be worked with. II. 13.

They come; with hot *unutterabilities* in their heart; as Pilgrims towards a miraculous shrine. 28.

One's heart flutters on the verge of *unutterabilities* 213. Ebenso 215.

Poor Paul! hunger and *dispiritment* track thy sinking footsteps 30.

for the present she gazes, nothing doubting, into this grand *theatricality* 57. 59 u. ö.

For his *Counthood* is not indifferent to this man. 65 (= sein Rang, Titel als „Count," vgl. M. IV. 117).

long hair in beautiful *dishevelment* 72.

As was said, there is yet possible a deeper overturn than any yet witnessed: that deepest *up turn* of the black-burning sulphurous stratum whereon all rests and grows! 94.

the *Lunévillers* all turning out ... to see such departure. 112.

Desgleichen: the *Thionvillers* III. 72. the *Lillers* III. 77 u. a.

Treason, delusion, *vampyrism, scoundrelism,* from Dan to Beersheba! 134.

does not the old Gaulish and Gaelic *Celthood* ... still vindicate itself little adulterated? 136.

The patriotic Mayor or *Mayorlet* of the Village of Moret 156.

Lafayette ... is marching homewards with some dozen of arrested *demolitionists* 162.

any Sermon, or Sermo, when it is a spoken Word meaning a Thing, and not a *Babblement* meaning No-thing. 175.

cars drawn by eight white horses, *goadsters* in classical costume 177.

what the difference between Orthodoxy or *My-doxy* and Heterodoxy or *Thy-doxy* might here be? 193.

A thousand-voiced shriek and menace; which, as L'Escuyier did not fly, became a thousand-handed *hustle* and jostle 267.

and each, in silence, in tragical *renunciance,* did find that the other was all-too lovely. 271.

shouting and vociferation, — which ... dwindle into staggerings, into quick *gabblement* 274.

By fortune and valour she has extinguished *Feuillantism,* at least the Feuillant Club 301.

Successive, simultaneous dirl of thirty-thousand muskets shouldered; *prance* and jingle of ten-thousand horsemen, fanfaronading Emigrants in the van. 342.

Frilled promenaders saunter under the trees; white-muslin *promenaderess* ... leaning on your arm. 346.

Collenot d'Augremont, „the Royalist *enlister*" (crimp, embaucheur), dies by torchlight. III. 13.

Not *Metzland* now, but the Clermontais getting harried. 18. („Metzland" soll einen „Clermontais" entsprechenden Begriff bilden.)

Aristocratism rolls in its carriage, while Patriotism cannot trail its cannon. 20.

Polymetis [Dumouriez], at any rate, folds his map together, and flings himself on bed; resolved to try, on the morrow morning. With *astucity,* with swiftness, with audacity! 30.

Out upon you, Priests of Beelzebub and Moloch; of *Tartuffery,* Mammon and the Prussian Gallows, — which ye name Mother-Church and God! 36.

These are the *Septemberers* (Septembriseurs); a name of some note and *lucency,* — but *lucency* of the Nether-fire sort 54. *Septemberers* noch 55. 93 u. ö.

flung ashore since then, as hungry Parisian pleasure-hunter and half-pay, on many a Circe Island, with temporary enchantment, temporary conversion into *beasthood* and *hoghood* 64.

after which, in my light little *coachlet* [in meinem leichten Wägelchen], I could breathe freer 78. (*little* coach*let*!) (übs. aus Goethe).

The Convention, eager for public business ... dismisses these comparative misères and *despicabilities* 111.

justifying, motivant, that most miserable word of theirs by some brief casuistry and *jesuitry* 129.

sees death-doing *whiskerandoes* on furlough exhibit daggers 132.

And behold now, a king himself, or say rather *kinghood* in his person, is to expire here in cruel tortures 134.

Zwölf Reihen weiter heisst es mit feiner Unterscheidung: *Kingship* is a coat: the grand loss is of the skin. 134.

so invincible is man's tendency to unite, with all the invincible *divisiveness* he has! 147.

what profit were it for the Paris *Sansculottery* to insult us. 147.

Orleansdom has sunk in the black waters. 184.

with foam on his lips; „whence“, says Marat, „I concluded he had got la rage,“ the *rabidity* or dog-madness. *Rabidity* smites others rabid. 187.

Lasource answered with some vague painful *mumblement* 190.

Camille's head, one of the clearest in France, has got itself so saturated through every fibre with *Preternaturalism* of Suspicion, that ... 193.

And Megaera women perambulate the streets, with flags, with lamentable *alleleu*. 195.

Hier ist das ursprünglich als Interjektion neugebildete onomatopöetische Wort als Substantiv gebraucht. Vgl.

Alleleu! wilder than Irish wakes rises the howl. Fr. R. I. 346.

a Citoyen Henriot, one whom some accuse of *Septemberism* 196.

Strong Dames of the Market, they sit there ... with oak-branches, tricolor *bedizenment* 228.

Mehr der Curiosität als der Wichtigkeit halber seien auch erwähnt die folgenden halb adjektivischen halb substantivischen Nachbildungen der französischen Monatsnamen:

Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire; or as one might say, in mixed English, *Vintagearious, Fogarious, Frostarius*: these are our three Autumn months. Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, or say, *Snowous, Rainous, Windous,* make our Winter season. Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, or *Buddal, Floweral, Meadowal,* are our Spring season. Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, that is to say (dor being Greek for gift) *Reapidor, Heatidor, Fruitidor,* are Republican Summer. 230.

across the bluster and fanfaronade of *Courtierisms, Conquering-Heroisms,* Most Christian Grand *Monarque-isms*, well-beloved *Pompadourisms* 254.

It is the first of the Noyades, what we may call *drownages,* of Carrier 275.

And young children were thrown in, their mothers vainly pleading: „*Wolflings*“, answered the Company of Marat, „who would grow to be wolves.“ 276.

The French Nation is of gregarious imitative nature; it needed but a *fugle-motion* in this matter. 279 (etwa = „Beispiel gebende Bewegung", wie von einem Flügelmann; Neubildung nach „fugleman"; auch: *to fugle*, vgl. „Verba" Fr. R. III. 300/301.)

It is for Rights of *Frenchhood*, of Manhood, that they fight. 293.

Spanish *Field-officerism* struck mute at such a cat-o'-mountain spirit 294.

Télégraphe sacré! answers *Citoyenism*. 301.

Great talk is of these Perruques blondes: O reader, they are made from the Heads of Guillotined women! The locks of a Duchess, in this way, may come to cover the scalp of a Cordwainer; her blonde German *Frankism* (!) his black Gaelic poll, if it be bald. 304.

your new Cordeliers, your Héberts, Momoros, with their brawling brutalities and *despicabilities* 313.

The *Hébertists* lie in prison 314.

I leave the whole business in a frightful *welter* (gâchis épouvantable) 318.

the fatalest Reproof ever uttered here below to Worldly *Right-honourableness* 319.

It turns on a hair: and what a *hoity-toity* were there, Justice and culprit changing places. 320.

Great Danton and the *Dantonists* 323.

Sansculottism, Anarchy of the Jean-Jacques Evangel ... is to perish in a new singular system of *Culottism* and Arrangement 358.

He who, in these Epochs of our Europe, founds on garnitures, formulas, *culottisms* of what sort soever, is founding on old cloth and sheepskin, and cannot endure. 386.

this poor National Convention, broken, bewildered by long terror, perturbation and *guillotinements* 362.

A Gilt *Youthhood*, in plaited hair-tresses, tears down his Busts. 373. 376. (Hier wieder, wie schon früher, in kollektivischem Sinn, das franz. „Jeunesse Dorée" wiedergebend, das aber pag. 366 mit „Golden or Gilt Youth" übersetzt wird.)

Vanish, then, thou rat-eyed Incarnation of *Attorneyism*. 378 u. ö.

Die übermässige Häufigkeit, mit der er von Substantiven auf -ism, üblichen wie neuen, Gebrauch macht, treibt ihn schliesslich zur Verwendung des auch sonst bekannten nonce-word's „ism", mit dem er sich wegen jener beliebten Ausdrucksweise gleichsam selbst verspottet:

Sansculottism is dead; extinguished by new *isms* of that kind, which were its own natural progeny. 386.

History ventures to assert that the French Sansculotte of Ninety-three ... was but the second-miserablest of men! The Irish *Sans-potato,* had he not senses then, nay a soul? 387. Vgl. auch:

Ought there not, in these circumstances, to be among our intercalary Days *Sans-breeches,* a Feast of Reason? 279.

No glory discernible; not even terror: at best, *detestability,* ill-matched with *despicability* 392.

Anarchy is destruction; a burning up, say, of Shams and *Insupportabilities.* 392.

Mit Bezug auf die drei letzten Beispiele sei hier, als an einer charakteristischen Stelle darauf hingewiesen, dass Carlyle bei Substantiven, die von Adjektiven auf -able, -ible gebildet sind, stets eine merkliche Vorliebe für die Endung -ity, vor der auf -ness, zeigt. Diese äussert sich darin, dass er bei Substantiven, die in beiden Formen gebräuchlich sind, meist die erstere wählt, und besonders, dass er wie hier, in Fällen wo man im allgemeinen nur das Suffix -ness kennt, -ity einfach dafür einsetzt. Gründe für diese Erscheinung sind vielleicht, dass ihm der leichte Tonfall der von ihm bevorzugten Bildungen angenehmer war, und hauptsächlich, dass sich bei diesen unauffälliger die von ihm so überaus häufig verwendete Pluralform bilden liess. —

Nachdem man so von der reichen Mannigfaltigkeit der neugebildeten Substantiva in dieser Periode von Carlyles Thätigkeit ein Bild gewonnen hat, ist es nicht unwichtig zu untersuchen, in welcher Weise sich der Autor in dieser Hinsicht zur gleichen Zeit in Schriften verhält, wo er keine litterarischen Zwecke verfolgt, sondern sich giebt, wie er seiner Natur nach ist, in seinen Briefen nämlich. Es kommt dabei zunächst der Briefwechsel mit Goethe in Betracht. Diesem gegenüber ist

Carlyle, wie begreiflich, bemüht, seinen Worten eine möglichst gewählte Form zu geben und alles Aussergewöhnliche zu vermeiden. Das giebt sich denn auch in dem Fehlen von auffälligen und neuen Ausdrücken schön zu erkennen. Nur ein Punkt ist bemerkenswert: Das Wort „environment“, das Sterling im S. R. bekanntlich getadelt hat, findet sich auch hier, und zwar zweimal:

may some higher perennial meeting, amid inconceivable *environments* be appointed them. C. G. 153. (1829).

we despatched a little box for Weimar, containing pencil-sketches of our House and *environment*. 167. (1830)

Man sieht hieraus deutlich, dass Carlyle sich dieser Form als einer auffälligen Bildung durchaus nicht bewusst war, in wie hohem Masse er solcher Wörter bedurfte, und wie sehr sie sich in seinem Sprachschatze festgesetzt hatten.

In seinen Briefen an Eltern, Geschwister und Gattin, und ebenso in seinem „Journal“ lässt er sich nun aber in seiner Eigenart völlig gehen, und so findet man hier denn auch, besonders in der Zeit, wo er an der Fr. R. arbeitete, neue Wortprägungen in der gleichen Weise wie in den besprochenen Werken. Einen besonderen Charakter verleihen den Briefen, hauptsächlich den an seine Gattin gerichteten, häufige Bildungen auf -kin, die als Ausdruck seiner zärtlichen Stimmung in jener Zeit sehr begreiflich sind, aber doch auch von der grossen Freiheit Zeugnis ablegen, mit der Carlyle Wörter gebrauchte, wie z. B.:

and the good *Deankin* mit Weib und Kind rolled off. L. I. 202.

for there is some *morselkin* of stuff in it. 261.

coming along, with my *Wifekin* under my arm, to — London. 268. 332. 344 u. ö.

Speak then, *Lovekin*. 311. (vgl. „Liebchen“, „Weibchen“ etc.)
the sight of these poor *Disciplekins* 322.
O that it were all over, and the *Screamikin* here by me. 324. 327.

Listen then, *Goodykin*. 334.

He has a delightful *Housekin.* 334.
you can give him that *Letterkin.* II. 131.
and my little dame (whom I often call '*Spairkin, Despairkin*) declares naively that ... 139.
our own *gardenkin* 180. u. a.

Aus T. C. II. sind noch folgende Beispiele zu nennen:
Wifekin 163. *Goodykin* 165. 190. *Screamikin* 165. 182.
Unterstand, *ladykin,* that the „gift-of-tongues" is here also. 177.
Poor Jack will be himself again, in spite of all that, and make the world stand about, stiff as it is, and make a little (straight) *pathkin* for him. 297.
My *Janekin* ... is the best of listeners 301.
Wilt thou ever be a *poetkin*? Schwerlich: no matter. 325.
With best love to mother and *cousinkin.* 367.

Ausserdem aber findet man in den Briefen auch andere Bildungen der verschiedensten Art in verhältnismässig nicht minder grosser Anzahl als in den übrigen Schriften, und zwar stehen neben manchen schon von früher her bekannten Formen nicht wenige, die ganz neu erfunden sind. Gerade daran, dass sich Carlyles Bedürfnis nach solchen Wörtern auch hier nicht verleugnet, erkennt man so recht deutlich, wie tief es in ihm wurzelt. Eine nicht minder wichtige und interessante Beobachtung lässt sich in Bezug auf den Charakter der Ausdrücke machen. Man begegnet nämlich in den Briefen ebenso wie sonst Prägungen von der bekannten Excentricität, und dieser Umstand ist der beste Beweis dafür, dass Carlyles absonderliche Redeweise durchaus seinem eigentümlichen innern Wesen entspricht, und also auch in den andern Werken nicht etwa als das Resultat eines absichtlich gewählten und affektierten Stiles betrachtet werden darf. —

Die folgenden Belege sind, obschon sie nicht von der gleichen Bedeutung sein können wie die aus den Hauptschriften, dennoch in möglichster Vollständigkeit gegeben, da sie einen Einblick in Carlyles ganze Schreibart gewähren, und daher für die Beurteilung derselben wichtig sind.

tyrannical *squirelets,* and unjust stewarts. L. I. 39.
among all manner of ... Literary Gazettes, and *Poetasterism* and Kleinstädterei of every colour and degree. 202.

There are two copies; one, bound in all conceivable *superbity,* we are to keep. 239.

As for your plan of an assistant *Surgeonship* in some regiment ... 272.

Harry [C.'s Pferd] is the only *soniped* we now have. 287.
I have a deep, irrevocable, all-comprehending Ernulphus Curse to read upon — *Gigmanity* 299. Ebenso II. 76. 181.
there will be much more than *Tolerability* to boast of. II. 172.

Jane greatly preferred his „poetical *Tinkerdom*" to any of the unpoetical *Gigmandoms* ... which I showed her 174.

There are moments when I determine on sweeping in upon all Tongue-work and *Martindoms* and accursed choking *Cobwebberies* 213.

You are not to take this for a Letter, but for a mere *off-put* 243/4.

I fancy ... also that his *environment* (and rural *Prophethood*) has hurt him much 296/7.

Scavengerism, which under Chadwick makes such progress in the material streets and beneath them, will alarmingly but beneficently reign in the spiritual fields and thoroughfares. T. C. II. 13/14.

I fancy they [the Jew people] would do all this with a ... sacred rigour in exact proportion to the quantity of obstinate human method, piety, persistence, or of that *Jewhood* and manhood and general worth and wisdom, that were in them. ← 14.

so ends my first note-book ... though amid trouble and *dispiritment* enough, yet with better outlooks than I had then. 98/9. 116. Ebenso III. 390. 444 u. ö.

But the day, as we said, will come; for God is still in Heaven, wether Henry Brougham and Jeremiah Bentham know it or not; and the gig and *gigmania* must rot or start into thousand shivers, and bury itself in the ditch, that Man may have clean roadway towards the goal whither through all ages he is tending. 122. [Mit Wortspiel zu „mania".]

Hierzu vgl.:

Frivolous *gigmanity* cannot unite itself to our stern destiny; let it pass by the other side. But oh, my dear Jeannie, do help me to be a little softer, to be a little merciful to all men, even *gigmen.* 199. Desgl. III. 33.

The greatest of all past or present *anti-gigmen* was Jesus-Christ. This age is quite especially wrecked and sunk in *gigmanism* 284.

Anti-gigmanism is the fixed unalterable Athanasian Creed of this house. 297/8. 319.

the poor Duke looked in ... and with the old *quizzicality* in his little face declared ... 170/1.

by-and-by dropped in various *playwrightesses* and playwrights. 171/2.

I sate directly behind a *speakeress* with tongues. 177.

Yes, Jeannie, ... I feel that I have saved you: as *Gigmaness* you could not have lived. 185.

so we are all to meet, along with a certain Mrs. Austin, a young *Germanist.* 188.

Miserable is the *scandal-mongery* and evil speaking of the country population. 207.

The worst thing about our establishment it its *hamperedness.* 211.

It seems that all the *Loselism* of London will be about the church next Sunday. 214.

Generally, now it seems to me as if this life were but the inconsiderable portico of man's existence, which afterwards, in new mysterions *environment,* were to be continued without end. 226. III. 81. 218.

now she has only a little occasional cough with *weakliness* 240.

I tell her many times there is much for her to do if she were trained to it: her whole sex to deliver from the bondage of frivolity, *dollhood* and imbecility into the freedom of valour and womanhood. 296.

Owen the Atheist, and Irving the *Gift-of-tongues-ist*, time about: it is a mad world. 298.

Bibliopoly, *bibliopoesy,* in all their branches, are sick. 310

Deeply impressed with the *transiency* of time. 324.

I have begun a kind of *scribblement*. It is for „Fraser“; a foolish story about a certain „King of Quacks.“ 339. 382.

Daneben auch das übliche *scribble*:

My scribble prospering very ill 338 u. ö.

an element not of *black-cattleism,* but of refinement, plenty and encouragement. 405.

N. B. Froude setzt hier kein Hyphen, doch ist ein solches nach der Art des Druckes wohl zu ergänzen.

View of the *Rascaldom* of Paris, tragical at this distance of time. 405.

Why not bolt out of all these *despicabilities*? 412. III. 75.

The poor Duke ... bade me good evening at the door: immense jerking from Mrs. Jeffrey, yet many kind words and invitations back ... And so ends our dealing with *Jeffreydom* 431.

His house excels all you have ever read of — a *poetical Tinkerdom,* without parallel even in literature. 439. 440.

Fraser cannot afford to pay me, besides seems more and more bent on Toryism, and Irish *reporterism,* to me infinitely detestable. 441.

In der Folgezeit erhält sich Carlyles Kraft und Geschick der Wortprägung auf der aus der Fr. R. bekannten Höhe, und man trifft in den kleineren Essays sowohl wie in den grösseren Schriften neue Formen in derselben Menge, Mannigfaltigkeit und auch Bizarrerie wie dort. Hervorzuheben sind besonders die Essays „Diamond Necklace“ (M. V. 3—96) und Mirabeau (M. V. 99—184), sowie die socialpolitischen Abhandlungen „Chartism“ (M. V. 325—423), „Hero-Worship“ und „Past and Present“. Aufs neue ist es die Eigenartigkeit der geschilderten Persönlichkeiten und Verhältnisse, die den Autor bei ihrer Darstellung die entsprechenden Formen hat erfinden und gebrauchen lassen. Am weitesten geht er in dieser Hinsicht fraglos in P. Pr., wo die Leidenschaftlichkeit, mit der er den Kampf gegen die herrschenden socialen Zustände führt, noch mitgewirkt hat. Eine wahre Unzahl von Substantiven auf -ism, gebräuchlichen und neuen, drängt sich besonders in dem

grösseren zweiten Teile dieses Buches, in dem Masse, dass Carlyle sich häufig genötigt sieht, seine Zuflucht zu dem bekannten als Substantiv gebrauchten „ism“ zu nehmen.

Gar manche der früheren Bezeichnungen, von denen einige nach Bedeutung und Anwendung geradezu den Charakter von Schlagwörtern annehmen, tauchen hier des öfteren wieder auf und beweisen dadurch, dass sie keine blossen Gelegenheitsbildungen gewesen, sondern eng mit dem gesamten Empfinden des Autors verquickt sind. Von solchen seien vorher kurz angeführt z. B.:

Gigmanity M. V. 36. 38. *Rascaldom* M. V. 71. *strumpetocracy* M. V. 128. *preferability* M. V. 189. *scandal-mongeries* M. V. 290. *Sanspotato* M. V. 346. *theatricality* H. W. 55. *Prophethood* H. W. 131. *bedizenment* H. W. 220. *kinghood* H. W. 234. *swindleries* P. Pr. 231. *environment* P. Pr. 248 u. a.

Dazu kommt nun aber noch eine grosse Zahl anderer neuer Formen, die stets das eigentümliche Gepräge des Bildners tragen.

they have had a turn of continuance for Cardinalship and *Commendatorship.* Safest trades these, of the calm do-nothing sort: in the *do-something* line, in Generalship or suchlike ... M. V. 20.

perhaps in the very face and looks of Prospective-Cardinal Prince Louis, her fair young soul read, all unconsciously, an incoherent *Roué-ism,* bottomless *Mud-volcanoism* 24 (vgl. P. Pr. 114).

Why not in virtue of our own *Countess-ship* dub him too Count; by left-hand collateralism, get him advanced? 38.

O worthy to have intrigued for *Jesuitdom,* for Pope's tiara. 61.

he has much the features of Villette of Rascaldom! —Rascaldom or *Valetdom* ... he has, with his grave, respectful, yet official air, received the Casket, and its priceless contents. 71.

with a look of troubled gaiety and *rascalism* 77.

to the astonishment ... of all Quidnuncs, Journalists, *Anecdotists,* Satirists, in both Hemispheres. 83.

out of *Scoundreldom* I never was. 85.

this gift was precisely the *Kinghood* of the man, and did itself stamp him as a leader among men! 112.

In the old Marquis there dwells withal a crabbedness, stiff cross-grained humour, a latent fury and *fuliginosity*. 126.

and philosophism, chivalrous euphuism, presbyterian *ruling-elderism*, all in such strength, have met, to give the world assurance of a man! 132.

In a word, offences (of elasticity or *expansivity*) have accumulated 138.

the shaggy visage of Buffière, radiant through its *seaminess* with several things 140.

Or shall we give poor Buffière's testimonial in mess-room dialect; in its native twanging *vociferosity*, and garnished with old oaths. 143.

„Wholly reflex and *reverberance* (tout de reflet et de réverbère)." 145.

Hier im Essay „Mirabeau" findet sich wie in Fr. R. und aus demselben Grunde wieder häufig *„parlement"* geschrieben statt „parliament", z. B. 169 u. ö. Ebendort auch *Parlementeers* u. ö.; die Wiederkehr dieser Erscheinung unter den gleichen Verhältnissen wird demnach die früher für sie gegebene Erklärung stützen.

for which he has to provide by fierce industry, by skill in *financiership* 172.

In the way of eulogy and *dyslogy* ... there may doubtless be a great many things set forth concerning this Mirabeau. 182.

the young author felt that he must make this his proof-shot, and evidence of *craftmanship* 188. 344.

„there was needed for that a new Class ... and which loved its Tenth of August, as the *Burgerhood* loved its Fourteenth of" 191 (übs. a. Frz., giebt wohl „bourgeoisie" wieder!).

these women ... had among themselves a *Presidentess* and Staff. 202 (übs. a. Frz., Fr. R. I. 338 sagt er noch „Female-President"!).

and he [Napoleon] lost head, as they say, and became a selfish *ambitionist* and quack. 230.

Some weakly-organised individual ... whose main or whole talent rests on some prurient *susceptivity* 247.

these two tendencies, which may be named *Götzism* and Werterism 253.

dining with Royalty or *Prince-Regentship* itself 257.

beautifully contrasted with the smirking saloon-activity, the perked-up *courtierism* and pretentious nullity of many here 306 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Thus there alternated in his manner a negligence and a *studiedness* 307 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

a „daemonic man"; ... who, with his *ownness* of impulse and insight ... reaches down into the region of the perennial and primeval. 309.

but he has not sunk from decent manhood to squalid *apehood* 349.

these times, with their new stern Evangel, that *Speciosities* which are not Realities can no longer be. 373.

Look at such Political and Moral Philosophies, *St.-Simonisms, Robert-Macairisms* 375.

even *Dalai-Lamaism* ... may be worth its victuals in this world 379.

The red broad mark of *Romanhood* ... has disappeared from the present, and belongs only to the past. 387.

but if the Nobility's [features] be finer, it is not their *Normanhood* that can be the reason 390.

yet what ship Argo, or miraculous epic ship built by the Sea-Gods, was other than a foolish *bumbarge* in comparison. 394.

There might be „beautiful cemeteries with colonnades and flowerplots," in which the patriotic infanticide matrons might delight to take their evening walk of contemplation; and reflect what *patriotesses* they were, what a cheerful flowery world it was. 421. Dazu vgl.: these serpent-haired Extreme *She-Patriots* Fr. R. III. 192.

This is the truth of Grand *Lamaism*; the *„discoverability"* is the only error here. H. W. 7.

All dignities of rank, on which human association rests, are what we may call a *Heroarchy* (Government of Heroes) 15.

if Christianity be the highest instance of Hero-worship, then we may find here in *Voltaireism* one of the lowest. 17.
Untamed Thought ... to be tamed in due time into the compact greatness, not giantlike, but godlike, and stronger than *gianthood,* of the Shakspeares. 24.
the old Greek *Mythists* 32.
a people of wild strong feelings, and of iron restraint over these: the characteristic of *noblemindedness,* of genius. 57.
A wearisome confused jumble, crude, incondite; endless iterations, *longwindedness,* entanglement 76.
given the amuser, the *amusee* must also be given. 105.
Shakspeare's Art is not Artifice; the noblest worth of it is not there by plan or *precontrivance* 126.
there will be a *Saxondom* covering great spaces of the Globe. 133. 169.
Odinism was Valour; Christianism was Humility 142. 148 u. ö.
Formulism, Pagan *Popeism,* and other Falsehood and corrupt Semblance had ruled long enough 158. 161.

Davon werden genau unterschieden:

Popeship, spiritual Fatherhood of God's Church, is that vain semblance, of cloth and parchment? 158.
Once for all, your *Popehood* has become untrue. 160.
The poor old *Popehood* will not die away entirely, as Thor has done, for some time yet. 162.

Daneben auch die gebräuchlichen Formen „Popedom“ und „Popery“:

Union, organisation spiritual and material, a far nobler than any *Popedom* or Feudalism in their truest days, I never doubt, is coming for the world. 161.
Popery can build new chapels; welcome to do so to all lengths. *Popery* cannot come back, any more than Paganism can. 162.
all common *Lionism,* which ruins innumerable men, was as nothing to this. 228.
He could not get his *Lionism* forgotten. 229 u. ö.
invested with the symbols of ability, with dignity, worship (*worth-ship*), royalty, kinghood, or whatever we call it. 234.

Später gebraucht er dies Wort aber auch selbständig:

To the present Editor, „Hero-worship,“ as he has elsewhere named it, means much more than an elected Parliament, or stated Aristocracy, of the Wisest; for in his dialect it is the summary, ultimate essence, and supreme practical perfection of all manner of „worship“, and true *worthships* and noblenesses whatsoever. P. Pr. 42.

Aehnlich: *worthships* and worships L. St. 45.

These Puritans came forward with Calvinistic incredible Creeds, *Anti-Laudisms,* Westminster Confessions H. W. 248.

Virtue, Vir-tus, manhood, *herohood,* is not fairspoken immaculate regularity 258. P. Pr. 94.

Many a man ... stands only on some thin *traditionality,* conventionality 261.

Short way ahead of us it is all dim; an unwound skein of possibilities, of apprehensions, *attemptabilities,* vague-looming hopes. 262.

keep your redtape clerks, your *influentialities,* your important businesses. 264.

If my Protectorship is nothing, what in the name of wonder is your *Parliamenteership* 277.

he believed too much in the *Dupeability* of men. 284.

times definable as showing two qualities, Dilettantism and *Mammonism* P. Pr. 23. 24. 154 u. ö.

We, for our share, will put away all *Flunkyism,* Baseness, Unveracity from us. 43. 316 u. ö.

Jocelin notes only, with a slight *subacidity* of manner, that the King's Majesty, Dominus Rex, did leave, as gift for our St. Edmund Shrine, a handsome enough silk cloak. 58.

our Religion is not yet a horrible restless Doubt ... but a great heaven-high *Unquestionability* 84.

The grand summary of a man's spiritual condition, what brings out all his herohood and insight, or all his *flunkyhood* and horn-eyed dimness ... 94. 365.

The fruit of long ages of confirmed *Valethood* 108.

Daneben, mit anderer Bedeutung:

Hence comes Atheism; come, as we say, many other *isms*; and as the sum of all, comes *Valetism,* the reverse of Heroism 184.

Of intrinsic *Valetisms* you cannot, with whole Parliaments to help you, make a Heroism 360.

„To repress and hold — in such sudden anger he was continually careful,“ and succeeded well: — right, Samson, that it may become in thee as noble central heat, fruitful, strong, beneficent; not blaze out, or the seldomest possible blaze out, as wasteful *volcanoism* to scorch and consume! 114.

With due rigour, Willelmus Sacrista, and his *bibations* and tacenda are, at the earliest opportunity, softly yet irrevocably put an end to. 115. (Zweimal).

This is Abbot Samson's Catholicism of the Twelfth Century; — something like the *Ism* of all true men in all true centuries, I fancy! Alas compared with any of the *Isms* current in these poor days, what a thing! 146. 154. 175. 184. 314. [Ebenso schon früher M. V. 402. H. W. 6.]

and to temper Dilettantism, and astonish it, and burn it up with internal fire, arises Chartism, *Bare-back-ism,* Sansculottism so-called! 154.

serenely looking down upon all Plenums and Entities as low and poor to his serene *Chimeraship.* 160.

The doom of Fate was, Be thou a Dandy! ... fix thyself in *Dandyhood,* undeliverable; it is thy doom. 160.

The Liturgy, or adoptable and generally adopted Sect of Prayers and Prayer-Method, was what we can call the Select *Adoptabilities,* „Select Beauties“ well edited ... from that wide waste imbroglio of Prayers already extant. 162.

there is yet in venerable wigged Justice some wisdom, amid such mountains of *wiggeries* and folly 164.

Their *Owlisms, Vulturisms,* to an incredible extent, will disappear by and by, their Heroisms only remaining. 164.

In hydra-wrestle, giant „*Millocracy*“ so-called, a real giant ... wrestles and wrings in choking nightmare. 175. 216. 331.
the impotent, insolent *Donothingism* in Practice and *Saynothingism* in Speech 188.
they sit, with ... such an air of supreme *tragicality* as Apes may 190.
its [the horse's] speech nothing but an inarticulate neighing, its handiness mere *hoofiness.* 197.
and so many speaking *Greekdoms,* their logic-arrows all spent, had been absorbed and abolished 201.
idle Dilettantism, Dead-Sea *Apism* crying out, „Down with him“; 212. 335. Vgl. T. C. IV. 372 „Substantiva“.
your *Chaosships* will have the goodness to excuse me. 234.
does he think that a Laud Aristocracy when it becomes a Laud *Auctioneership* can have long to live? 236.
his No-thing will never rightly issue as a Thing but as a *Deceptivity,* a Sham-thing 255.
across the hundredfold poor scepticisms, *trivialisms,* and constitutional *cobwebberies* of Dryasdust. 265.
this was not the man to knock out of his night's-rest with nothing but a noisy *bedlamism* in your mouth! 266.
Dilettantism, *Pococurantism, Beau-Brummelism* . . . establish themselves 272.
or else England will continue to worship new and ever-new forms of *Quackhood* 273.
baleful Atheisms, Mammonisms . . . with their appropriate Cants and *Idolisms* 285.
A greater than Odin has taught us — not a greater *Dastardism,* I hope! 287.
Stylitisms, eremite fanaticisms and *fakeerisms* 288.
the cookery and eating-up of imbecile *Dupedom* by successfull *Quackhood.* 298.
Huge French Revolutions, Napoleonisms, then *Bourbonisms* with their corollary of Three Days finishing in very unfinal *Louis-Philippisms* 299.
A spiritual *Guideship,* a practical Governorship 301.
Phantasms could not yet walk abroad in mere cloth *Tailorage.* 305.

that we, Electors and Elegibles ... cannot too soon begin ... to put an end to *bribeabilities* in ourselves 317.

no Chivalry, but a mere gold-plated *Doggery,* — what the French well name Canaille. 335. 356. 360 u. ö.

Your gallant battle-hosts and work-hosts ... joined with you in veritable brotherhood, *sonhood* 337.

in his Court were these four men: Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Goethe. Not as parasites, which was impossible; not as table-wits and poetic *Katerfeltoes*; but as noble spiritual men. 350.

Dasselbe noch einmal: Worship as to a mere *Katerfelto* or thing wondered at. R. II. 173.

that the Demiurgus Dollar is dethroned; that new unheard-of *Demiurgusships,* Priesthoods ... are already visible in the gray of coming Time. 363.

seated with prosperous composure, not in the kirk of Kilwinning, but in the *Principalship* of Glasgow University M. VI. 29.

we must continue a little farther; catch a few more *visualities* 55.

a remarkable hearsay becomes a remarkable *visuality* 110.

O' Higgins is clearly of Irish breed; and, though a Chileno born ... carries his *Hibernianism* in his very face. M. VI. 76.

A most cheery ... countenance, radiant with *pepticity,* good humour and manifold effectuality in peace and war 76.

with an infinitude of painful *unspeakabilities* in the interior of him. 94. 105.

And out of it [Sansculottism] there had come Napoleonisms, *Tamerlanisms.* 106.

In „Cromwell's Letters and Speeches“, die in den nächsten Jahren auf „Past and Present“ folgten, ist im auffälligen Gegensatze zu dieser Schrift eine ganz bedeutende Abnahme der Zahl von Neubildungen zu beobachten. Es fehlt freilich nicht an für Carlyle charakteristischen Formen, aber im allgemeinen treten sie in dem umfangreichen Werke doch verhältnismässig selten auf. Es ist nicht schwer, eine Erklärung hierfür zu geben: Das Verfahren, das der Autor bei diesem

Werke gewählt hat, ist, dass er die Reden und Briefe für sich selbst sprechen und auf den Leser wirken lässt, während er nur den verbindenden und erläuternden Text dazu giebt. Die ganze Darstellung musste auf diese Weise eine gleichmässig ruhige werden und konnte zur Entfaltung ausgeprägter Eigentümlichkeiten kaum Gelegenheit bieten. Indessen so ganz vermag sich Carlyles Natur doch nicht zu verleugnen, und so findet man denn auch hier immerhin eine ganze Reihe von bezeichnenden Ausdrücken, alten und neuen, besonders wenn er nicht einfach berichtet, sondern Betrachtungen über die geschilderten Ereignisse anstellt, wobei er nicht selten aus seiner Zurückhaltung herausgelockt wird. —

The sound of them is not a voice, conveying knowledge or memorial of any earthly or heavenly thing; it is a widespread inarticulate slumberous *mumblement,* issuing as if from the lake of Eternal Sleep. Cr. I. 5.

It is very notable, and leads to endless reflections, how the Greeks had their living Iliad, where we have such a deadly indescribable *Cromwelliad* 7.

and much *flunkyism,* falsity and other carrion ought to be buried 27.

Of the numerous and now mostly forgettable *cousinry* we specify farther only the Mashams of Otes in Essex. 29.

In Scotland, Dr. Laud, much to his regret, found „no religion at all", no surplices, no altars in the east or anywhere; no bowing, no responding; not the smallest regularity of *fuglemanship* or devotional drill-exercise 45.

Awful devout Puritanism, decent dignified *Ceremonialism* ... appeared here facing one another for the first time. 39. 40.

Dr. Laud, Bishop Laud, now near upon *Archbishophood,* attended his Majesty thither as formerly. 73. 300.

it [the Seventeenth Century] was not a waste rubbish-continent of Rushworth-Nalson State-papers, of Philosophical Scepticisms, Dilettantisms, Dryasdust *Torpedoisms*; — but an actual flesh-and-blood Fact. 80.[1])

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[1]) Krummacher äussert hierzu die Ansicht, „torpedoism" sei wohl als = „torpidness, torpidity" aufzufassen, da Beziehung zum „torpedo" = „Zitteraal" nicht ersichtlich. — Die folgenden beiden Stellen — deren

The name Otes, the tomb of Locke, and this undestroyed and now indestructible fraction of Rag-paper alone preserve the Memory of *Mashamdom* in this World. 100. (vgl. 29.)

This winter there arise among certain Counties „Associations" for mutual defence, against Royalism and plunderous *Rupertism*. 128.

the Eastern-Association Army, horse or foot, is heavy to move, — beset, too, with the old internal discrepancies, *Crawfordisms*, scandals at Sectaries, and what not. 199.

The truth is, no modern reader can conceive the then atrocity ferocity, *unspeakability* of this fact. II. 107.

not till a new genuine Hero-worship has arisen, has perfected itself; and had time to degenerate into a *Flunkyism* and Cloth-worship again 108.

what kind of provision for his old age this same *Chequeship in Ward* might be, is unknown to the present Editor. 151.

Claypole became „Master of the Horse" to Oliver; sat in Parliament, made an elegant appearance in the world: — but dwindled sadly after his *widowership*; his second marriage ending in „separation". III. 143.

There rose afterwards rebellion in the Highlands, rebellion of Glencairn, of Middleton, with much *mosstroopery* and horsestealing. 185.

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erste sich in einem Briefe Carlyles an John Sterling vom 4. Dezember 1843 findet, während die zweite in seinem „Journal", unter dem 2. Februar 1844, steht, die also beide zu einer Zeit niedergeschrieben sind, als Carlyle am „Cromwell" arbeitete, — werden vielleicht etwas Licht auf jenen sonderbaren Ausdruck werfen und seine thatsächliche Beziehung zum „torpedo", der hier als Sinnbild der „darkness and dullness" gebraucht erscheint, darthun.

If the past times, only two centuries back, lie wholly a *torpedo* darkness and dullness, freezing as with Medusa glance all souls of men that look on it, where are our foundations gone? T. C. III. 333.

Carpenters with contrivances to secure me from noises, treaties about neighbouring pianos, complaints of barking dogs, above a hundred „Museum headaches"; no books but „*Rushworthian Torpedos*"; little company that is not a *torpedo* to me; and to crown the whole, not a vestige of work actually done. T. C. III. 335.

such masses of superficial bewilderment, of respectable hearsay, of fantasy and pedantry, and old and new *cobwebbery*, overlie our poor will 186.

The candid imagination, busy to shape-out some conceivable Oliver in these Nineteen months, will accept thankfully the following small *indubitabilities*, or glimpses of definite events. 204.

Fearful impediments lay against that effort of theirs: the sluggishness, the slavish *half-and-halfness*, the greediness, the cowardice ... of some ten million men against it. 265.

Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming *Delusionists* of ours! IV. 30.

There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and *jesuitries*. 187. 198.

Noble's citations from Morant's History of Essex; his and Morant's blunderings and *somnambulancies*, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime. 191.

His Highness's face indicates that he means „no-things", „*babblements*" 219.

O *Sluggardship*, Imaginary-Editorship, *Flunkyism*, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general! 280.

Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes ... reveal to these men. V. 112.

But Puritanism, the king of it once away, fell loose naturally in every fibre, — fell into *Kinglessness*, what we call Anarchy. 148.

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely *Feoffeeship* and passivity. 178.

Note picked up in converting the old Manorhouse into a Farm-house (which it still is), and published, along with other antiquarian *tagraggeries* in a very dim and helpless manner. 216.

Dass die geringere Zahl der Neubildungen in Cr. in der That aus dem Charakter des Werkes und nicht etwa durch eine Abnahme der Wortprägungskraft bei Carlyle zu erklären

ist, zeigen die folgenden Schriften. Die „Latter-Day Pamphlets", nach Art und Inhalt mit P. Pr. eng verwandt, bieten ganz den früheren Reichtum kühner, treffender, und auch phantastischer Formenschöpfungen. Ein ähnliches Gepräge haben von den letzten Essays die beiden, welche auch sociale Fragen behandeln, nämlich „The Nigger Question" und der (zwei Jahre nach Fr. Gr. verfasste) Artikel „Shooting Niagara: and after?" — Das „Life of Sterling" gehört einer ganz anderen Klasse von Schriften an, und es ist nicht zu verwundern, dass man hier Ungewöhnliches nicht in dem Masse findet wie in den L. P. Gleichwohl kommt, wie die angeführten Beispiele beweisen, die eigenartige Natur des Autors auch in der Sprache dieser mit grosser Wärme geschriebenen Biographie in einer ganzen Reihe charakteristischer Wörter unverkennbar zum Ausdruck. —

the feeling of every Frenchman, as he looked around him, at home, on a *Louis-Philippism* which had become the scorn of all the world. L. P. 7.

that poor M. de Lamartine; with nothing in him but melodious wind and soft *sowder*. L. P. 9.

Dasselbe Wort findet sich, mit etwas anderer Orthographie, noch einmal in der „Nigger Question":

nor will it quite cease, I apprehend, for soft *souwder* or philanthropic stump-oratory. M. VI. 202.

Krummacher führt nur die erste Stelle an und fragt nach der Bedeutung. Webster giebt es unter der Schreibung „sawder", mit folgender Erklärung:

„*Sawder* [Corrupted from solder] Flattery; — especially in the phrase *soft sawder,* that is, something which tickles the vanity of a person, and is used to accomplish a purpose. [Vulgar]."

Flügel bringt als vermutlich frühesten Beleg eine Stelle aus Haliburton, „Sam Slick". (1835 ff.)

and open „*Kinglessness*", what we call anarchy ... is everywhere the order of the day 9.

To such depth have I, the poor knowing person of this epoch, got; — almost below the level of lowest humanity, and down towards the state of *apehood* and *oxhood* 17

and what new elements of polity or *nationhood,* what noble new phasis of human arrangement ... yet comes to light in America. 25.

flunkyism 40. *donothingism* 45. *Lackalls* 45. 46. u. ö.

Not „humanity" or manhood, I think; perhaps *apehood* rather, — paltry *imitancy,* from the teeth outward, of what our heart never felt. 49.

traditions now really about extinct; not living now to almost any of us, and still haunting with their *spectralities* and gibbering ghosts ... almost all of us. 49. L. St. 3.

his thoughts, — which have the whole celestial and terrestrial for their scope, and not the subterranean of *scoundreldom* alone. 72. u. ö.

The captain is appointed not by preëminent merit in *sailorship,* but by parliamentary connexion 127.

England ... is itself sunk to a dim *owlery,* and habitation of doleful creatures. 133. 151.

Solution into universal slush; *drownage* of all interests divine and human, in a Noah's-deluge of Parliamentary eloquence. 146. L. St. 7.

and the wisdom that now courts your universal-suffrages is beggarly human *attorneyism* or sham-wisdom. 162. 163 u. ö.

Like owls they say ... „the Right Honourable Minimus is well enough; he shall be our Maximus, under him it will be handy to catch mice, and *Owldom* shall continue a flourishing empire." 171.

From Canada there comes duly by each mail a regular statistic of *Annexationism* 180.

A true Captaincy; a true *Teachership,* either making all men and Captains know and devoutly recognise the eternal law of things, or else .. 190.

At Drury Lane let him play his part, him and his thousandfold *cousinry.* 192.

Alas, the grins he executes upon his poor mind (which is all tortured into St. Vitus dances, and ghastly *merry-andrewisms,* by the practice) are the most extraordinary this sun ever saw. 194. 202.

Arise, my horribly maltreated yet still beloved Bull ... and begin forthwith ... the long expected Scavenger Age ... a complete course of *scavengerism* is the thing you need. 196. 197.

it seemed all one unveracity, a talking from the teeth outward, not as the convictions, but as the expediencies and inward *astucities* directed. 205. 243. L. St. 294.

others, again, we may call unheroic, not eminently human: *beaverish* rather but still honest. 224.

Dazu: the ingenuous soul ... in very many cases decides that he will contract himself into *beaverism.* 225. 226. 243.

Hierzu vgl. man noch folgende Stelle aus dem L. St.:

To the young and ardent mind [Sterling], instinct with pious nobleness, yet driven to the grim deserts of Radicalism for a faith, Coleridge's speculations had a charm much more than literary, a charm almost religious and prophetic. The constant gist of his discourse was lamentation over the sunk condition of the world, which he recognised to be given up to atheism and materialism ... All science had become mechanical, the science not of men, but of a kind of human *beavers.* L. St. 69.

Schon im Jahre 1829 findet sich in Carlyles „Journal" ein ähnlicher Gedanke:

„Understanding is to reason as the talent of a *beaver* (which can build houses, and uses its tail for a trowel) to the genius of a prophet and poet. Reason is all but extinct in this age; it can never be altogether extinguished." T. C. II. 77.

the impalpable liar, whose tongue articulates mere accepted commonplaces, cants and *babblements* 244. 254.

Nature, when her own scorn of a slave is divinest, and blazes like the blinding lightning against his *slavehood,* often enough flings him a bag of money. 248.

the chief thing you can now require of your Governor is that he carefully preserve his good humour, and do in a handsome manner nothing or some pleasant *fuglemotions* only. 328.

The man goes through his prescribed *fugle-motions* at church and elsewhere. 377.

Aehnlich: Such dramaturgic *fugle-worship* going on everywhere, and kissing of the closed Bible, what real worship ... there may be? 377. (Vgl. Fr. R. III. 300.)

looking on millions of his pious brothers reduced to spiritual *mummyhood* 361.

If the new light is of Hell, O Ignatius, right: but if of Heaven, there is not, that I know of, any equally damnable sin as thine! No; thy late *Pighood* itself is trivial in comparison. 366.

„Pighood" hat hier also den Sinn von „Zustand, Leben, gleich dem eines Schweines"; hierzu vgl. 380, wo dies Wort in anderer, jedoch seiner Bildung nach gleichfalls verständlicher Bedeutung, etwa von „Schweineschaft", gebraucht wird:

It is the mission of universal *Pighood,* and the duty of all Pigs, at all times, to diminish the quantity of unattainable, and increase that of attainable. 380.

Wieder andern Sinn hat:

Have you Law and Justice in *Pigdom*? 380.

If „a man cannot help it", a man must allow me to say he has unfortunately given the most conspicuous proof of *caitiffhood* that lay within his human possibility. 371.

by Puritan *Cromwelliads* on the great scale ... this country has been tolerably cleared of Jesuits proper. 372.

Napoleon Campaignings, September Massacres, Reigns of Terror, Anacharsis Clootz and Pontiff Robespierre, and still more beggarly *tragicalities* that we have since seen, and are still to see ... 375/6.

If men's practical faith have become a Pig Philosophy, and their divine worship have become a *Mumbojumboism* ... it matters little what their fine or other arts may be. 383.

Vgl. dazu: Black *Mumbo-Jumbo* of the woods, and most Indian wau-waus, one can understand ... Fr. R. III. 282. und: such a hubbub made of it by the vile flunkey souls who call themselves special worshippers of the Most High. *Mumbo Jumbo* on the coast of Guinea almost seems a shade more respectable. T. C. IV. 278.

Luxurious Europe ... is wholly one big ugly Nawaub of that kind; who has converted all the Fine Arts into after-dinner amusements; slave-adjuncts to his cookeries, upholsteries, *tailories*, and other palpably Coarse Arts. 393.

From the chair of verity this, whatever chairs be chairs of *cantity* 402.

nay precisely the higher he is, the deeper will be the disagreeableness, and the *detestability* to flesh and blood, of the tasks laid on him. L. St. 73.

These were they whom Charles Tenth had, by sheer force, driven from their *constitutionalisms* and their Trocadero fortresses. 78.

He would study theology, *biblicalities,* perfect himself in the knowledge seemly or essential for his new course. 116. [Nach *classicality,* das z. B. L. St. 39. 40. steht.]

submerged in unutterable boiling mud-oceans of Hypocrisy and *Unbelievability* 117.

„It is mere Pantheism, that!“ — „And suppose it were mere *Pot-theism*!“ cried the other. 153.

it is a life of abstruse vague speculations ... about Will, Morals, Jonathan Edwards, *Jewhood,* Manhood, and of Books to be written on these topics. 154.

A certain smile of thin but genuine laughter ... expressing gracefully ... the stoical *pococurantism* which is required of the cultivated Englishman. 156.

A new removal, what we call „his third *peregrinity*“, had to be decided on. 196. 225.

Sterling's view of the Pope, as seen in these his gala days, doing his big *playactorism* under God's earnest sky, was much more substantial to me than his studies in the picture-galleries. 216.

great only in maudlin patriotisms, in speciosities, *astucities,* — in the miserable gifts for becoming Chief Demagogos. 294.

His sufferings, his sorrows, all his *unutterabilities* in this slow agony, he held right manfully down. 318.

Advancing on you as the huge buffalo-phalanx does in the Western Deserts; or as, on a smaller scale, those bristly creatures did in the Country of the Gadarenes ... so could Folly rush; the enlightened public one huge *Gadarenes-swinery,* tail cocked, snout in air, with joyful animating short squeak. M. VI. 187.

except by Mastership and *Servantship,* there is no conceivable deliverance from Tyranny and Slavery. 187.

You can see what kind of master he proves, what kind of servants he manages to have. Accordingly, the state of British servantship, of American *helpship* — I confess to you, my friends, if looking out for what was least human and heroic, least lovely to the Supreme Powers, I should not go to Carolina at this time. 189.

as yet, for a long while, we must be patient, and let the *Exeter-Hallery* and other tragic Tomfoolery rave itself out. 192.

The Albertine Line, Electoral though it now was, made apanages, subdivisions, unintelligible little dukes and *dukeries* of a similar kind. 286.

Maid-servants, I hear people complaining, are getting instructed in the „*ologies*". 321. [Jnaug. Address!]

there soon comes that singular phenomenon, which the Germans call Schwärmerey („enthusiasm" is our poor Greek equivalent), which means simply „*Swarmery*", or the „Gathering of Men in Swarms". 342. 343.

Divine Commandment to vote („Manhood Suffrage", — *Horsehood, Doghood* ditto not yet treated of) 342.

The calling in of new supplies of blockheadism, gullibility, *bribeability,* amenability to beer and balderdash 348.

and by degrees will acquire the fit *Valentinism,* and other more important advantages there 372.

Orsonism is not what will hinder our Aristocracy from still reigning. 379.

Vgl.: simple honest *Orson* of a Prussian Majesty. Fr. Gr. II. 290.

An diesen Platz, als wohl den geeignetsten, seien hier, wie in den folgenden Kapiteln, die Belege aus L. W.[1] gebracht, die wegen des Interesses, das einige der Formen bieten, wohl nicht ganz weggelassen werden durften.

If he loved this benignant *disenchantress*? L. W.[1] 36.

phenomena on the Thames, all dreamlike, one *spectralism* chasing another. 151.

Boulevards very stirring, airy, locomotive to a fair degree, but the *vehiculation* very light. 178.

the politician, &c., &c., class is mere *play-actorism*, and will go to the devil by and by. 180.

A healthy Human Animal, with due *beaverism* (high and low), due *vulpinism*, or more than due. 187.

Poor Austin, — a brave man too: but able to bring it no farther than hard isolated *Pedanthood*! 217.

Imposture admits openly that it is a bankrupt piece of *scandalism* 255.

Thank the Gods, we are now rid of that loud delirium of street-cabs, stump-oratory, and general Hallelujah to the Prince of the Power of the Air, — what I used to call the „*Wind-dust-ry* of all Nations“. 262. (Lett. to Varnh.)

I greatly want some other kind of Book or Books which should give me with the due minuteness and due *indubitability* a correct basis of Chronology. 267.

In seinem geschichtlichen Hauptwerk, „History of Frederick the Great“, hat Carlyle eine andere Darstellungsweise gewählt, als im „Cromwell“. Hatte er damals den Standpunkt des unbefangenen ruhigen Erzählers eingenommen und den Leser aus den angeführten Dokumenten sich selbst sein Urteil bilden lassen, so ist er jetzt der Herold der Ruhmesgrösse seines Helden, und mit der Begeisterung der bewundernden Liebe entwirft er ein farbenprächtiges Bild von dem Leben und den Thaten des grossen Preussenkönigs. Die frisch und lebendig dahinströmende Sprache lässt Carlyles Herrschaft über das Wort wieder in ihrem höchsten Glanze erscheinen; eine reiche Fülle von neuen Wörtern aller Art und jeden Charakters tritt dem Leser hier entgegen, eine Fülle, die um so staunenswerter wird, je mehr man sich vergegenwärtigt, in wie überaus hohem Grade die Gesamtheit der vorhergehenden Schriften bereits den Wortschatz des Autors erweitert hatte. Aber es sind eben völlig neue Verhältnisse, die er hier schildert, neue Gedanken regen sie in ihm an, und zu ihrem Ausdruck bedarf er nun

wieder ganz neuer Begriffe. Von diesen sind einige mit unverkennbarer Beziehung zum Deutschen gebildet, indessen im allgemeinen sind ihrer doch weit weniger, als man vielleicht erwarten könnte. Die Wörter tragen zum weitaus grössten Teil einen ganz allgemeinen Charakter, und könnten sich in der Darstellung eines beliebigen andern Gegenstandes ebensowohl finden wie hier. Es ist dies ein sehr bedeutsames Zeichen für die Art der Schilderung, wie Carlyle überall seine eigenen Gedanken und Ansichten über die berichteten Vorgänge entwickelt. Noch viel charakteristischer für diese durchaus subjektive Färbung des Inhalts und der Sprache des Werkes ist die auffällige Häufigkeit, mit der Carlyle auch hier von den Ausdrücken Gebrauch macht, die früher schon als Schlagwörter bezeichnet sind. Es berührt ganz eigentümlich, hier überall jenen Bildungen wieder zu begegnen, die man hauptsächlich in den socialpolitischen Schriften zu finden gewohnt war. Auch ist nicht zu leugnen, dass ein Leser, der nicht alle früheren Werke des Autors kennt, im Anfang seine Mühe haben wird, sich über den genauen Sinn dieser termini technici klar zu werden, von denen manche unter ganz bestimmten Gedankenverbindungen entstanden sind. Aber es wäre durchaus ungerecht, wollte man Carlyle hieraus einen Vorwurf, etwa gar den der Arroganz (wie es ja geschehen ist) machen. Die häufige Anwendung derartiger Ausdrücke im Fr. Gr. zeigt gerade, wie geläufig sie dem Verfasser waren, zugleich aber lässt sie so recht deutlich erkennen, in wie hohem Masse er zur angemessenen Wiedergabe seiner Empfindungen ihrer bedurfte, und diese Wahrnehmung bestätigt vollauf die früher geäusserte Ansicht, dass, bei aller ihrer Sonderbarkeit, ihre Entstehung eine ganz natürliche, ja notwendige war.

Man würde ein wesentliches Charakteristicum des Wortschatzes in Fr. Gr. unberücksichtigt lassen, wollte man die wichtigsten solcher Formen, sowie einige andere von hier wiederkehrenden früheren Bildungen, nicht wenigstens kurz erwähnen, wie z. B. die folgenden:

speciosities I. 12. *babblement* I. 16. II. 357. *environment* I. 14. II. 148. III. 303. VI. 333 u. ö. *attorneyism* I. 104. V. 19. 33. *tailorage* I. 137. *cousinry* I. 157. 163. V. 350. VII. 92. *wiggery*

I. 430. II. 118. 236. IV. 13. u. ö. *visualities* 457. *tagraggery* II. 7. V. 194. 228. VIII. 29. u. ö. *Spectrality* II. 106. IV. 338. V. 167. VI. 26. 28. u. ö. *Playactorisms* III. 241. V. 241. *cobwebberies* III. 155. IV. 39. VI. 30 u. ö. *lucency* III. 333. VI. 197. IX. 330. *Doggery* III. 316. V. 249. VI. 47. 202. 203. u. ö. *Owleries* V. 23. VI. 191. VI. 390 u. ö. *eupepticity* V. 110. *somnambulancy* V. 205. *somnambulencies* VII. 197. *dispiritment* V. 195. *bedlamisms* VI. 116. IX. 110. *Valethood* VI. 167. *theatricalities* VI. 233. 234. *do-nothingisms* VII. 195. *Newcastleisms, Cromwellisms* VII. 196. *quotity* IX. 191. *Pompadourisms* IX. 268.

Die Zahl dieser Beispiele könnte noch vermehrt werden, sie wird aber genügen, um zu veranschaulichen, in wie enger Beziehung Carlyles Sprache im Fr. Gr. zu der der früheren Werke steht. Es möge jetzt die Reihe von den Wörtern folgen, welche entweder ganz neu erfunden, oder doch bisher nur vereinzelt aufgetreten sind. Mehrfach sind, wie schon früher, zusammengehörige Beispiele zusammengestellt worden. Gerade bei einem Werke von so bedeutendem Umfange lässt sich auf diese Weise deutlich zur Geltung bringen, wie der Autor einerseits dasselbe Wort mit weitgehender Freiheit in wechselnder Bedeutung gebraucht, und mit welchem Geschick er andererseits auch Sinnesnüancierungen durch eine leichte zweckmässige Aenderung der Form meisterhaft zum Ausdruck zu bringen weiss. —

In general, in that French Revolution, all was on a huge scale; ... there were fellows on the stage with such a breadth of sabre, extent of *whiskerage,* strength of windpipe, and gunpowder, as had never been seen before. I. 9.

there were great things before Napoleon, — and likewise an Art of War, grounded on veracity and human courage and insight, not upon Drawcansir rodomontade, grandiose *Dick-Turpinism,* revolutionary madness ... 10.

Vgl. dazu: This second item the British writer fully admits ever since ... and images to himself a royal *Dick Turpin,* of the kind known in Review-Articles ... and labels it Frederick 16.

But I think all real Poets, to this hour, are Psalmists and *Iliadists* after their sort. 23.

→

For there have already been two little *Princekins,* who are both dead. 26.

hissing of forked serpents here, and the universal *alleleu* of female hysterics there 58.

his Sophie Dorothee, — „Fiechen" (*Feekin,* diminutive of Sophie), as he calls her, and the new king himself noticed her, and hurled back a look of due *fulminancy*, which could not help the matter, and was only lost in air. 65.

Henry the Lion of Saxony and *Welfdom.* 98.

Damit vergleiche man:

Alas, thinks his Royal Highness, is there not a flower of *Welfdom* now in England. II. 443.

eight years after Bannockburn; while our poor Edward II. and England with him were in such a *welter* with their Spencers and their Gavestons. I. 156, II. 145, V. 308, VI. 24.

but Sigismund, far from redeeming old pawn-tickets with the Newmark, pawned the Newmark too, — the second *Pawnage* of Brandenburg. 186.

Daneben, gebräuchlich: This is the third Brandenburg *pawning.* 187.

Baronage, *Burgherage,* they were German mostly by blood, and by culture were wholly German. 216.

Protestant Theology, to make matters worse for him, had split itself furiously into *'doxies*; and there was an *Osianderism* (Osiander being the Duke's chaplain), much flamed-upon by the more orthodox *ism.* 260.

Aehnlich: heterodoxy ... orthodoxy ... *'doxy* III. 315.

Albert again drew sword; went lose at a high rate upon his Bamberg-Würzburg enemies, and, having raised supplies there, upon Moritz and those *Passau-Treatiers.* 267.

we ... with our ponderous Austrian depth of *Habituality* and indolence of Intellect, we prefer Darkness to uncertain new Light! 272.

Christian. made acceptable love to the daughter, — „Divike (*Dovekin,* Columbina)", as he called her. 276.

His wars against the Turks, and his other *Hectorships,* I will forget. (Gesagt von Joachim II., Hector, Kurfürst von Brandenburg). 285.

Nay who knows but it was this very jerk, and the half-ruin of his nervous-system . . . that first set the poor man on thinking of expensive *ornamentalities,* and Knightships in particular? 378.

From this Edict-of-Nantes environment, which taught our young Fritz his first lessons of human behaviour . . . he learned also to clothe his bits of notions, emotions, and garrulous *utterabilities,* in the French dialect. 397.

Grumbkow, a cunning, greedy-hearted, long-headed fellow of the old Pomeranian Nobility by birth, has a kind of superficial polish put upon his *Hyperboreanisms.* 400.

Painter Pesne, a French Immigrant or *Importee,* of the last reign . . . was sent for. 454.

A really graceful little Picture; and certainly, to Prussian men, not without weight of meaning. Nor perhaps to Picture-Collectors and Cognoscenti generally, of whatever country, — if they could forget, for a moment the *correggiosity*[1]) of Correggio, and the learned babble of the Sale-room and varnishing Auctioneer. 455.

In etwas anderm Sinn: In the Berlin Galleries, — which are made up, like other Galleries, of goat-footed Pan, Europa's Bull, Romulus's She-Wolf, and the *correggiosity* of Correggio; and contain, for instance, no Portrait of Frederick the Great. 456.

Wieder in ganz verschiedener Bedeutung:

ceilings painted as by Correggio . . . twelve Serenities may dine there, flanked by their mirror, enjoying the *Correggiosities* above, and the practical sublimities all round. III. 74.

Was there ever seen such a travelling *tagraggery* of a Sovereign Court before? II. 7.

Most dull, embroiled, heavy Document; intricate, gnarled, and

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[1]) Es kann nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass Carlyle, wie schon Krummacher mit Recht bemerkt, dieses Wort Sterne's „Tristram Shandy" entlehnt hat. Es ist hier auch nicht als Neubildung aufgeführt, sondern nur um zu zeigen, wie Carlyle denselben Ausdruck in verschiedenen Bedeutungen verwendet. Erwähnt sei aber noch, dass nach dem Oxf. Dict. die Form bei Sterne *„corregiescity"* lautet, während *„correggiosity"* schon vor Carlyle 1848 bei Mrs. Jameson belegt ist.

in fine, rough and stiff as natural *bullheadedness* helped by Prussian pipeclay can make it. II. 18/9.

on the other hand, a proper abhorrence (Abscheu) of Papistry, and insight into its *baselessness* and *nonsensicality* (Ungrund und Absurdität). 19. 50.

„For grinding the hanger" (little *swordkin*) 26.

Friedrich Wilhelm's words, in high clangorous metallic *plangency* . . . fall hotter and hotter. 169.

Even book-men, though generally pedants and mere bags of wind and folly, are good for something, more especially if rich mines of *quizzability* turn out to be workable in them. 173.

Queen Sophie, the politest of women, did once, says Poellnitz, on some excessive pressure of that lisping snuffing *unendurability* [Seckendorf], lose her royal patience and flame out. 190.

Vgl. such injustices and *unendurabilities.* IV. 338.

Whereupon, among the simple People, arose rumours of omens, *preternaturalisms,* for and against. 202.

English crowns, Hanoverian *crownlets* 203.

Poor foolish old soul, what is this world, with all its *dukeries*! 205. III. 131.

Except Grumbkow, Derschau, and one or two of less importance, with the due minimum of *Valetry,* he had brought no retinue. 215. IV. 376.

and an end put to this inexpressible Double-Marriage *higgle-haggle.* 314.

Prince of Holstein-Beck . . . not wiser than he should be; sold all his Apanage or *Princeship,* for example, and bought Plate with it. 381/2.

Mit anderer Bedeutung: To this day, Reinsberg stands with the air of a solid respectable Edifice; still massive, raintight, though long since deserted by the *Princeships.* III. 284/5.

the Bucentaur and Fleet were all hung with coloured *lamplets* 388. 389.

Friedrich Wilhelm . . . writes to the then extant Abbess to make Wilhelmina „Coadjutress", or Heir-Apparent to that *Chief-Nunship.* 405.

a Royal Young Man; who cannot in the name of manhood, endure, and must not in the name of *sonhood*, resist... 405.

a certain young fellow, Grävenitz by name, who had ... got some *pageship* or the like here in Würtemberg. 440.

Foolish Natzmer ... went up, nothing loath, to speak *graciosities* and insipidities to him. III. 13.

Tuesday 20th November 1731, Wilhelmina's wedding-day arrived, after a *brideship* of eight months. 71.

to distinguish himself by real excellence in *Commandantship* of the Regiment Goltz. 85 u. ö.

They were lodged in the Waisenhaus (old Franke's Orphan-house); Official-List of them was drawn-up here, with the fit *specificality* 137.

considering his Majesty ... to have no intellect at all, because he was without guile, and had no *vulpinism* at all. 173.

especially the Crown-Prince, whose eagerness is very great, has got liberty to go. „As volunteer" he too: as Colonel of Goltz, it might have had its *unsuitabilities*, in etiquette and otherwise. 219.

Probably his poor little *Daughterkin* was beside him there? 295.

And the rest, truly, ought to depart and vanish, (as they are now doing); being mere ephemera; contemporary eaters, scramblers for provender, talkers of acceptable hearsay; and related merely to the *butteries* and wiggeries of their time, and not related to the *Perennialities* at all. 302/3.

a new „Gospel", good-tidings or God's-message, by this man; — which Friedrich does not suspect, as the world with horror does, to be a new *Ba'spel*, or Devil's-message of bad tidings! 321.

The Crown-Prince, reading this bad Book of Macchiavel's, years ago, had been struck ... with its badness, its falsity, *detestability* 381.

Getting no written answer, or distinct verbal one; getting only some vague *mumblement* as good as none, Rambonet had disappeard. IV. 108.

This place, my Dryasdust informs me, had many accidents by *floodage* and by fire. 233.

by which adventure, and its rages and *unspeakabilities*, the poor old Callenberg is since dead. 302.

What is truth, falsity, human Kingship, human *Swindlership* 350.

huge formless, tongue-less monsters of that species, doing their „three readings“, — under Presidency or *chief-pipership* as above! 362.

Such a Sungod, and doing such a *Scavengerism*! 365.

letting-off Parliamentary blue-leights, to awaken the Sleeping *Swineries*, and charm them into diapason for you, — what a music! 384.

Mission to take Portraiture of English *Seamanhood*, with the due grimness, due fidelity. 394.

A man born poor: son of some poor *Squirelet* in the Ruppin Country. 406.

Of Friedrich's fairness, or of Friedrich's „trickiness, macchiavelism and *attorneyism*,“ readers will form their own notion, as they proceed. V. 18/9.

Readers must accept this *Robinsoniad* as the last of Friedrich's Diplomatic performances at Strehlen. 49 (= diese Unterredung mit [dem englischen Gesandten] Robinson).

Precursor *Tolpatcheries* (and, in fact, Prince Karl's Vanguard, if we knew it) . . . came storming about, rifer and rifer. 173. 194. 240. VI. 8 u. ö. (= Scharen von Tolpatches, einer Art leichter österreichischer Kavallerie).

Ganz analog sind gebildet:

Ziethen waving intrusive *Croateries* far off ... VIII. 30. IX. 161.

ignorant what Croats and *Loudonries* there may be among those Devil's Hills to his right. VIII. 94.

there is occasional „hanging of a Prag butcher“ or so, convicted of *spyship*, but the minimum of that, we will hope. V. 239.

In all Welf Sovereigns, and generally in Teuton Populations, ...there is the requisite unconscious substratum of taciturn *inexpugnability*, with depth of rage almost unquenchable, to be found, when you apply for it. 290.

it was Zisca and his Hussites that built themselves this Bit of *Inexpugnability*. 411.

at present, it seems, the Reich has no kaiser at all; and will go ever deeper into anarchies and *unnameabilities,* till it proceed to get anew one. 313.

Colonel Mentzel ... Whom ... Prince Karl overwhelmed with joy, by handing him a Patent of *Generalcy* 385.

Ziethen handsels his *Major-Generalcy* in this fine way. 424.

Vgl. dazu in anderer Bedeutung:

The high *Generalcy*, Soubise, Hildburghausen, Darmstadt, mount in the highest state. VII. 293.

Pitt's *Generalcies* and War-Offices, — we know whether they were of the Prussian type or of the Swedish! VIII. 22.

all things betokening *inexpugnability* on the part of the Enemy. So that ... Lehwald has to take his measures; study well where the vital point is, the root of that extensive Austrian *junglery,* and cut-in upon the same. By considerable fire ... cannon-batteries, and what *inexpugnabilities* there may be, are subdued; Austrian wide *junglery*, the root of it slit asunder, rolls homeward. VI. 11.

Vgl. dazu: cannon-batteries, grenadiers, dragoons of Gotha and infinite Pandours: military *jungle* bristling far and wide. VI. 74.

Or would you have us administer it under the *guardiancy* of Prussia! 113.

On the Dauphin's Wedding ... there needed to be Court shows, *Dramaticules,* Transparencies, Feasts of Lanterns, or I know not what. 201.

Gentlemanship of the Chamber thereupon (which Voltaire, by permission, sold, shortly after, for 2.500 l., with titles retained), and appointment as Historiographer Royal. 202, Note.

This Duchess ... was in trouble with the Regent d'Orleans about Alberoni-Cellamare conspiracies (1718), Regent having stript her husband of his high *legitimatures* and dignities, with littly ceremony. 207.

small head and countenance losing itself in a *cloudery* of head-dress. 213 (übs. a. Frz. [nuage?])

Friedrich, — in answer to new cunning *croakeries* and contrivances ... has answered him like a king. 277.

Pretty contrasts, those, of sublime *Quacksalverism,* with Sense under the mask of Folly. 348.

This *blurt* of La Mettrie's goes through him like a shot of electricity through an elderly Household-Cat. 352.

Ebenso: De Prades . . . burst out . . . into loud *blurts* of mere heresy and heterodoxy. 360. VII. 194.

Meantime there has a fine Controversy risen . . . concerning that König-Maupertuis *dissentience* on the Law of Thrift. 378.

I have seen staff-officers, distinguished only by their *sasheries* and insignia, who would not have stirred to inspect a vedette without 250 men. VII. 105 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

I know the ennui attending on honours, the burdensome duties, the jargon of grinning flatterers, those *pitiabilities* of every kind . . . with which you have to occupy yourself. 312 (übs. a. Frz.).

Majesty confessed afterwards, Every hour from the very first had lowered his opinion of the Saxon Swan, till at length *Goosehood* became too apparent. 316.

to your Royal Majesty and Electoral *Translucency.* 358. 359 (übs. a. Dtsch. „Durchlaucht").

Recapture of Schweidnitz, the last speck of *Austrianism* wiped away there. VIII. 24.

City trades in leather and live stock, we said; has much to do with artillery, much with *ecclesiastry.* 28.

the trains from Troppau take about six days . . . can't be hurried beyond that pace, if you would save your laggards, your irregulars, and prevent what we may call *raggery* in your rearward parts. 37.

Tempelhof had risen about three, as usual; had his guns and gunners ready; and was standing by the watch-fire, „expecting the customary *Pandourade*", and what form it would take this morning. 101 (Zweimal).

No answer: „Nothing there — Pshaw, a mery *crackery* (Geknacker) of Pandours and our Free-corps people, after all!" VIII. 101.

„Taking the defensive, then? And what is to become of one's *Cunctatorship* in that case!" Yes, truly. *Cunctator-*

ship is not now the trade needed; there is nothing to be made of playing Fabius-Cunctator. 157.

A Country ... with lakelets, bushes, scrubs, and intricate meandering little runlets and *oozelets*. 212.

Truly a bit of right *soldierhood*, this Wolfe. 305.

The whole German Reich was deluged with secret Prussian *Enlisters* 381 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

cannonade and *musketade* from the south, audible in the Lestwitz-Hülsen quarters. 127. 202/3.

He ... fell partly, never quite, which was wonderful, into drinking, as the solution of his *inextricabilities*. 262.

filling her ears and souls with *shriekery*, and metallic clangour. 341. X. 59.

at Crefeld [he] had view of another Battle-field, under good *ciceroneship*. 368.

Incident about the king's high opinion of the kaiser's *drill-sergeantry* in this day's manoeuvres. X. 25.

Daneben wendet er auch das gebräuchliche „sergeantcy" an:

Seldom had human *drill-sergeantcy* such a problem. VIII. 41 (Zweimal).

Carlyle hat hier wieder den Unterschied in der Bedeutung fein durch die verschiedene Form zum Ausdruck zu bringen gewusst: das erste der beiden Wörter bezeichnet die Gesamtheit der „Drill-sergeants", das zweite ihren Rang und Dienst.

August 1st, Romanzow has a „Battle of Kaghul", so they call it; though it is a *„Slaughtery"* or Schlachterei, rather than a „Slaught" or Schlacht, say my German friends. 31. pag. 34 dann ohne Beziehung zum dtsch. Ausdruck gebraucht.

Then again, so long as Sarah Jennings held the Queen's Majesty in bondage, some gleams of *Kinghood* for us under Marlborough: — after whom *Noodleism* and Somnambulism, zero on the back of zero, and all our Affairs ... jumbling at random. 126/7.

And before January was out, [Görtz] saw the Reich's-Diet at Regensburg, much more the general *Gazetteerage*

everywhere, seized of this affair, and thrown into paroxysms at the size and complexion of it. 146/7.

Three little *benchlets* or stools ... stood before him. 192 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Friedrich ... continued his salutary *cashierment* of the wigged Gentlemen, and imprisonment till their full term ran. 202.

thereby reclaiming a tract of waste moor (einen öden Bruch urbar machen) into *arability,* where now 308 families have their living. 279 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Wie nach der Besprechung der Fr. R. einige Worte über das Gepräge der aus jener Zeit stammenden Privatschriften zu sagen waren, so darf auch hier nicht versäumt werden, einen Blick auf die in dem zwischen Fr. R. und Fr. Gr. liegenden Zeitraum geschriebenen Briefe Carlyles zu werfen. Für diesen Zweck stehen zur Verfügung die von C. E. Norton veröffentlichte „Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and R. W. Emerson", sowie die zahlreichen von Froude in T. C. III. und IV. abgedruckten Schreiben. Beide Quellen bringen für die ganze Periode von 1834 bis 1872 zahlreiche charakteristische Formen, weitaus genügend, um überzeugend nachweisen zu können, dass die hier angewendete Sprache, wie in den „Letters", in vollem Einklang steht zu der der gleichzeitigen andern Schriften, sodass die bei Besprechung jener ausgesprochenen Ansichten und Schlüsse in ihrem ganzen Umfange aufrecht zu erhalten sind und durch die hier gemachten Beobachtungen noch weiter gestützt werden.

Perhaps it will be printed soon as an Article, or even as a separate *Booklet.* C. E. I. 24.

Ebenso: The Pamphlet itself (or rather *Booklet*). 261 (mit Wortspiel).

must not your *gigmanity* be a purse-*gigmanity* 44.

Our Ex-Chancellor has been promulgating *triticalities* (significant as novelties, when he with his wig and *lordhood* utters them) against the Aristocracy 71.

Across several unsuitable wrappages, of Church-of-Englandism and others, my heart loves the man. He is one, and the best, of a small class here, who ... saved themselves into

a Coleridgian *Shovel-hattedness,* or determination to preach. 140.

Vgl. dazu: with his Coleridge *Shovel-Hattism* he has contrived to relate himself to you. 218.

in a word, that Goethe-and-Schiller's „Kunst" has far more brotherhood with Pusey-and-Newman's *Shovelhattery,* and other the like deplorable phenomena... II. 123.

Pantheism, *Pottheism, Mydoxy, Thydoxy,* are nothing at all to me. I. 190.

I read Books, my wife sewing by me, with the light of a *sinumbra.* 205.

if Boston, if New-York, have become the most convenient „All-*Saxondom*". 247.

to the *bedazzlement* of all bystanders. 273.

If they would undertake...to make a wise man Mahomet Second and Greater, „Mahomet of Saxondom", not reviewed only, but worshipped for twelve centuries by all *Bulldom, Yankee-doodle-doodom, Felondom* New-Zealand, under the Tropics and in part of Flanders... 295.

I have parted with my horse...there was not enough of good to warrant such *equestrianism* 303.

Do you attend at all to this new *Laudism* of ours? 312.

I work still in *Cromwellism.* 315.

I love the Book and man, and their noble rustic *herohood* and manhood. 332.

at Quimperle in his native *Celtdom.* 339.

the tongue of man is not...entirely sure to emit babblement *twaddlement,* sincere-cant. 356.

each of us... has to stand dumb, cased up in his own *unutterabilities.* II. 10.

Eulogies, *dyslogies,* in which one finds no features of one's own natural face, are easily dealt with. 43.

one of the *unsupportabilities* of Bookseller Accounts. 47.

we find you a Speaker indeed, but as it were a *Soliloquizer.* 81.

it [Carlyle's Portrait] professes to be from his painting; ... a flayed horse's head without the *spiritualism,* good or bad, and simply figures on my mind as a *detestability.* 91.

smearing them over ... into *irrecognizability.* 131.

„Exodus from Houndsditch“ (I think it might be called), a peeling off of fetid *Jewhood* in every sense from myself and my poor bewildered brethren. 140.

All people are in a sort of *joy-dom* over the new French Republic. 163 (1848).

with an ineffaceable *tastekin* of soot in it. 170.

No Miller here at present is likely to produce such beautiful meal as some of the American specimens I have seen ... let our Friend charitable make some inquiry into the process of *millerage.* 178.

the *„Wind-dust-ry* of all Nations“ involving everything in one inane tornado. 197. (Vgl. L. W.[1] 262.)

not to speak of wet wrappages, solitary sad *steepages,* and other singular procedures. 205.

Goethe's sad Court-*environment.* 224.

the Prussian Soldiers ... with the touches of effective *Spartanism* I saw or fancied in them. 225.

The poor little *Daisykin* will get into the News-papers. 323 (1870!).

my highly infelicitous *Selectress* of Letters. 330.

and especially I wonder at the gold-nuggeting here, while plainly every *gold-nuggeter* is no other than a criminal to human society. 351.

Finally assure yourself that I am neither Pagan nor Turk, nor circumcised Jew; but an unfortunate Christian individual resident at Chelsea in this year of grace, neither Pantheist, nor *Pot-theist,* nor any Theist or *Ist* whatsoever. T. C. III 43/4 (1835).

I feel at this time as if I should never laugh more, or rather say sniff and whiffle and pretend to laugh more ... Life is no frivolity, or hypothetical coquetry or *whifflery.* 60.

My wish and expectation partly is that *Montagudom* generally would be kind enough to keep its own side of the pavement. 67.

Speranza, thou *spairkin* Goody! 75.

My dear little *Janekin,* I must leave thee now. 75.

As to Goethe, no other man whatever, as I say always, has yet ascertained what Christianity is to us, and what Paganity is, and all manner of other *anities.* 123.

At night Miss Martineau and Darwin. The visit ... did nothing but make me miserable. She is a *formulist,* limited in the extreme, and for the present altogether triumphant in her limits. 129.

Freedom unter the blue sky — ah me! — with a bit of brown bread and *pepticity* to eat it with. 141. 143.

One can say nothing; one's heart is full of *unutterabilities.* 146.

X. was there, a most jerking, distorted, violent, vapid, brown-gipsy piece of self-conceit and *green-roomism.* 155.

I do not see well what good I can get by meeting him much, or Lady B. and *demirepdom,* though I should not object to see it once, and then oftener if agreeable. 159.

Mill says it [Sterling's Review of Carlyle] is the best thing you ever wrote ... full of generosity, passionate insight, lightning, extravagance and *Sterlingism.* 169.

I mean to ... try faithfully whether in that way my insupportable burden and imprisonment, cannot be alleviated into at least the old degree of *endurability.* 179. [1840].

There was a celebrated Florentine, Signora Vespucci, there, very dashing in turban and stage-*tragicalities.* 187.

Miss Jewsbury, our fair *pilgrimess* ... is coming again to-morrow. 208.

I bathe daily, ride often ... It is a savage existence for most part, not unlike that of gipsies . . . Such *gipsydom* I often liken to the mud bath your sick rhinoceros seeks out for himself. 219.

Really, in my country, all sunk crown deep in cant, twaddle, and hollow *traditionality,* is not the first man that will begin to speak the truth — any truth — a new and newest era? 220.

Returned nearly three weeks ago after a long sojourn in Annandale, &c., a life of transcendent *Do-Nothingism* and *Feel-Nothingism.* 222.

Harriet Martineau lies this long while confined to a sofa, writing, writing, full of spirits, vivacity, *didacticism.* 222.

that is the character of your Puseyism, *Shelleyism,* &c., real ghosts of extinct *Laudisms, Robespierreisms,* to me extremely hideous at all times. 230.

All the Dukes in creation melted into one Duke were not worth sixpence to me. I declare I could not live there at all in such an accursed, soul-oppressing puddle of a *Dukery.* 251.

I discover there what illustrious genealogies we have; a whole regiment of Thomas Carlyles, wide possessions... gone all now into the uttermost wreck, absorbed into *Douglasdom, Drumlanrigdom,* and the devil knows what. 252.

They wore on the streets a horrid three-cornered shovel for hat... some *sasheries* about their nasty thick waists. 264.

The good wife has sate by in a composed sorrowfully satisfied way seeing her good man eat. What he left... he carelessly handed her, and she ate it with much more neatness, though also willingly enough. Good *motherkin!* 271.

My grand adventure has been a ride of three days into *Cromwelldom.* 276.

It is over now, all that *lackeyism,* thank God! 312.

a man struggling confusedly amid the boundless element of twaddle, dilettantism, *shopkeeperism,* and other impurity and insanity. 331.

there is nothing in all the earth so stern to me as that constantly advancing *inevitability* [der Tod seiner Mutter], which indeed has terrified me all days 339.

Walked up to *Baringdom* [= Wohnung, Familie der Barings] in the evening. The poor Lady had cold; was sitting with a fire — even she. 352.

We live here in the most complete state of *Do-nothingism.* 370. 403. IV. 98.

It often seems to me as if poor Loyola and that world *Jesuitry* of which he is the sacrament and symbol, was the blackest, most godless spot in the whole history of Adam's posterity. 378.

I will tell you about Bright, and *Brightdom,* and the Rochdale Bright mill some other day. 412.

an honest man, precious, though with only insular or even parish culture — enveloped in Southeyisms, *Shovel-hattisms,* &c. 422.

how sad that ... all the world in its protest against False Government, should find no remedy but that of rushing into No Government or anarchy (*kinglessness*), which I take this republican universal *suffragism* to inevitably be. 430.

a sensual, proud-looking man, of whom or his genesis or *environment* I know nothing. T. C. IV. 12. [1849].

I have no right properly, to get a *letterkin* to-morrow. 15.

One's heart becomes a grim Hades, peopled only with silent *preternaturalism.* 22.

„all nations" crowding to us with their so-called industry or ostentatious *frothery.* 79.

The Judengasse, grimmest section of the Middle Ages and their *pariahood* I ever saw. 106.

poor Schiller and Goethe here are dandled about and multiplied in miserable little *bustkins* and other dilettantisms, till one is sick and sad. 113.

Oh, my dear, one *Friendkin*! 207. [1858].

Our second place was Liegnitz itself, full of soldiers, oak garlands, coloured *lamplets,* and expectation of the prince. 222.

I am secretly rather glad ... that the howling *doggeries* (dead Ditto and other) should have my last word on their affairs and them. 353.

The road, to our growing weakness, dimness, *injurability* of every kind, becomes more and more obstructed. 361.

Poor „Comtism", ghastliest of algebraic *spectralities.* 372.

poor men, verging towards *apehood* by the Dead Sea if they don't stop short. 372.

Could your Frederic Wilhelm, your wisest Frederic, by the strictest government ... guide America forward in what is its real task at present — task of turning a savage immensity into *arability,* utility, and readiness for becoming human. 393. [1870].

I am much in the dark about the real meaning of all these quasi-infernal *Bedlamisms*. 405.

Death of John Mill at Avignon about a month ago, awakening what a world of reflections, emotions, and remembrances, fit to be totally kept silent in the present mad explosion of universal threnodying *penny-a-linism*. 419.

Ein weiteres und womöglich noch sichereres Kriterium für die Beurteilung der Sprache Carlyles, überzeugend selbst für den, der vielleicht auch dem Stil der an die Verwandten und Freunde geschriebenen Briefe keine vollkommene Natürlichkeit zugestehen will, bieten die „Reminiscences". Carlyle hat sie bald nach dem Tode seiner Gattin in einem Zustande geistiger und körperlicher Gebrochenheit niedergeschrieben, und auch der grösste Zweifler wird anerkennen müssen, dass hier von Affektation der Ausdrucksweise nicht die Rede sein kann, um so weniger, als der Vereinsamte diese „Erinnerungen" nur für sich, zur Erleichterung seines schweren Herzens, verfasst und ursprünglich garnicht für fremde Augen bestimmt hatte.

Und auf diesen Seiten nun, in dem Artikel „Jane Welsh Carlyle", den Garnett als „the most artless of all his writings", geschrieben wie von einem „man in a dream", bezeichnet, nicht weniger als in den anderen, treten dem Leser die Gedanken des Autors in ganz demselben Gewande entgegen, wie in den früheren Werken; er findet hier die gleiche Freiheit und Eigenart der Rede, dieselben sonderbaren und gewagten Wortformen wieder. Auch einigen gänzlich neuen Bildungen wird er begegnen, und so erkennen, dass Carlyle selbst hier noch das Bedürfnis empfand, neue Bezeichnungen zu erfinden.

A temporary fraction of this *planetkin,* — the whole round of which is but a sandgrain in the all. R. I. 35.

dainty little cap, perhaps little *beaverkin*. 75.

On the 12th of August (for the grouse's sake) Robert Welsh, her uncle, was pretty certain to be there; with a *tag-raggery* of Dumfries Writers, Dogs, &c. &c. 84.

Of the *theatricality* itself that night I can remember absolutely nothing. 93.

worse I could not have succeeded than poor Mill himself did as Editor (sawdust to the masthead, and a *croakery* of crawling things, instead of a speaking by men). 114.

„Detestable mixture of Prophecy and *Play-actorism*", as I sorrowfully defined it. 115.

Having no maid, no sign but of trouble and (unprofitable) *ladyhood,* they took her to a remote bedroom. 120.

That little *thoughtkin* stands in some of my Books. 171.

Harriet had started into *lionhood.* 176.

Vgl. dazu: Wordsworth took his bit of *lionism* very quietly. II. 306.

My Jeannie quarrelled with nothing in *Marshalldom*; quite the contrary, formed a kind of friendship ... with Cordelia Marshall. I. 183.

I did get it patched together into something of *supportability.* 199.

should not I recollect her fine *Notekins* and reposit them here? 203.

Probably about two years before that was the nadir of my poor Wife's sufferings; — internal sufferings and *dispiritments.* 203.

I journeyed and jumbled along amid the *shriekeries* and miseries. 242.

the then *Dissenterage* is definable to moderns simply as a „Free Kirk making no noise." II. 12.

but there were sacred *lambencies,* tongues of authentic flame from heaven. 15.

„circle"; which last word he pronounced „circul", with a certain *preciosity* (= nach Art der „Précieuses") which was noticeable. 18.

I well remember the play of point and nostrils there, while his wild, home grown *Gargantuisms* went on. 63.

He had a nimble quiet pony; rode, latterly ... much about among his *cousinry* or friends. 65.

A man capable of much soaking indolence, lazy brooding, and *do-nothingism.* 75.

such efflorescence of *flunkeyisms* 85.

impenetrable Fog, and its *spectralities* 93.

Mr. Buller came, saw (I dare say, with much suppressed *quizzery* and wonder) the uncommon man. 102.

Hazlitt, who was in the latter [category], a fine talent too, but tending towards *scamphood.* 111.

the New Road with its lively traffic and *vehiculation.* 117.
Metaphysical controversies and *cobwebberies.* 179.
the features of Irving or of his *environment.* 217 (auch II. 82).
Rustic Annandale begins it [the Drama], with its homely honesties, rough *vernacularities* 217.
But to my private self his divine reflections and *unfathomabilities* seemed stinted, scanty. 298.

Es sind jetzt noch die letzten Schriften Carlyles, „The Early Kings of Norway", „On the Portraits of John Knox", sowie die „Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle" und die „Last Words of Thomas Carlyle" zu behandeln. In den beiden erstgenannten Werken findet man, obschon sie noch mit Kraft und Frische geschrieben sind, keine ungewöhnlichen Bildungen, abgesehen etwa von:

and seldom, perhaps never, had *vikingism* been in such flower as now. K. N. 42. 103. 111.
... of all his woes, *dispiritments, intolerabilities* says no word. P. K. 268.

Man darf jedoch infolgedessen keineswegs etwa voreilig schliessen, dass Carlyle unter der Einwirkung des hohen Alters seine Eigenart abgelegt habe; sein Stil ist auch noch in dieser Zeit ein treues Spiegelbild des innern Menschen, und das Fehlen von neuen und charakteristischen Substantiven ist hier wieder einzig und allein aus der Art des behandelten Stoffes, der keine Gelegenheit zu ihrer Anwendung bot, zu erklären.

So findet man denn in den „Letters and Memorials" noch folgende bemerkenswerte Formen:

an airy winged turn of thought, flowing out in *lambencies* of beautiful spontaneous wit and fancy. L. M. I. 152/3.
gentle, genial *lambency* of grave humour and intelligence. 378.
one's company here being mainly God's sky and earth, not cockneydom with its slums, enchanted aperies and *infernalries.* III. 199.

Ja selbst die „Last Words", sein letzter warnender Mahnruf, zu dem der Anblick des verwerflichen Treibens gewissenloser Spekulanten dem achtundsiebzigjährigen schwachen und kranken Greise die Feder in die Hand gezwungen hat, zeigen noch eine Sprache, die in ihrer Art an P. Pr. und L. P. erinnert,

und man kann aus dem kurzen Schriftchen noch etwa die folgenden Ausdrücke anführen:

It is since this last resurrection into life and glory of the miraculous Commercial-World, that the hitherto dim though long active Genius of *Promoterism* has burst forth... as a Winged Genius, and become universally conspicuous 26. 31 u. ö.

if we all were at one time Apes and even Oysters, and animalcules, who (chiefly by judicious choice in marriage it appears) rose to this stupendous pitch of *humanhood* and civilization, — may not, to a poor necessitous Promoter, this peculiar Life-theory of his, with the like Life-praxis superadded, be truly the natural one? 35/36.

he reflects farther: If our stupendous Progress be not perhaps stopping, turning on its heel again, and gradually carrying us (that is Promotive Mankind) back to the state of *Apehood, Jackalhood,* and pure blubber once more? 36.

It is too clear, from the now prevailing nearly universal temper of mankind, and in such a British Anarchy, *kinglessness* weltering daily deeper down to the Bottomless, this of Promoterism will spread to great breadths, and heights. 41/42.

B. Adjektiva.

In dem vorhergehenden Kapitel ist, als dem ersten der eigentlichen Arbeit, und zugleich als einem der wichtigsten und für Carlyles Art der Wortbildung kennzeichnendsten, der Charakter der einzelnen Werke eingehender berücksichtigt, und der Standpunkt, von dem aus die betreffenden Erscheinungen jedesmal zu betrachten sind, näher bestimmt worden. In der Folge wird man, da die Voraussetzungen ja die gleichen bleiben, auf ein ähnlich ausführliches Vorgehen verzichten können und nur wichtigere neue oder von den früheren abweichende Beobachtungen zu besprechen haben.

Wie bei den Substantiven nimmt auch hier die Häufigkeit der neuen Formen allmählich zu; ihre Anzahl an sich ist freilich besonders zu Anfang weit geringer als die jener, was ganz begreiflich, da ja die im Menscheninnern arbeitenden Gedanken stets in erster Linie in den Hauptwörtern und erst weiterhin in den diese begleitenden Adjektiven ihren Ausdruck finden. Zieht man aber dabei ausserdem noch den Umstand in Erwägung, dass Carlyle von einer adjektivischen Verwendung der Substantiva überaus häufig Gebrauch macht, so wird man nach alledem doch die grosse Fruchtbarkeit auch an adjektivischen Neuprägungen nicht minder als ihre glückliche Bildung bewundern müssen. — Im allgemeinen treten hier dieselben Begleiterscheinungen auf wie bei den Substantiven. Auch jetzt wird man, wie früher, in den meisten Fällen wieder unschwer erkennen, wie das Bestreben, durch ein Wort möglichst kurz und prägnant das auszudrücken, was die gewöhnliche Sprache durch Umschreibungen wiederzugeben pflegt, zur Bildung dieser Adjektiva geführt hat. Das tritt

neben vielen andern besonders auch bei den von Eigennamen abgeleiteten Begriffen, sowie bei denen, die durch Anhängung von -like an Substantiva entstanden sind, zu Tage. Formen von der Art dieser beiden Klassen kennt die englische Sprache sonst zwar auch, doch im Grunde nur von solchen Ausdrücken, die des öfteren in der Rede vorkommen, während Carlyle zu jedem beliebigen Wort ein solches Adjektiv mit weitgehender Freiheit bildet. Auf diese Vorliebe ist als auf einen charakteristischen Zug seines Stiles hinzuweisen, aber die zahlreichen Belege hierfür sind im einzelnen von zu geringer Bedeutung, als dass man sie hier sämtlich bringen sollte. Daher seien, nachdem im Anfang durch mehrfache Beispiele Carlyles Verfahren in dieser Beziehung genügend kenntlich gemacht ist, für die spätere Zeit nur bemerkenswertere Fälle angeführt. —

Ferner ist hier wie bei den Substantiven oft zu beobachten, dass ein neues Adjektiv unter der Einwirkung eines anderen, bei ihm stehenden, seine Gestalt bekommen hat, und dass wichtigere Wörter, sobald sie erst einmal geschaffen sind, beständig wiederkehren. — Mit Beziehung auf ein späteres Kapitel, das negative Bildungen behandeln wird, sei gleich im voraus bemerkt, dass hier solche negativen Ausdrücke mit verzeichnet sind, zu denen die positive Form sonst auch nicht existiert, während man umgekehrt später nur solche negativen Bezeichnungen finden wird, deren Positivum als gebräuchlich angegeben ist.

Die ersten Schriften weisen nur hier und da einzelne verstreute Neubildungen auf, indessen lassen schon die aus den E. L. und T. C. I. citierten Beispiele wieder früh Carlyles Neigung, sonderbare Formen zu einem gewissen humoristischen Effekt zu bilden, erkennen. S. R. bringt dann aber auf einmal eine beträchtlich grössere Zahl neuer Wörter, und man erkennt auch hier wieder leicht, wie der Autor durch seltsame Wortschöpfungen seine Sprache dem Wesen Teufelsdröckh's anzupassen sucht. In M. IV. und Fr. R. erreicht die Zahl der neuen Adjektiva eine recht bedeutende Höhe, die indessen relativ immerhin merklich hinter der bei den Substantiven wahrgenommenen zurückbleibt. In einigen Fällen wird man an schon bekannte ähnliche Substantivbildungen erinnert werden;

es würde indessen zu weit führen, wollte man jedesmal näher darauf hinweisen; die Formen müssen für sich selbst sprechen. —

This I confess is a very pragmatical *Frank-Dixon-ish* way of talking. E. L. I. 336.

I have written in a strange humour to-night, Jack: *melancholickish, ill-naturedish, affectionatish* — all in ish — for I am very weak and weary. II. 31.

much management in a *longish* life T. C. I. 220.

He is a slender, rough-faced, *palish,* gentle, languid-looking man. 220.

Indeed, so fitful and *weather-cock-like* in their proceedings are they that ... 224.

He was wont in his *babbly* way ... to remark when the least thing was complained of or went wrong. 317.

Truly, a most delightful and *swan-like* melody is in them. 364.

this morning came a *testificatory* letter from Buller, and a most majestic certificate in three pages from Edward Irving. 417.

the *Zinzendorfic* [Zinzendorfisch] mode of speech and thought Tr. I. 332.

While they descended ... the strait and even *steepish* stairs. [die enge und beinahe steile Treppe] II. 20.

Nothing is more common than sickness and corporeal diseases; but to remove, to mitigate these by spiritual or *spiritual-like* [geistigen ähnliche] means, is extra-ordinary. 241.

he felt himself a little *mummy-like* [mumienhaft], somewhat between a sick man and a man embalmed. 241.

the *landgraphic* [landgräflichen] nostrils sniffed displeasure. III. 100.

In the days of Count Ernst, there was current, among *anecdotic* persons, a wondrous story of Duke Henry the Lion. 108.

an antiquated author, who ... must submit to let himself be modernised, that is to say, again made readable and *likeable* [geniessbar]. 115.

like that of the *Gleichic* [Gleichischen] garden. 116. 152.

the *Sultanic* [sultanische] progeny. 118.

Thou true-hearted wife ... how is thy lowly birth, by thy spiritual new-birth, made *forgettable* [vergesslich] nay remarkable. 267.

from this *Fixleinic* life [Leben Fixleins!]. 340.

The wayward mystic gloom of Calderon, the lurid fire of Dante, the *auroral* light of Tasso, the clear icy glitter of Racine, all are acknowledged and reverenced. M. I. 64.

the Messenger of the valley, a strange, ambiguous, little *sylph-like* maiden, gives him obscure encouragement. 124.

The peculiar talent of the French in all narrative, at least in all *anecdotic* departments M. II. 172.

Among all *threnetical* discourses on record this last ... has probably an unexampled character. 207.

the grand Tissue of all Tissues, the only real Tissue, should have been quite overlooked by Science, — the *vestural* Tissue, of woollen or other cloth. S. R. 4.

But, quitting this twilight region, Teufelsdröckh hastens from the Tower of Babel, to follow the dispersion of Mankind over the whole habitable and *habilable* globe. 36.

Often in my *atrabiliar* moods, when I read of pompous ceremonials ... on a sudden ... the Clothes fly-off the whole dramatic corps. 59.

Is that a real Elysian brightness ... or the reflex of *Pandemonian* lava? 68.

Uttering which singular words, in a clear, *bell-like,* forever memorable tone, the Stranger gracefully withdrew. 83.

For if, by ill chance ... your House fell, have I not seen five neighbourly Helpers [i. e. swallows] appear next day; and swashing to and fro, with animated, loud, long-drawn chirpings, and activity almost *super-hirundine,* complete it again before nightfall? 96.

Over his *Gymnasic* and Academic years the Professor by no means lingers so lyrical and joyful as over his childhood. 102. 106.

Such perhaps was the aim of Nature ... in furnishing her favourite, Man, with this his so omnipotent or rather *omnipatient* Talent of being gulled. 111.

though talented wonderfully enough, we are poor, unfriended, *dyspeptical,* bashful. 119.

It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-birth, or *Baphometic* Fire-baptism. 163. 164. (Vgl. dazu: mythuses of Baffomethus. M. I. 138.)

Hast thou not a Brain, furnished, *furnishable* with some glimmerings of Light? 191.

Yes, Friends ... not our Logical, *Mensurative* faculty, but our Imaginative one is King over us. 214.

your Hero-Divinity shall have nothing *apelike,* but be wholly human. 243.

And again, do not we squeak and jibber (in our discordant, *screech-owlish* debatings and recriminatings); and glide bodeful, and feeble, and fearful. 256.

The *Dandiacal* Body. 263. [Ueberschrift von Buch III. Kap. 10.)

Ebenso: it appears as if this *Dandiacal* Sect were but a new modification, adapted to the new time, of that primeval Superstition, Self-worship. 266. 268 u. ö.

The rites, by some supposed to be of the *Menadic* sort 267.

No licence of fashion can allow a man of delicate taste to adapt the *posterial* luxuriance of a Hottentot. 269.

These two principles of Dandiacal Self-worship or Demon-worship, and Poor-Slavish or *Drudgical* Earth-worship ... do as yet indeed manifest themselves under distant and nowise considerable shapes. 274. 275 u. ö.

The epithet schneidermässig (*tailor-like*) betokens an otherwise unapproachable degree of pusillanimity. 278/9.

The *purfly,* sandblind lubber and blubber, with his open mouth, and face of bruised honey-comb. M. IV. 95.

Not of the Pharisaical *Brummellean* Politeness 101.

the watery condition of the *Gottschedic* world 146.

after some *flary* oil-daubings ... have become rags and rubbish 207.

and, though to the eye but some six standard feet in size, reaches downwards and upwards, *unsurveyable.* 233.

How the most encyclopedical head that perhaps ever existed ... comports himself in that trying circumstance of *preternuptial* (and indeed, at such age, and with so many „indigestions“, almost preternatural) devotion to the queens of this earth, may ... be here seen. 238. 239. 254. 261.

He is somewhat snarled at by the *Denisian* side of the house for this. 244 (zu *Denis* Diderot).

... yet, on the whole, good-humoured, eupeptic and *eupractic*. 267.

nor to the woes that chequer this imperfect *caco-gastric* state of existence is the tear wanting. 277.

in Diderot we may discern a far deeper universality than that shown, or *showable*, in Lebreton's Encyclopédie. 285.

a wondrous verse therein (be it heroic, be it *pasquillic*) 314.

for nothing properly is wholly despicable, at once detestable and *forgetable*. 316.

This *Beppic* Hegira, or Flight from Palermo 335. 341 (zum Vornamen „Beppo"!).

they spin out, better or worse, their *rumply*, infirm thread of Existence. 342.

Thus waxing ... an inconstant but unwearied Moon, rides on its course the *Cagliostric* star. 348. 364.

towards which ... they see themselves ... *unaidably* drifting. 349.

the vulturous and *falconish* character of our Isle. 351.

The Quack of Quacks, with his primitive bias towards the supernatural-*mystificatory*, must long have had his eye on masonry. 351.

Grand-Cophtic „predictions transmitted in cipher" will no longer illuminate him. 376.

on this side, the mountainous, *terrace-like* [terrassenweis],[1]) interrupted expanse. 439.

enchanted by the movement of a *song-like* melody [einer liederartigen Weise] 444.

For ours is a most fictile world; and man is the most *fingent* plastic of creatures. Fr. R. I. 7.

in the *Sansculottic* Earthquake, know not your right hand from your left. 20. 290 u. ö.

But King's Confessor Abbé Moudon starts forward; with anxious *acidulent* face. 27.

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[1]) Goethe hat hier das Adverb; Carlyle, wie das Komma anzeigt, das Adjektiv.

and *eleutheromaniac* Philosophedom grows ever more clamorous. 55. 150 u. ö.
On which timely yoke there follow *cacchinnatory* buzzes of approval. 102.
For a certain *Neckerean* Lion's-provider, whom one could name, assembles them there. 146.
Hapless De Brezé; doomed to survive long ages, in men's memory, in this faint way, with *tremulent* white rod! 206.
the multitude becoming suspicious, *fremescent* 234. II. 365.
Maillard ... leads forward, with difficulty, his *Menadic* host. 318.
with that broad *frondent* Avenue de Versailles 324 (öfters auf dieser Seite).
Growls come from the *Lecointrian* ranks. 332.
the *Versaillese* have now got ammunition. 333.
that so *mixtiform* National Assembly. 341.
the king either has a right, *assertible* as such to the death ... 354.
the spiritual fire which is in that man ... is not *buyable* or saleable. II. 12/3.
certain runaways whom Fritz the Great bullied back into the battle with a: „R-, wollt ihr ewig leben, *Unprintable* Offscouring of Scoundrels, would ye live forever!“ (!) 37.
while Tallien worked sedentary at the *subeditorial* desk. 37.
the Virgin, wonderfully clothing herself in Mesmerean *Cagliostric* Occult-Philosophy, has inspired them. 50.
We claim to stand here, as mute monuments, pathetically *adumbrative* of much. 64.
the *languescent* mercenary Fifteen Thousand. 69.
he has not emigrated; but thinks always in *atrabiliar* moments, that there will be nothing for him but to cross the marches. 88.
Peculation of one's Pay! It is embodied; made tangible, made *denounceable*; exhalable, if only in angry words. 92.
Wat a hunt; *Actaeon-like*; which Actaeon de Malseigne happily gains. 111.
which flowing matter, whether „it is pantheistic“, or *pottheistic,* only the greener mind need examine. 138.

Will hypothetic prophecies, will jingle and fanfaronade demolish the Veto; or will the Veto ... remain *undemolishable* by these? 319.

Young Patriotism, *Culottic* and Sansculottic, rushes forward emulous. 341.

... but absolve him; ... insults many leading Deputies, of the *absolvent* Right-side. 354.

Exaggeration abounds, execration, wailing; and on the whole, darkness. But thus too, when foul old Rome had to be swept from the Earth ... foul old Rome screamed *execratively* her loudest ... Into the body of the poor Tatars *execrative* Roman History intercalated an alphabetic letter; and so they continue Tartars III. 6/7.

And he, alas, answers mere *negatory* incoherences, panic interjections. 23.

To stretch out the old Formula and Law Phraseology, so that it may cover the new, contradictory, entirely *uncoverable* Thing. 116.

every Citizen must produce his *certificatory* Carte de Civisme. 176.

O ye hapless Two, mutually *extinctive*, the Beautiful and the Squalid, sleep ye well. 214.

The miscalculating Spirit of Jacobinism, and Sansculottic *sans-formulistic* Frenzy. 237. (Vgl. unformulistic H. W. 247.)

explaining withal who the *Arrestable* and Suspect specially are. 239.

they are Republicans, of various Girondin, *Fayettish* ... colour. 335.

Equality, Frugality, *worksome* Blessedness. 341.

Robespierre himself appears in Convention; mounts to the Tribune! The *biliary* face seems clouded with new gloom. 342.

we naturally fill them up with Talliens, Frerons, victorious *Thermidorian* men. 358. 361.

The Hundred and thirty-two *Nantese* Republicans 359.

„square-tailed coat“, with elegant *anti-guillotinish* specialty of collar. 366.

For indeed is not the Dandy *culottic,* habilatory, by law of existence? 366.

Let there be an Incarnation, not divine, of the *venatory* Attorney-spirit, which keeps his eye on the bond only. 378.

Auch die Briefe dieser Zeit weisen, wie man erwarten durfte, eine ganz beträchtliche Zahl neuer Adjektiva auf, darunter wieder manche, die aus den Werken bereits bekannt sind. Man liest dort Formen wie die folgenden:

beyond the due limits of Poetical and *Translatorial* license. C. G. 233.

preferring the free life of the country, on any terms, to the *cage-like* existence of the city. L. I. 33.

I have done nothing, since Whitsunday, but a *shortish* Paper on Heyne. 163.

in spite of all *Dandiacal* Philosophers. 274. 357.

his Letters ... had a very tumultuous frothy *whirlpoolish* character. 276/7.

for Harry [Carl.'s Reitpferd] is still *unrideable.* 295.

and I hope to have done with it, this day two weeks, when one *gladdish* man there will be in this city. 373.

Then rains, and damp chill vapours, and frosts against which, in these *gigmanic*-fashioned rooms, there is no protection. 385.

arrange what is *arrangeable* with Napier. 390.

The whole place impresses me as something *village-like.* 78.

we looked forward to a *cheerfullish* kind of winter here. 121.

Heyne is a huge quarry; in which, however, though under chaotic *quarry-like* arrangement, all manner of needful materials lie. 141.

I endeavour to sketch you the whole that seems *sketchable.* 147.

our Holland Street, and all other *Austinian* house-speculations had ... suddenly come to nought. 155/6. (Bezogen auf seinen Freund Austin.)

Lastly il Conte Pepoli comes hither every Wednesday night, with Italian for Jane; with *Babelic* speculation, reading

of Dante and so forth for me. 362. (Anspielung auf eine frühere Stelle [p. 350], wo von der „Torre di Babele" die Rede war.)

One should love his brothers; but finds it easier at some seasons to do it in the *cryptophilous* way. 380.

all objects but the fixed blue of heaven seem to be madly careering at the top of their speed, stormfully waltzing round transient centres, the whole earth gone into *menadic* enthusiasm. T. C. II. 12. 13.

On many points it seems to be a very stupid people; but seldom a hide-bound, bigoted, altogether unmanageable and *unaddressable* people. 74.

I must not take all your encomiums about my *scriptorial* genius. 156.

For the rest, my visit to London is *antigigmanic* from heart to skin. 156.

Vgl. auch: a precise, brief, active person of considerable faculty, which, however, had shaped itself *gigmanically* only. 233.

For the rest, thou canst not be too „*Theresa-like*". 168 („Theresa in Wilhelm Meister". Anmerkung von Froude).

I learnt she had been for three days violently *dyspeptical*. 169.

His dinner was *dandiacal* in the extreme. 177. Ebenso 229. 245. 263.

I emitted, notwithstanding, floods of *Teufelsdröckhist* Radicalism 177. Wohl Druckfehler für Teufelsdröckhi*sh*; vgl.:

It [the „Characteristics"] is *Teufelsdröckhish*, and preaches from this text. 244. Desgl. III. 83 und C. E. I. 20.

Allan was, as usual, full of Scottish *anecdotic* talk. 208.

A very large, *purfly*, flabby man. 231.

The man seems a Tory soldier; otherwise a person of great intrepidity, strategic-diplomatic faculty, soldierly (*Dalgettyish*) principle. 282.

Medical men can do nothing, except frighten those that are *frightable*. 306.

I declined, having a great aversion to that obituary kind of work — so *undertaker-like* ... 314.

Village-like impression of Edinburgh after London. 325.

A damp, still afternoon, quite *Novemberish* and pensive-making. 378.

A most excellent creature, of *surveyable* limits. 431.

An dieser Stelle ist nun noch eine Bemerkung über einen charakteristischen Zug in Carlyles Sprachgebrauch zu machen, nämlich über seine ausgesprochene Vorliebe für sekundäre Adjektiva auf *-ish,* die den primären Formen gegenüber eine Inhaltsabschwächung zum Ausdruck bringen. Schon in den Briefen aus früherer Zeit ist man ihnen hier und da begegnet, deutlicher tritt aber die Tendenz zu ihrer vorzugsweisen Verwendung zuerst hier, in T. C. II, auf, und sie bleibt dann auch in T. C. III und IV fortbestehen. In des Autors öffentlichen Schriften dagegen finden sich solche Adjektiva nur ganz vereinzelt, bis zu Fr. Gr. hin, wo sie dann jedoch plötzlich in auffälliger Häufigkeit erscheinen. — Um dies bemerkenswerte Charakteristicum in Carlyles Stil klar zu veranschaulichen, seien hier und in der Folge auch Formen aufgenommen, die nicht als speciell Carlylesche Bildungen aufzufassen sind, sondern auch sonst häufiger vorgekommen sein mögen.

In T. C. II findet man folgende Adjektiva der bezeichneten Klasse:

Further, it appeared from this note that the Reverend Editor was in all human probability a cold-hearted *shabbyish,* dandy parson and lieutenant. T. C. II. 120 [1830].

Truish — emphatic for business' sake. 149 Note.

Sometimes I think it *goodish,* at other times bad. 156. 233.

a tall, broad, thin man, with a wrinkled face, *baldish* head. 187.

A *poorish* offer, Goody, yet perhaps after all the best I shall get. 190.

A *broadish,* middle-seized, grey-headed man. 204.

an emphatic, *hottish,* really forcible person. 231.

Poor Donaldson ... was a *saddish* sight to me. 302.

would go but a *shortish* way for that end. 339.

Die Schriften, welche nun folgen, können, bis zu Fr. Gr. hin, zusammen behandelt werden. Sie bieten zu besonderen Bemerkungen keinen Anlass. Die relative Menge der auftretenden neuen Formen bleibt einstweilen noch die gleiche, im Cr. tritt dann, wie bei den Substantiven und aus demselben

Grunde, eine deutliche Abnahme ein, die auch bei den späteren Schriften noch bemerklich ist. Indessen zeugen auch hier mannigfache glückliche und charakteristische Prägungen von Carlyles Kraft und Geschicklichkeit.

The human mind stands *stupent.* M. V. 15.

For that *Rohanic,* or *Georgelic,* sprightlines of the „handkerchief in one hand, and sword in the other", . . ., has quite escaped him. 28. (Cardinal de Rohan und Abbé Georgel.)

On the 21 st of March goes off that long exculpatory *imploratory* Letter. 47.

Or will the reader incline rather . . . to enter that *Lamottic-Circean* theatrical establishment of Monseigneur de Rohan. 55.

My immunerable confrontations and *expiscatory* questions 83.

And he burst into *unstanchable* blubbering of tears. 95.

all manner of reviews and periodical literatures that Europe, in all its *spellable* dialects, had. 111.

Soft ruth comes stealing through the *Rhadamanthine* heart 143 u. ö.

her quick hatred for whatever was but pedantic, *Neckerish,* Fayettish. 148.

Nay, poor Woman, she by and by, we find, takes-up with *preternuptial* persons. 152.

Man being a *venatory* creature, and the Chase perennially interesting to him. 161.

the explosion becomes a thing visible, *surveyable* 188.

the sublime of the Jacobins was not always of the blue-light *pandemonial* sort 203.

an element of warmth and light, of affection, industry and *burgherly* comfort. 235.

One feels it *hollowish* under foot. 256.

Such a *raspy,* untamed voice 307.

each man must take what he himself has seen and ascertained for a sample of all that is *seeable* and ascertainable. 334. (statt „visible" !)

their inward fire we say . . . is hidden at the centre. Deep-hidden, but *awakenable,* but immeasurable 350/1.

this mild Good-morrow which the stranger bids thee, equitable, nay *forbearant* if need were, . . . what work has it not cost? 386.

the Hero is still *worshipable* H. W. 19.

World-serpent against Thor, strength against strength; mutually *exstinctive.* 45. [Gleiche Verbindung wie Fr. R. III. 214!]

Benthamee Utility, virtue by Profit and Loss. 89.

he answered in no *courtier-like* way. 105.

He was sore grieved when he saw greedy worldly Barons clutch hold of the Church's property; when he expostulated that it was not secular property, and should be turned to true *churchly* uses. 179.

the word partly of the man Moses, an outlaw tending *Midianitish* herds . . . in the wildernesses of Sinai! 190.

The king coming to them in the rugged *unformulistic* state shall be no king. 247.

who had drawn the sword against a great black devouring world not Christian, but *Mammonish,* Devilish 259.

It will be a blessed time; and many „things" will become *doable,* — and when the brains are out, an absurdity will die! P. Pr. 30 u. ö. [Emphatischer als „feasible"; vgl. „seeable" M. V. 334.]

This is sad news to a disconsolate discerning Public, hoping to have got off by some Morrison's Pill, some Saint-John's corrosive mixture and perhaps a little *blistery* friction on the back! 45.

Was the like ever heard of? The *roysterous* young dogs. 140.

The Liturgy, or *adoptable* and generally adopted Set of Prayers. 162.

One dislikes to see a man and poet reduced to . . . but on the whole, as matters go, that is not the most *dislikable.* 193.

Thou with thy „divine-rights" grown diabolic wrongs? Thou, — not even „natural"; *decapitable*; totally extinguishable. 205.

The Spiritualism of England, for those godless years, is, as it were, all *forgettable* 210.

We will say mournfully, in the presence of Heaven and Earth, — that we stand speechless, *stupent*, and know not what to say. 222.

worse than *Mammonish* swindleries 231. 244 u. ö.

Alas, in how many ways, does our humour . . . show itself nomadic, *apelike*. 341.

the born champions, strong men, and *liberatory* Samsons of this poor world. 356.

The publication of this Paper in Fraser's Magazine gave rise to a certain effervescence of prose and verse, patriotic-*objurgatory*, in several of the French Journals. M. VI. 22.

all these fitted Baillie to be . . . a man *deputable* to the London Parliament. 28.

My learned friends! most swift, sharp are you; of temper most *accipitral, — hawkish,* aquiline. 60.

the English Nation; which Francia, idiot-like, supposed to be somehow represented, and made accessible and *addressable* in the House of Commons. 126.

To distinguish well what does still reach to the surface, and is alive and *frondent* for us. Cr. I. 9.

It stands at the upper or northern extremity of the Town ... on the left or *river-ward* side of the street. 26.

the numerous and now mostly *forgettable* cousinry. 29. III. 131 u. ö.

Such unhappy Ages, too numerous here below, the Genius of Mankind indignantly seizes, as disgraceful to the Family, and with *Rhadamanthine* ruthlessness — annihilates. I. 83. III. 129 u. ö.

Milton's Pamphlets, which accordingly remain *undateable* except approximately. 109.

Their claim, we can now all see, was just: essentially just, though full of intricacy; difficult to render clear and *concessible* II. 165.

Meanwhile, having spent „about a hundred shot“ upon it, a breach discloses itself, which we hope is *stormable.* 274. 276.

Another Descendant, Thomas Cromwell Esquire's Oliver Cromwell and his Times (London 1821), is of a vaporous, *gesticulative,* dull-aerial, still more insignificant character. 294.

the public thinking of them ... exactly what it finds most *thinkable,* will please to excuse me from farther function in that matter. 305.

An excellent officer; listens to what you say ... but punctually does what is *doable* of it. III. 11.

And if, as is probable, it [the intellect] get into narrow fanaticisms, become *irrecognisant* of the Perennial because not dressed in the fashionable Temporary ... what can you do but get away from it. 195.

In the *Pamphletary* dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's IV. 12. 128.

So that we are safe — or *safish,* your Highness? 73.

No French Treaty signed or *signable* till this thing be managed. 140.

His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; *creaky,* uncertain, difficult! 208.

To the darkest head in England, even to the *assassinative* truculent-flunky head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. 275.

Imaginary needlewomen, who demand considerable wages, and have a *deepish* appetite for beer and viands, I hear of everywhere. L. P. 34.

Nay I myself, am I the worse for being a feeble order of intelligence; what the irreverent speculative world calls barren, *redtapish,* limited. 118. 134 u. ö.

If Governments neglect to invite what noble intellect, then too surely all intellect, not omnipotent to resist bad influences, will tend to become *beaverish* ignoble intellect. 157. 224. (Vgl. p. 90, „beaverism", L. P. 225.)

Choose well your Governor; — not from this or that poor section of the Aristocracy, military, naval, or *redtapist.* 188 (wohl Druckfehler für redtapis*h*; vgl. 118. 134).

Debtor to such a loud *blustery* blunder, twenty-seven million strong or one unit strong. 247.

A lean, *tallish,* loose-made boy of twelve. L. St. 33.

Classicality, indeed, which does not satisfy one's sense as real or truly living, but which glitters with a certain genial, if perhaps almost meretricious half-*japannish* splendour. 40.

Ebenso: In some of the Greek delineations . . . we have already noticed a strange opulence of splendour, *characterisable* as half-legitimate, half-meretricious, — a splendour hovering between the *raffaelesque* and the *japannish.* 53.

he would accumulate formidable apparatus, logical swim-bladders, transcendental life-preservers and other precautionary and *vehiculatory* gear. 67.

his voice was *croaky* and shrill, with a tone of shrewish obstinacy in it. 160.

He . . . had a long *lowish* head, sharp grey eyes. 290.

it is for such life-theories and life-practices . . . as render these inevitable and *unaidable* M. VI. 192.

Well, all this fruit too, fruit spicy and commercial, fruit spiritual and celestial, so far beyond the merely *pumpkinish* and grossly terrene, lies in the West-India lands. M. VI. 199. (Kurz vorher ist von „pumpkins“ die Rede gewesen.)

Well, reader, this is he: George the Rich, called also Barbatus (*Beardy*), likewise the Learned. 274.

From a population of that sunk kind, ardent only in pursuits that are low and in industries that are sensuous and *beaverish*, there is little peril of human enthusiasms. 311.

a *grimmish* aspect of countenance. 382.

a hard-faced, honest Englishman or Scotchman, all in grey and with a grey cap, who looked rather *ostrich-like,* but proved very harmless and quiet. L. W.[1] 152.

Louvre getting itself new-faced, its old face new hewn, complicated scaffoldings and masons hanging over it, — rather *cobwebbish* in its effect. 167.

Our dinner, without Lady, was *dullish.* 172.

Barrière St. Martin; turn soon after into the *rightward* streets 178.

a man of sharp humours, of *leasible* nerves. 236.

In den bisher untersuchten Schriften war die Zahl der neugebildeten Adjektiva zwar nicht unbedeutend gewesen, sie war indessen doch immerhin merklich hinter der der Substantiva zurückgeblieben. Im Fr. Gr. scheint sich Carlyle nun aber für die bisherige Zurückhaltung schadlos halten zu wollen, denn hier erscheinen plötzlich neue Formen in solcher Reichhaltigkeit wie man sie selbst bei den Substantiven kaum je hat beobachten können. — Unter den Ausdrücken nehmen inbezug auf die Menge die auf -able, weil die einfachsten und allgemein häufigsten, die erste Stelle ein; in vielen Fällen steht das Verb, von dem sie abgeleitet sind, in ihrer unmittelbaren Nähe, und man erkennt wieder deutlich den, für Carlyle so charakteristischen, Anlass, der zu ihrer Prägung geführt hat. Aber neben diesen zeugen noch zahlreiche andere Adjektiva der verschiedensten Gestaltung von der originellen Mannigfaltigkeit, mit der der Autor seinem Formenbedürfnis zu genügen verstand.

Unter ihnen ist speciell hinzuweisen einerseits auf die mit dem Suffix -ward, andererseits auf die sekundär mit -ish gebildeten Bezeichnungen. Wenn man den ersteren im bemerkenswerten Gegensatze zu allen früheren Werken Carlyles nur hier mehrfach begegnet, so ist wohl zweifellos Einwirkung der gerade in Fr. Gr. sehr oft und frei verwendeten Adverbia auf -ward(s) (s. d.) anzunehmen. Die Adjektiva auf -ish, für die der Autor, wie man gesehen hat, in seinen Briefen schon ziemlich von Anfang an eine unverkennbare Vorliebe zeigte, wenn er sie in den öffentlichen Werken auch bisher offenbar zu meiden suchte, dringen mit Fr. Gr. auch in diese ein. Bei Gelegenheit der „Reminiscences“ werden über diese interessante Erscheinung noch ein paar Worte zu sagen sein.

Von einer vorausgehenden Zusammenstellung wiederkehrender früherer Formen ist hier abgesehen, da sie dem Stil nicht, wie die Substantiva, eine bestimmte Färbung verleihen.

Rasped tobacco, tabac râpé, called by mortals rapé or *rapee.* Fr. Gr. I. 65.

year 1077, Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire waiting, three days, in the snow, to kiss the foot of *excommunicative* Hildebrand. 90.

It was in the time while Thomas à Becket was roving about

in the world, coming home *excommunicative*, and finally getting killed in Canterbury Cathedral. 99.

Friedrich III., rather a *weakish,* but an eager and greedy Kaiser. 224. V. 402. X. 179 u. ö.

This youth, very full of fire, wildfire too much of it, exploded dreadfully on Germany by and by ...; nay towards the end of his nonage, he had been rather *sputtery* upon his Uncle, the excellent Guardian who had charge of him. 238.

Vgl. dazu: abundance of light *sputtery* wit. VI. 339.

„Luther", says one reporter, „has in his Writings declared the Order to be „a thing serviceable neither to God nor man", and the constitution of it „a monstrous, frightful, *hermaphroditish* ... constitution." 257 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

He seems to have been of a headlong, *blustery,* uncertain disposition. 304. IV. 334.

this rugged young King, with his *plangent* metallic voice. 410. 427. III. 264. IV. 319.

A man who would have risen in modern Political Circles; man *unchooseable* at hustings or in caucus. 415.

Dandiacal figures, nay people looking like Frenchmen ... better for them to be going. 429.

not till he is drunk, but only perceptibly *drunkish* II. 86.

runnings to and fro with the sieging Turks, *liberative* Sobieskis, acquisitive Louis Fourteenths. 99.

a humane stately gentleman, stately though *shortish.* 112. 150. IV. 273 u. ö.

Dessau was against king George and the Treaty ... Grumbkow, a *bribeable* gentleman, was for. 147.

He had a Brother ... whose Books ... are still *consultable* 178.

He looked often at Wilhelmina, and was complimentary to a degree, — for reasons *undivinable* to Wilhelmina. 229.

... and without date to it: — the *guessable* date is about two years hence. 238. 399. VI. 193 u. ö.

The Message is: „Whatever the answer now be from England, I will have nothing to do with it. Negative, *procrastinative,* affirmative, to me it shall be zero. 321.

a big full River Elbe sweeping through it, banks *barish* for a mile or two. 377.

he never could recover Swedish Pommern; only his late descendants, and that by *slowish* degrees, could recover it all. 355. VI. 57. IX. 29.

Nothing of genuine and human that Friedrich Wilhelm did but remained and remains an inheritance, not the smallest item of it lost or *loseable* 394.

No date of its own, we say, though by internal evidence and light of Fassmann, it [the Letter] is conclusively *dateable* „Berlin, 20th May". 398. III. 30.

Driving through the streets from place to place, his Majesty came athwart some questionable quaint procession, *ribbony,* perhaps musical. 428.

Captain Guy Dickens, the *Legationary* Captain, reports the matter about ten days after. 469.

Rebuke which can still be read, in growling, unlucid phraseology; but with a *rhadamanthine* idea clear enough in it. 486. IV. 112. X. 115 u. ö.

Dining, boar-hunting (if the boar be *huntable*), especially reviewing, fail not in those fine summer-days. III. 21.

Prince answers as *wildish* young fellows will. 55.

the close-harnessed, stalwart, slightly *atrabiliar* military gentleman of the old Prussian school. 66.

but found, at length, the Pragmatic Sanction to have been a strange sowing of dragon's-teeth, and the first harvest *reapable* from it a world of armed men! 103.

Are you actual Protestants, the Treaty of Westphalia applicable to you? Not mere fanatic mystics, as Right Reverend Firmian asserts; *protectible* by no Treaty? 127.

on the western or *France-ward* side of the River. 221.

a Tower at each angle, which it has on that *lakeward* side. 284.

about two hundred English feet, each, the two longer sides measure, the *Townward* and the *Lakeward*, on their outer front. 286.

dreaming of the shirtless or *sansculottic* state. 310.

Of another Correspondence, beautifully *irradiative* for the young heart, we must say almost nothing. 332. V. 132.

In truth, I am a rather impudent *busybodyish* fellow, with superabundant dashing manner, speculation, utterance. 334.

And yet who knows but, in his very simplicity, there lay something far beyond the Ill Margraf to whom he was so *quizzable*? 342.

Such the cruelty of Time upon this Voltaire-Friedrich Correspondence, and some others; which were once so rosy, sunny, and are now fallen drearily extinct, — *studiable* by Editors only! 361.

It represents to us a *croaky,* thrifty, long-headed old Herr Professor. IV. 14.

it is a real Newspaper, *frondent* with genial leafy speculation. 18.

Biggish mouth, strictly shut in the crescent or horseshoe form (fermée en croissant). 53. VII. 84. 215. 400 u. ö.

Its wit is very copious, but slashy, *bantery* 77.

And always after, spite of such quasi-fealty, they showed a *pig-like* obstinacy of humour. 103.

And there came forth . . . applications to the Kaiser, to the French, to the Dutch, of a very *shrieky* character, of the Bishop of Liege's part. 112. VI. 310. 331/2.

perhaps about a fifth part of it consists of „Documents“ proper, which are *skippable.* 141. IX. 260.

As to the History of Schlesien, hitherwards of these burial urns dug up in different places, I notice, as not yet entirely *buriable*, Three Epochs. 172.

The march, as readers understand, is towards Glogau; a *strongish* Garrison Town, now some 40 miles ahead. 182. 196. VI. 438 u. ö.

there are present only Six Men ... at the end of the chief bridge, on the *Townward* side of their Dom Island. 217.

another Prussian corps, which has come privately by the eastern (or *Country-ward*) Bridge, King himself with it, taps them on the shoulder at this instant. 217.

„Open the Austrian Mail-bag (Felleisen)“ ... Such order had evidently been given, this night. In consequence of which, people wrote by Dresden, and not the direct way, in future; wishing to avoid that *openable* Felleisen. 221.

See in Barbier ... what terrible *Noah-like* weather it had been. 242.

„For the times are *babbly*", says Goethe, „And then again the times are dumb". 251.

Such a journey for grimness of outlook, upon pine-tufts and frozen sand, for cold ... for hardship, for bad lodging, and extremity of dirt in the *unfreezable* kinds, as seldom was. 284/5.

Leopold, the young Dessauer, is cautious; wants petards if he must storm, ... he gets these requisites, and is still *cunctatory*. 288. VIII. 22. IX. 52.

Friendly imaginative spirits would, in the antique time, have so constructed it: but these moderns were malicious-*valetish*, not friendly. 333.

Four pretty Sovereignties. Three, or Two, of these *hireable* by gold, it is to be hoped. 366.

Belleisle displayed, so far as *displayable*, his magnificent Diplomatic Ware to the best advantage. 373.

Strenuous Siege; which, had the War-Sciences been foolishness, and the Laws of Nature and the rigours of Arithmetic and Geometry been *stretchable* entities, might have succeeded better. 399

a *vaguish* eloquent Lady, but with access to information. 406.

France will be *contentable* with something in the Netherlands. V. 36.

and it is hoped the Insurrection will go well, and not prove *haggly*, or hang-fire in the details. 80.

His most important transaction hitherto has been the marriage with Kaiser Joseph's Daughter; — of which, in Poellnitz somewhere, there is sublime account; *forgettable*, all except the date. 134. VI. 185 u. ö.

Auch die negierte Form dazu wird gebraucht:

As it was a Class-Book, so to speak, of our Friedrich's ... the details of which are so dim, though the general outcome of it proved so *unforgettable*, — readers ... may as well take a glimpse of it. II. 132. VII. 169. 279.

And one hears in the mind a clangorous nasal eloquence from antique *gesticulative* mustachio-figures, witty and indignant, — who are now gone silent again. 118.

extremely dissolute creature, still young ... but full of good-humour, of *gesticulative* loyal talk. 144.

poor Bielfeld being in this Chapter very fantastic, *misdateful* to a mad extent. 146.

The world is dreadfully scant of *worshipable* objects. 212 (Zweimal).

Eagle which shines on me as a human fact; luminously gilt, through the dark *Dryasdustic* Ages, gone all spectral under Dryasdust's sad handling. 214.

„Dutch *hoistable,* after all!“ thinks he; „Dutch will cooperate, if they saw example set!“ 219. 221. VI. 192.
(Vorher ist von dem Plane „to hoist the Dutch“ die Rede gewesen.)

Seckendorf ... calculates that ... there may be a stroke *doable* in these parts. 242. VI. 295. VII. 289 u. ö.

Dazu auch die negierte Form:

„Difficult, not *undoable,*“ persists the king: „and it must be straightway set about and got done. VII. 163. IX. 250/1.

Upon which, in covert form of symbolic adumbration, of witty parable ... and how England, or as it is *adumbratively* called, „the Manor of St. James's,“ is become a mere „fee-farm to Mumland.“ Unendurable to think of. „Bob Monopoly, the late Tallyman“ (*adumbrative* for Walpole, late Prime Minister), „was much blamed on this account“. 255.

and joins the covering General, in a *flustery,* singed condition. 270.

Stair, the one *brightish*-looking man in it, being gone, there remain Majesty with his D'Ahrembergs. 297.

Broglio ... Lost his indispensable garnitures, at the Ford of Secchia once; and now, in these last twelve months, is considered to have done a series of *blustery* explosions, derogatory to the glory of France. 298/9.

for defence of the Rhine Countries, should Prince Carl, as is *surmisable,* make new attempts there. 360. VI. 38.

the young English Gentleman ... induces Barberina to inform the Prussian agent that she renounces her engagement

in that quarter. Prussian agent answers that it is not *renounceable.* 369.

Noailles being always *cunctatious* in time of crisis 389.

District not important, not very *spellable,* though doubtless pronounceable by natives to it. 399.

We have heard of Weissenfels before ... an extremely polite but *weakish* old gentleman. 401/2.

burns ... the wooden Sluice of the Moldau; so that the river falls to the everywhere *wadeable* pitch 406. VII. 90.

Face thrice-honest, intricately ploughed with thoughts which are well kept silent ... decidedly rather *likeable,* with its lazily-hanging under-lip, and respectable bear-skin cylinder atop. 424.

Treaty which, though it proved *abortional* ... is at this day one of the remarkablest bits of sheepskin extant in the world. VI. 33. 34.

A *grimmish* feeling against the Saxons is understood to be prevalent among these men. 88. 120.

a *widish* plain space hereabouts, Strigau Bridge now near. 89. 365.

Gessler noticing the *jumbly* condition of those Austrian battalions, heaped now one upon another in this part. 97.

Highish even towards her friends, this Emperor-Queen. 118. 343.

A country of rocky defiles; *lowish* hills, chaotically shoved together. 125.

Brühl ought to comprehend better how *riskish* his game with edge-tools is. 139. VIII. 316.

a *panter-like* suddenness of spring in him. 146.

Down the Neisse Valley, on the right or *Queissward* side of it. 149.

a little Valley ... precipitous towards the *Elbe-ward* or lower end. 162.

Most Christian Majesty always rather shuddered under those carbuncle eyes, under that voice „sombre and *majestious.*“ 201. (frz. „majestueux“!)

most free-flowing female Letter; of many pages, runs on, day after day, for a fortnight or so; — only Excerpts of it *introducible* here. 208.

all details being, in the interim, either got settled, or flung into corners as *unsettleable.* 226.

that important Spanish-English Question ... which in its meaning to the *somnambulant* Nation, is so immense. 227.

Auch als Substantiv gebraucht:

A Peace the reverse of applauded in England, though the wiser *Somnambulants* ... may well be thankful to see such a War end on any terms. 228.

„And so did the *sneakish* courtly gentleman ... experience before long", continues Linsenbarth. 254. (übs. a. Dtsch.).

in fine, a sum-total of actual desire to live with King Friedrich, which might, surely, have almost sufficed even for Voltaire, in a quieter element. But the element was not quiet, — far from it, nor was Voltaire easily *sufficeable*! 282.

A man of some whims, some habits; arbitrary by nature, but really honest, though rather *sublimish* in his interior. 286.

„And in fine," says my Manuscript, „by sweeping-out the distinctly false, and well discriminating the indubitable from what is still in part dubitable, sufficient twilight" (*abridgeable* in a high degree, I hope!) „rises over the Affair, to render it visible in all its main features." 292.

a small contraband of that kind does by degrees threaten to establish itself, and Friedrich had to publish severe rescripts ... and menace it down again. The malpractice seems to have proved *menaceable* in that manner. 292.

Hirsch, with money in hand, appears not to have wanted for a *briskish* trade of his own in the Dresden marts. 299.

there had Pamphlets come out; printed Satires, bound or in broadside; sapid, *exhilarative,* for a season. 311.

nor had [Friedrich] ever heard of those ultimate Evangels, unlimited Competition, fair Start, and *perfervid* Race by all the world, ... which have since been vouchsafed us. 325.

fire, not of a malignant incendiary kind, but pleasantly lambent, though *maddish,* as Friedrich perceived 342.

Catholic Kirk ... stands there yet, like a large washbowl set, bottom uppermost, on the top of a *narrowish* tub. 344.

his sublime Perpetual President, who was usually very prudent and *Jove-like* 388.

Much can be done in that way with *stupidish* populations. 422.

The incalculable Yankee Nations, shall they be in effect Yangkee („English“ with a Difference), or *Frangcee* („French“ with a difference)? 430. Ebenso IX. 208.

And the steadfast Washington had to return; without result, — except that of the admirable Three-legged Place for dropping your Nest-egg, in a commanding and *defenceful* way! 438.

King Friedrich, in contrast with his Environment at that time, will most likely never be portrayed to modern men in his real proportions ... and, for certain, he is not *portrayable* at present, on our side of the Sea. VII. 4.

So that Excellence Peubla had nothing for it but to compose himself; to honour the *unstainable* fidelity of Weingarten Senior by a public piece of promotion. 8.

that *sunward* side of the Lobosch is all vineyards, belonging to the different Lobositzers. 86.

upland being still rock-built, not *underminable* farther. 158.

new Prussian battalions charging, and ever new, *irrepressible* by case-shot, as they successively get up. 170.

the Victory at Prag considered to be much more *annihilative* than it really was. 184.

How the Weser did prove wadeable, as Schmettau had said to no purpose; wadeable, *bridgeable*. 193.

and Schwerin and new tens of thousands, *unreplaceable* in this world, are lost. 233.

But no subaltern durst, and Royal Highness himself was not *overtakeable,* so far on the road. 262.

There has been lately a considerable private brabble as to the Tutorage of the Duke of Weimar (Wilhelmina's *maddish* Duke who is dead lately). 290.

Friedrich ... founded some new adequate plank or raft bridge there; which, by diligence all night, will be *crossable* to-morrow. 329.

so that this „Shall I kill the king?“ was mainly *thrasonic* wind from Captain Bertin. 330 (Dreimal).

A dull blunt lump of country ... is now under plough-husbandry, arable or *scratchable* in all parts. 334.

had there been a Captain instead of a Clermont *deepish* in wine by this time VIII. 48.

Ferdinand's manoeuvres, after Crefeld, on the *France-ward* side of Rhine, were very pretty. 123.

The terrified Magistrates, finding their Keys gone, and the *conflagrative* Russians at their gates, got blacksmiths on the instant. 202/3.

there are the grand *Daunish* or Mark-Lissa Army, and Prince Henri's of Schmöttseifen. 238.

to cart from Bohemia such a cipher of human rations daily into these parts, will surpass all the *vehiculatory* power of Daun. 248.

a man of falcon, or *accipitral,* nature as well as name. [Hawke]. 342. (vgl. falconish M. IV. 351!)

All through November, this sending of Plate, I never knew with what net-result of moneys *coinable,* goes on in Paris. 347.

Friedrich's labours strike us as abundantly Herculean; more *Alcides-like* than ever. IX. 47.

Instead of Breslau *capturable,* and a sure Magazine for us, here is Henri, and nothing but steel to eat. 52.

But he had at last convinced his Majesty that Merchant's Bills were a sacred thing, in spite of Bamberg and *desecrative* individualities. 100.

much *Hunnish* ruin in Charlottenburg, with damage to Antiques. 100.

Torgau itself stands near Elbe; on the shoulder, eastern or *Elbe-ward* shoulder, of a big mass of knoll . . . Not a shoulder strictly, but rather a cheek, with neck intervening; neck *goitry* for that matter, or quaggy with ponds. 111. 116.

to the idle eye, a *dirtyish* Brook, ending in certain notable Ponds eastward. 112.

The Height is *steepish* on the southern side, all along to the south-west angle. 112. 128.

And the homages to Gellert were unlimited and continual, not pleasant all of them to an *idlish* man in weak health. 153.

on the Russian part, under General Romanzow, there is a most *tortoise-like* advance 211.

Friedrich and the rearward part of his Army are filing about, in that new *Strehlen-ward* movement of theirs. 225.

conscious to himself of the greatest vigilance and diligence, but wrapt in despondency and black *acidulent* humours. 252.

Drei Reihen weiter findet sich auch das gebräuchliche *acidulous,* das hier freilich in sonst nicht üblicher figürlicher Bedeutung steht:

he becomes specially gloomy and *acidulous.* 252.

your Dancing Girls have grace; but it is grace in a *squattish* form (de la grâce engoncée) X. 17.

These are questions on which an Editor may have his opinion, partly complete for a long time past, partly not complete, or in human language, *completable* or pronounceable at all. 53.

„with our backs to this", the *king-ward* side of this, „we ranged ourselves". 192.

Für die „Reminiscenses" gelten die bei den Substantiven gemachten Bemerkungen auch hier wieder durchaus. Vor andern treten besonders die schon in Fr. Gr. häufigen sekundären Bildungen auf -ish in auffällig grosser Zahl hervor. Hier werden nur bemerkenswertere Formen verzeichnet, doch ist zu betonen, dass die üblicheren desgleichen mit Vorliebe gebraucht werden. Den Beigeschmack des Geringschätzigen und fast Verächtlichen, den diese Wörter leicht annehmen, tragen sie hier indessen fast nie, meist soll nur eine abschwächende Modificierung der Bedeutung des primären Adjektivs dadurch ausgedrückt werden. Man geht wohl nicht fehl, wenn man das Auftreten dieser für die gesamte letzte Periode von Carlyles schriftstellerischer Thätigkeit charakteristischen Formen nicht allein aus seiner Abneigung vor Umschreibungen, die in vielen Fällen offenbar mitgewirkt hat, zu erklären sucht, sondern eine Hauptursache dafür auch in seiner innern Stimmung erblickt. Er ist alt geworden, und der schwere Schlag,

der ihn getroffen hat, lässt ihn das in dieser Zeit besonders stark empfinden. In Fr. Gr. hatte sich schon durch Anwendung von Adjektiven der bezeichneten Art hier und da eine bei den Jahren des Autors sehr begreifliche Tendenz, seine Urteile vorsichtiger zu fassen und ihren Inhalt etwas einzuschränken, zu erkennen gegeben; dazu kommt jetzt noch eine grosse innere Müdigkeit und Gedrücktheit verstärkend hinzu, und lässt jenen Zug noch deutlicher hervortreten. —

I have often heard him turn back, when he thought his strong words were misleading, and correct them into *mensurative* accuracy. R. I. 5.

What strange *shapeable* creatures we are. 14.

My grandfather, whom I can remember as a *slightisch*, wiry-looking old man . . . 22.

nothing but *rudish* hands, rude though kind enough. R. I. 88.

In the evening, miscellany of hers and mine, often *dullish*, had it not been for her, and the light she shed on everything. R. I. 92.

He was the leanest of mankind . . . face and head *fineish*, black, bony, lean, and of a Jew type rather. 94.

by accident or *baddish* behaviour of two individuals. 96.

agony . . . of spasmodic writhing . . . never the smallest help *affordable*. 97.

John Mill was another steady visitor (had by this time introduced his Mrs. Taylor too, — a very *Will-o'-wispish* „Iridescence" of a creature. 104.

Talk rather wintry (*„sawdust" ish*, as old Sterling once called it) 105. 180.

but I now . . . see it had been, as she called it, „a great success" and *greatish* of its kind. 113.

I had not been judged eligible, or both *catchable* and eligible 116/7.

a foolish *goosey*, innocent but very vulgar kind of mortal. 128.

speech of the most *haggly*, *hawky*, pinched and meagre kind. 130.

For chief or almost sole intimate he had the neighbouring (*biggish*) Laird. 139. II. 27.

that a man's bodily stature was a *correctish* sign of his spiritual 141.

This probably was in his own *youngish* years. 149.

Of the children I recollect nothing almost; nothing that was not cheerful and *auroral* or matutinal. 166.

He was cheerful, musical, politely *cónversible.* 166/7.

such his polite *Ariel-like* way. 175.

and I remember *scrubbyish* (lively enough but „*sawdustish*") Socinian didactic little notes. 180.

and what a look in those bonny eyes, vividly present to me yet; *unaidable,* and like to break one's heart! 220.

she never travelled more, except daily up and down among her *widish* circle of friends. 242.

negligence of —, excusable but *unforgettable.* 252.

Gavin, Edward's Father ... a *tallish* man, of rugged countenance. II. 3.

Irving ... answered in *gruffish* yet not ill-natured tone. 23.

Not sanguine and diffusive, he; but *biliary* and intense. 24.

... pointed out where his brother lived (a *biggish* simple house on the sands) 27.

the sight of giant Irving, in a *shortish* shirt ... is still present to me as comic. 44.

and talked shrewd *Aberdeenish* in accent and otherwise. 58.

hat of *gravish* breadth of brim. 68.

they were not so well dressed as their Edinburgh Sisters; something *flary,* glary, colours too flagrant and ill-assorted. 72.

we had just seen ... a certain shining Miss Augusta, — tall, shapely, airy, *giggly,* but a consummate fool. 87.

in some *smoothish* hollower spot, there suddenly disclosed itself a considerable company of altogether fine-looking young girls. 120.

The Irvings had a dim but *snuggish* house rented, in some street near the shore. 155.

no company but one tall, *sashy,* epauletted, well-dressed Officer. 157.

fair Kitty sometimes, and Strachey oftener, sitting by me, — on the *hindward* seat. 157.

A huge bowl, or *deepish* saucer of seven miles in diameter 158.

Charles himself was a swart, *slightish* insipid-looking man. 162.

A heavy *shortish* numb-footed man. 165.

the good little *plumpish* elderly Mrs. Jupp. 172.

That was the secret of his inward quasi-desperate resolutions, breaking out into the wild struggles, and clutchings, towards the unattainable, the *unregainable.* 174.

Twice over he had leaped the barriers; and given rise to criticism, — of the customary idle sort, *loudish* universally, and nowhere accurately just. 182.

„Milltown Brig" . . . not very long after which latter, in the bottom of Glenessland, roads a little *rumbly* there, owing to recent inundation, I awoke. 192.

people of *biggish* names, but of substance mainly spilt and wanting. 200.

these I found were the sources of certain wildly *plangent* lamentable kinds of sounds. 223. 230.

no means of fancying how a *blousy* rustic lass should go into such a thing. 227.

He had much the habit of flirting about with women . . . all in a *weakish,* mostly dramaturgic, and wholly theoretic way. 238.

at his first going to Oxford . . . he had peremptorily crushed down his Scotch . . . and adopted instead a strange swift, sharp-sounding, fitful modulation, part of it pungent, quasi-latrant, other parts of it cooing, *bantery,* lovingly quizzical. 262.

I rather felt too as if he were a *shrillish* thin kind of man. 277.

Pope's partial failure I was prepared for; less for the *narrowish* limits visible in Milton and others. 302.

Betreffs der Correspondenz mit Emerson und der beiden letzten Bände von T. C. ist nur zu wiederholen, was schon früher über die Briefe Carlyles gesagt ist; auch hier wird man dieselben Beobachtungen wie in den übrigen Schriften machen.

the soil this poor *Teufelsdröckhish* seedcorn has been thrown on. C. E. I. 20.

food finer and finer, and *gigmanic* renown higher and higher. 44.

there is no more *unpromotable, unappointable* man now living in England than I. 103.

reverent of nothing but what is *reverable.* 104.

I decline all invitations of society that are *declinable.* 156.

Horace Walpole is no dunce, not a fibre of him is *duncish.* 205.

The tanned complexion, that amorphous *crag-like* face 247.

The Dial too, it is all spirit-like, aeriform, *aurora-borealis like.* 352. (Das Fehlen des zweiten Hyphen ist wohl nur Druckfehler.)

but he will do honestly what in that respect is *doable* II. 73. 253.

as if I should ... perish miserably in the most *undoable* ... of all the labors I ever had. 274.

I have yet found one error, and that a very *correctable* one. 80.

It is cold and vacant up there; nothing *paintable* but rainbows and emotions. 81.

and the coloring is so *brickish,* the finishing so coarse. 90.

... this meal; which our people (I included) are unanimous in finding nigh uneatable, and loudly *exclaimable against.* 170.

I got Thoreau's Book ... Too *Jean-Paulish,* I found it hitherto. 185.

No crime or misdemeanour *specifiable* on either side. 269.

I felt myself on *firmish* ground as to my work, and could forget all else. T. C. III. 29.

I have moments of inexpressible beauty, like *auroral* gleams on a sky all dark. 59.

I think I shall see less and less of him. Alas poor fellow! It seems possible to me that he may not be very long *seeable.* 75.

Here, with only literature for shelter, there is, I think, no continuance. Better to take a stick in your hand, and

roam the earth *Teufelsdröckhish*; you will get at least a stomach to eat bread — even that denied me here. 83.

There will not, with those dilatory printers, be a single moment *devotable* rightly to preparation. 100.

My hearers were *mixtiform dandiacal* of both sexes, *Dryasdustical* (Hallam, &c.), ingenuous, ingenious, and grew, on the whole, more and more silent. 108.

In fact, he is becoming an amiable old fribble, very cheerful, very heartless, very *forgettable* and tolerable. 145.

How many tragedies, epics ... would it take to utter this one tour by an *atrabilian* lecturer on things in general. 148. (Wohl Druckfehler für atrabiliar.)

In *biliary* days (I am apt to be *biliary*) the devil reproaches me dreadfully. 157. Desgl. 389. IV. 100.

Outward there was none but a 50 l. — rather *weakish.* 200.

My days pass along here ... in a most silent, almost *sabbathlike* manner. 246.

if the Devil some good night should take his hammer and smite in shivers all and every piano of our European world, so that in broad Europe there were not one piano left *soundable,* would the harm be great? 266.

An elderly, or rather *oldish* young, woman sat working lace here. 269.

Soon after noon, the working people, generally in *cleanish* blouses, came along the street I was in, for dinner. 270.

I am in a *baddish* way here; but it will soon be done. 310.

Jeffrey is here in *poorish* health, but much better than he was. 338.

He [Green, the aëronant] was hanging a *goodish* way up in the air. 355.

at most I seem to them a desperate half mad, if *usefullish* fireman, rushing along the ridge tiles in a frightful manner to quench the burning chimney. 421.

The two Lords we have here are a fat —, ... and then a *leanish* —, neither of whom is worth a doit to me. T. C. IV. 12.

The whole country figures in my mind like a ragged coat or huge beggar's gaberdine, not patched or *patchable* any longer. 21.

All these paper bundles were written last summer, and are *wrongish,* every word of them. 22.

Might serve as newspaper or *pamphletary* introduction, overture, or accompaniment to the unnameable book I have to write. 22.

He is a *shortish slightish* figure, about five feet eight. 46.

a lively little Provençal figure, not *dislikeable,* very far from estimable in any sense. 84.

I have had a letter from that *bird-like,* semi-idiot son of poor —. 89.

The Rhine ... all cut into a *reticulary* work of branches ... was far from beautiful about Rotterdam. 100/1.

We did get out of Bonn fairly on Friday morning. At first *wettish,* but which dried and brightened by degrees. 104.

Saw a dance, too, *unforgetable* by man. 104. 123. 315.

about the size of a *biggish* snap. 110.

I have since dined at M—'s with two *Weimarese* moderns. 113.

She has a thin *croaky* voice. 114.

We came twenty four hours ago, *latish* last night. 116.

here are we fairly fronting our destiny at least, which I own is sufficiently *Medusa-like* to these sick solitary eyes. 124.

The „Double Marriage“ at present; most mournful dreary, *undoable* work. 173. 246.

a magnanimous and beautiful soul which had furnished the English earth and made it *homelike* to me. 187.

We had *baddish* weather all Sunday. 217.

Rostock, *biggish* sea capital of Mecklenburg. 218.

A grey, close, *hottish* Sunday. 221.

a place built at three different times ... with four or five poor *candle-extinguisher-like* towers in different parts. 238.

a kind of scoop rising slowly behind into *highish* country. 240.

Nothing of blockhead mankind's procedure seems madder and even more condemnable to me than this of their brutish *bedlamitish* creation of needless noises. 278.

What a humiliated, broken-down, poor *cheepy* wretch I am! 280.

incessant talk, *anecdotic,* personal, distractedly speculative. 369.

This „aperture zenithward" ... has gone on slowly widening itself, with troublings and confusings of itself sad to witness, at intervals in the process all along very *witness-able* even now. 372.

How dumb are all these things grown in the now *beaverish* and merely gluttonous life of man! 384.

Die letzten Schriften bieten nur noch wenig Erwähnenswertes. Ausser einigen schon von früher her bekannten Adjektiven auf -ish, die natürlich auch in dieser spätesten Periode nicht fehlen, sind nur aus L. M. ein paar Formen anderer Art anzuführen.

Only of middle stature, almost rather *shortish.* K. N. 109.

the top or source, which is a *biggish* monntain lake. 128.

One evening of *wildish*-looking weather 142.

a *richish* country living L. M. I. 153.

a big *goodish* house II. 396.

weather ... dim and *wettish.* III. 192.

Leigh Hunt, to whom John was often actually *subventive* L. M. I. 16.

Nigger Question ... had come out with *execrative* shrieks from several people. L. M. II. 99.

All Sunday she lay sleeping ... face grand and *statue-like* 243.

The most *queen-like* woman I had ever known. 310.

Sir George was abundantly *conversible, anecdotic,* far-read, far-experienced. III. 26.

such a deluge of intolerable pain, indescribable, *unaidable* pain as I had never seen or dreamt of. 179.

But of all this ... which remains to myself *unforgetable* enough ... I undertook to say nothing. 193.

Hades was not more lugubrious than that book too now was to me; and yet there was something in it of sacred, of *Orpheus-like,* (though I did not think of „Orpheus" at all, nor name my darling an „Eurydice"!). 194

a small furnished house should be rented, and a shift made thither ... I was to remove thither with my work (so soon as *liftable*). 194.

C. Adverbia.

Das ne. Adverbsuffix *κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν*, das an Adjektiva und adjektivische Participia, einzeln durch Analogie auch an Substantiva, gehängte -ly, ist im Ne. so überaus gewöhnlich, dass auch einige Sonderbildungen, die sich etwa bei Carlyle finden mögen, nicht besonders auffallen dürften. Anders verhält es sich jedoch mit gewissen Klassen von Adverbien, die durch Anfügung bestimmter in Suffixfunktion verwendeter ursprünglich selbständiger Wörter an andere Ausdrücke entstanden sind. Hierher gehören zunächst:

I. Adverbia gebildet mit „-like".

Im vorhergehenden Kapitel hat sich eine Neigung Carlyles beobachten lassen, das im Ne. nicht selten geübte Verfahren, durch Suffigierung des Adjektivs like an Substantiva neue Adjektiva zu schaffen, weiter auszudehnen. In noch höherem Grade giebt sich in seinen Werken eine Vorliebe kund für in ganz analoger Weise mittelst des Adverbs like gebildete Adverbia, die sich von denen auf -ly dadurch von Grund aus unterscheiden, dass nicht Adjektiva, sondern ausschliesslich Substantiva jeder Art und jeden Charakters die Stammwörter sind. Eine derartige Ausdrucksweise scheint indessen dem ne. Sprachgebrauch, der im allgemeinen die Umschreibung mit „like, oder like a, + Vergleichungswort" vorziehen wird, wenig geläufig zu sein. —

Ein Blick auf die folgende Reihe solcher Bildungen ist auch in der Hinsicht noch ganz instruktiv, als er erkennen lässt, wie gern Carlyle dieselben prägnanten Vergleiche immer wieder anwendet, sobald die Begleitumstände ähnlich sind. —

I found the orator at Pentonville sitting *sparrowlike*, companionless, — in — not on — the housetop alone. T. C. I. 237.
he derives, *Antaeus-like,* his strength from the Earth. M. I. 228/9.
though many gird on the harness, few bear it *warrior-like.* 284.
thy own amber-locked snow-and-rosebloom Maiden, worthy to glide *sylphlike* almost on air. S. R. 38.
Andreas . . . cultivated a little Orchard, on the produce of which he, *Cincinnatus-like,* lived not without dignity. 81.
so many ambiguous notices glide *spectre-like* through these inexpressible Paper-bags. 192.
the Poet and inspired Maker; who *Prometheus-like* can shape new Symbols, and bring new Fire from Heaven. 218.
one climbing *hunter-like* the giddy Alpine heights of Science; one madly dashed in pieces on the rocks of Strife. 257.
a man who had manfully defied the „Time-Prince", or Devil, to his face; nay perhaps, *Hannibal-like,* was mysteriously consecrated from birth to that warfare. 283.
she [Democracy] is born, and, *whirlwind-like,* will envelope the whole world. Fr. R. I. 8.
The Blossom of French Royalty, *cactus-like,* had accordingly made an astonishing progress. 12.
And so Necker, *Atlas-like,* sustains the burden of the Finances. 57.
Well if it do not, *Pilâtre-like*, explode. 63.
Were the King weak, always (as now) has his Parlement barked, *cur-like,* at his heels. 107.
He . . . listens *indulgent-like* to the known perverseness of the queenly and courtly. 149.
Did Nature, O poor Marat . . . fling thee forth, *stepdame-like,* a Distraction into this distracted Eighteenth Century? 292.
So that poor Brunot has nothing for it but to retreat with accelerated nimbleness, through rank after rank; *Parthian-like,* fencing as he flies. 332. III. 165.
A man travelling, *comet-like,* in splendour and nebulosity, his wild way. II. 13.

A man who was more in his place, *lion-like* defending those Windward Isles. 89.

till it do, in that unexpected manner, *phoenix-like,* with long throes, get both dead and new-born. 124.

There ... do Sieur Motier's mouchards consort and colleague; battening *vampyre-like* on a People next-door to starvation. 134.

As for the king, he as usually will go wavering *chameleon-like.* 168.

They can ... stick their heads *ostrich-like* into what sheltering Fallacy is nearest. 234.

So noble-minded were these Law-makers! cry some: and *Solon-like* would banish themselves. 247/8.

He retires *Cincinnatus-like* to his hearth and farm. 251.

they flit there *phantom-like,* in the huge simmering confusion. 297.

that other notable phenomenon of his being worshipped because he is worshipped, of one idolater, *sheep-like,* running after him, because many have already run. M. IV. 117.

among all thy intrigues, hadst thou ever yet *Endymon-like* an intrigue with the lunar Diana, — called also Hecate? M. IV. 360.

Mirabeau corresponded, in fire and tears, copiously, not *Werter-like,* but *Mirabeau-like.* M. V. 167.

to seek his fortune *Ishmael-like* in the wide hunting-field of the world. 169.

Plausible Calonne hears him *Stentor-like* denouncing stock-jobbing 174.

and now, behold, *Hyperion-like* he has scaled it, and on the summit shakes his glittering shafts of war! 179.

A most composed invincible man ... *Samson-like* carrying off on his strong Samson-shoulders the gates that would imprison him. 230.

it may utter itself one day as the colossal Scepticism of Hume (beneficent this too, though painful, wrestling *Titan-like* through doubt and inquiry towards new belief) 237.

Antaeus-like, his strength is got by touching the Earth, his Mother. H. W. 269.

and all fluctuates *chameleon-like,* taking now this hue, now that. P. Pr. 69.

King Henry and his force were struggling to retreat *Parthian-like* 135.

Plugson, *bucanier-like,* says to them ... 241.

Thou must descend to the Mothers, to the Manes, and *Hercules-like* long suffer and labour there. 255.

they have, *Antaeus-like,* their foot on Mother Fact. 257.

the English Nation; which Francia, *idiot-like,* supposed to be somewhat represented in the House of Commons. M. VI. 126.

Sir Robert Peel has in his mind privately resolved to go, one day, into that stable of King Augias ... and *Hercules-like* to load a thousand night-wagons from it. L. P. 112. 134.

To steal into Heaven, — by the modern method, of sticking *ostrich-like* your head into fallacies on Earth ... is forever forbidden. L. St. 73.

indeed he fought *Parthian-like* in such cases. 236.

We perceive that this man was far indeed from trying to deal *swindler-like* with the facts around him. Fr. Gr. I. 18.

He might have been a German Cromwell; beckoning his People to fly, *eagle-like* straight towards the sun. 268.

how a lively soul, acted on by it, did not fail to react, *chameleon-like* taking colour from it ... must be left to the reader's imagination. II. 148.

Kaiser will have his Pragmatic Sanction, or not budge from the place; stands *mule-like* amid the rain of cudgellings from the bystanders. 252.

it is too good news to be quite believed, that he has a son grown wise, and doing *son-like.* III. 15.

Die Zahl solcher Ausdrücke ist in den folgenden Bänden von Fr. Gr. eine verhältnismässig recht hohe; es wird daher genügen, nur die wichtigeren noch anzugeben, und zwar ohne Begleittext, da aus den bisher gebrachten Beispielen genugsam hervorgehen dürfte, in welcher Weise und mit welcher Konstruktion diese Wendungen gebraucht werden.

Parthian-like III. 211.	*hunter-like* IV. 147.
Austrian-like IV. 362.	*deluge-like* V. 67.
Sybil-like V. 126.	*sparrow-like* VI. 256.
Abraham-like VI. 415.	*tide-like* VI. 415. VII. 219.
polypus-like VIII. 71. 72.	*statue-like* VIII. 263. u. a.

Von den letzten Schriften des Autors weisen nur die „Reminiscences" ein paar Fälle auf, und von sämtlichen Briefen finden sich nur in C. E. u. T. C. IV. einige vereinzelte Beispiele.

the courses of the hail-storms from the monntains, how they came pouring down their respective valleys, *deluge-like,* and blotted out the sunshine. R. I. 121.

As is, long since, mournfully the fact, — when one passes, *pilgrim-like,* those old Houses still standing there. II. 96.

Phocion-like, he seemed to feel degraded by physical decay. C. E. II. 72.

there is no remedy but boring along *mole-like* or *mule-like,* and refuse to lie down altogether. T. C. IV. 235.

II. Adverbia gebildet mit „-wise".

Auch die Sonderprägungen dieser Gruppe sind recht charakteristische Erscheinungen in Carlyles Sprachgebrauch. Allerdings bietet das Englische hier eine Reihe von Vorbildern, doch ist ihre Zahl ziemlich beschränkt, sodass eine Verwendung von -wise zu Adverbbildungen in der bei Carlyle gefundenen Ausdehnung doch sehr bemerkenswert ist. Wie die unten folgenden Belege zeigen, sind derartige Ausdrücke, besonders in der ersten Zeit, mehrfach Nachahmungen ähnlicher deutscher Redewendungen, oder wenigstens unter dem Einfluss von solchen entstanden. Im ganzen aber lässt der Hauptteil der Fälle, der früheren sowohl, wie hauptsächlich der späteren, keinen Zweifel darüber, dass sie ihrer Natur nach doch speciell englische Phrasen sind, die der Autor vielleicht wieder in Verfolgung seiner Zusammenfassungstendenz geschaffen hat. Eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit Carlyles ist aber die Kraft der direkten Richtungsbezeichnung, die er dem Suffix in einigen Wendungen in Fr. Gr. verliehen hat. (Vgl. darüber Teil II, C. 2.)

Es ist noch darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass die Beispiele nur in grösseren Zwischenräumen, und dann meist mehrere zugleich, auftauchen. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass dabei ein bestimmter derartiger Fall den Anlass für die Prägung der ihm folgenden gab, wie man ja schon öfters im Verlauf dieser Arbeit Gelegenheit zu ähnlicher Beobachtung gehabt hat. —

Some of the company, however, misunderstood my oratorical fire so much, that they, *sheep-wise* [schafsweise], gave some insinuations as if I myself were not strict in that point, but lax. Tr. III. 284.

Simply to sink down into this little garden; and there to nestle yourself so snugly, so *homewise* [einheimisch], in some furrow, that ... 305.

The feudalist, therefore, prepared a fishing-line; stuck a bread-pill on the hook, and lowered his fishing-tackle, *angler-wise* [fischend], down into the court. 316.

Peasants and Swiss, indeed, make their appearance, *idyl-wise,* in French Literature. M. II. 371.

Under those thick locks of thine, so long and lank, overlapping *roof-wise* the gravest face we ever in the world saw, there dwelt a most busy brain. S. R. 15.

the men have breeches without seat (ohne Gesäss): these they fasten *peak-wise* to their shirts. 45.

Happy if it proved a Firework, and flamed-off *rocket-wise,* in successive beautiful bursts of splendour. 133.

such [Friars] as continued refractory he tied together by the beards, and hung them *pair-wise* over poles. M. III. 160.

only with the cultivated man is it otherwise, *reversewise.* M. IV. 219 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Of another Chevalier, worthy Jaucourt, be the name mentioned, and little more: he digs unweariedly, *mole-wise,* in the Encyclopedic field. 265.

Comet-wise, progressing with loud flourish of kettledrums ... the Arch-quack has traversed Saxony. 365.

Thus if, for Circe de La Motte-Valois, the Egyptian Masonry is but a foolish enchanted cup wherewith to turn her fat

Cardinal into a quadruped, she herself *converse-wise,* for the Grand Cophta, is one who must ever fodder said quadruped. 377.

Farther you perceive, sidewards, walls abutting on it, and donjons *terrace-wise* [terrassenmässig] stretching down. 435.

Now came strong outbreakings of passion from this woman; interrupted indeed, and *pulse-wise* [stossweise]. 442.

Als Vorstufe der Konstruktion nach zu den von Substantiven gebildeten Adverbien dieser Klasse sind Wendungen anzusehen, wie die folgende:

The month is still October, when famishing Saint-Antoine, in a moment of passion, seizes a poor Baker, innocent „François the Baker"; and hangs him *in Constantinople wise.* Fr. R. II. 23.

Hierzu vergleiche man noch folgende dem Deutschen nachgebildete Phrase:

But my Teutoberga ... clutched the tipsy market-warder by the collar, and said (shrieking, it is true, *in village-wise* [nach Dorfweise] ...) Tr. III. 302.

All this to be scoped out, and wheeled up in slope along the sides; high enough; for it must be rammed down there, and shaped *stair-wise* into as many as „thirty ranges of convenient seats". Fr. R. II. 68.

they have shouldered, *soldier-wise,* their shovels and picks. 70.

a „god-created Man", all but abnegating the character of Man; forced to exist, automatised, *mummy-wise* (scarcely in rare moments audible or visible from amid his wrappages and cerements), as Gentleman or Gigman. M. V. 4.

Generation after generation ... rushed *torrent-wise,* thundering down, down. 8.

He [Rohan] exhibits his four-and-twenty scarlet pages ... gives suppers, *Sardanapalus-wise,* the finest ever seen in Vienna. 25.

He blows out, *Werter-wise,* his foolish existence, because she will not have it to keep. 31.

but their course otherwise, and indeed *this-wise* too, was much chequered Fr. Gr. I. 168.

Generalissimus ad Latus ordered out his whole force of drummers, trumpeters: To fling themselves, *post-wise,* deeper and deeper into the woods all round. Fr. Gr. III. 351. (übs. a Dtsch.!)

well battered out, these, like dust and chaff, fly *torrentwise* along the winds. IV. 389.

Potsdam . . . lies *leftwise* in front of him within a short mile. VI. 194.

so that the last furlong or two stands at right angles („en potence“, *gallows-wise,* or *joiner's-square-wise* to the rest); and in this way, make front to the Prussian onslaught. VII. 166.

Kurz darauf heisst es:

This is an important wheel to right, and formation *in joiner's-square manner.* 166.

coming upon one of those mud-tanks with battery beyond, his men were spreading *file-wise,* to cross it on the dams. 172.

We . . . had marched off *left-wise,* foremost; and we now, without halt, continued marching so with the Left wing. 178.

the blood was flowing *stream-wise* from my neck. 180 (übs. a. Dtsch.!).

the enemy's Line . . . sought *corps-wise* to gain the Heights. 180. (übs. a. Dtsch.!).

en potence (*gibbet-wise*) 214.

Moritz is marching with the centre, or main battle, that way intending to wheel and turn hillwards, *Kreczor-wise,* as per order, certain furlongs ahead. 223.

(hill*wards,* Kreczor-*wise*! Kreczor ist ein Dorf; also Sinn ist: in der Richtung von Kr.)

brooks tinkling forward . . . into the Saale . . . or *reverse-wise* into the Unstrut. 333.

„It is a particular manoeuvre“, says Archenholtz, rather *sergeant-wise.* 384.

You divide your line into many pieces, you can push these forward *stairwise* 384 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Aehnlich: *stair-wise* = en échélon. 390.

... and flowed then, *torrent-wise*, towards all its Bridges over the Schweidnitz Water. 396/7.

Daun has swept round by the back and by the front of Schweidnitz, far and wide, and encamped himself *crescent-wise,* many miles in length. IX. 290.

gets at the Enemy side-wise and *rear-wise* 301.

Die späteren Schriften weisen kein Beispiel mehr auf, und in den sämtlichen veröffentlichten Briefen finden sich nur die nachstehenden Fälle:

now as formerly the Cockneys „know nothing", only rush in masses blindly and *sheep-wise.* L. II. 182.

Poor insignificant transitory bipeds little better than thyself have *ant-wise* accumulated them [scil. the conquests of wisdom]. T. C. II. 9.

Could the whole world induce him by fee or reward to write it otherwise — *opposite wise*? 284. [Hyphen wohl irrtümlich fortgelassen].

Thus had kind destiny projected us *rocket-wise* for a little space into the clear blue of heaven and freedom. III. 272.

III. Adverbia auf „-ward(s)".

Auch von ihnen kennt das Englische eine ganze Reihe, indessen ist die Zahl der in der Prosa gebräuchlichen doch bestimmt begrenzt, und nur die freie Sprache der Poesie weist einzeln noch andere auf. Wie bei den früheren Gruppen, so schafft Carlyle sich auch hier wieder mit der weitgehendsten Freiheit neue Formen nach Bedarf. Kein geographischer Name, keine Ortsbezeichnung ist ihm zu ungewöhnlich, dass er nicht davon durch Anhängung von „-ward(s)" ein Adverb bildete, und wie sonst meidet er auch hier die Umschreibung in auffälliger Weise. Freilich treten Ausdrücke dieser Art erst seit Fr. R. häufiger auf, und dann auch nur in teilweise recht be-

deutenden Zwischenräumen, je nachdem die Umstände sie wünschenswert erscheinen liessen. Vorher lassen sich nur wenig Belege anführen. Dies hat jedoch seinen Grund nur darin, dass der Inhalt der früheren Schriften selten Gelegenheit zu ihrer Verwendung bot.

Its white steeple is then truly a *starward*-pointing finger. S. R. 146.

But *sunwards,* lo you! how it towers sheer up, a world of Mountains, the diadem and centre of the mountain region S. R. 148.

never more, in these centuries, will a Grimm be missioned thither; never a „Leaf of Börne" be blown *court-wards* by any wind. M. IV. 265.

The effluence of Paris is arrested *Versailles-ward* by a barrier of cannon at Sèvres Bridge. Fr. R. I. 209.

Drei Reihen vorher liest man noch: all wending *towards* Paris and Versailles. 209.

O, were there not a spirit in the word of man, as in man himself, that survived the audible bodied word, and tended either godward or else *devilward* forevermore. II. 37

The hastiest traveller *Versailles-ward* has drawn bridle on the heights of Chaillot. 73.

Royalty shall forthwith return *Paris-ward.* 226.

And so these thin streaks of Fédérés wend *Paris-ward* through a paralytic France. 333.

some four leagues from Rouen, *Paris-ward.* III. 264.

Omitting St. Ives *Fen-ward* or Eastward, the last house of all . . . is confidently pointed out as „Oliver's House". Cr. I. 89.

After which both parties separated: the King to follow Essex . . . Waller to wander *London-wards* and gradually „lose his Army by desertion", as the habit of him was. 201.

From the bottom of Belhaven bay to that of the next sea-bight, *St. Abbs-ward,* the Town and its environs form a peninsula. III. 34.

The basis of England will have to start from again, if England is ever to struggle Godward again, instead of struggling *Devilward* and *Mammonward* merely. III. 192.

considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward[18]) as they are.

Note dazu: 18) *Spain-ward*: so much inclined to help the Spaniard. V. 92.

The genius of England no longer soars *Sunward*, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms. 172.

Well, they got Barrabas; and they got, of course, such guidance as Barrabas and the like of him could give them; and of course they stumbled ever downwards and and *devilwards,* in their truculent stiffnecked way. L. P. 40.

some measure that would please his horse for the moment, and encourage him to go with softer paces, godward or *devilward* as it might be. L. P. 123.

No passage *Spainward* from the Thames; L. St. 37.

and in the afternoon, we went on the Thames *Putney-ward* together. 147.

Truly, his scorn of the said Liberator, now riding in supreme dominion on the wings of blarney, *devilward* of a surety ... rose occasionally almost to the sublime. 295.

Embassy of Macclesfield's, 1701, announcing that the English Crown has fallen *Hanover-wards.* Fr. Gr. I. 51.

by way of cooperating with Gustav on his great march *Vienna-ward.* 344.

the Kniebiss (so!) Pass, where the Murg, the Kinzig ... start *Rhine-ward* II. 423.

king Friedrich ... rolled away *Frankfurt-ward.* IV. 166.

Quadi and consorts, in the fifth or sixth Century ... shifted *Rome-ward.* 171.

„By no means!“ answered Sweden, taking arms again ... and rushing *ruin-ward,* at the old rate. 266.

Glatzward 300. V. 126.
Neisse-wards V. 60.
Prag-ward V. 110. 117. 173.
fieldward 124.
Ronnow-ward 176.
coast-ward 220.
Neisse-ward IV. 405.
Vienna-ward V. 107.
France-ward 118.
Olmütz-ward 128.
Elbe-ward 188. 428.
Rhine-ward 273. 274.

In Band V. von Fr. Gr. ist also eine ausserordentlich hohe Steigerung im Gebrauch dieser freien Ausdrucksweise zu beobachten, was sehr begreiflich, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die hier gegebene Schilderung der Schlesischen Kriege mit ihrer eingehenden Darstellung der einzelnen Truppenbewegungen die Wiederkehr derartiger Bezeichnungen von selbst mit sich brachte. In gleicher Weise ist es leicht verständlich, wenn der Autor mit diesen bevorzugten Wendungen in dem Grade vertraut werden konnte, dass er sie mit freier Konstruktion auch als Adjektiva gebrauchte, wie seinerzeit in dem betreffenden früheren Kapitel gezeigt ist. Es braucht wohl kaum hervorgehoben zu werden, dass in den folgenden Büchern, besonders dem VII., wo der Siebenjährige Krieg behandelt wird, solche Formen sich gleichfalls äusserst häufig finden. Sie sämtlich aufzuzählen, würde zu weit führen; daher möge die Citierung von einigen der prägnanteren genügen, indem zugleich darauf hingewiesen sei, dass sich auch in diesem Punkte ein gewisser Fortschritt insofern nicht verkennen lässt, als im Anschluss an eine alte Redeweise (to me ward etc., vgl. Teil II. C. 3) das Ziel der Richtung nicht nur einen geographischen Ort, sondern vereinzelt auch eine Person, bzw. einen Personennamen betrifft.

Queiss-ward VI. 149. *Meissen-wards* 162.

Friedrich's other employments are ... to be considered incessant, innumerable and, in result *to us-ward,* silent also, impossible to speak of in this place. 243. (Vgl. hierüber Teil II. C. 3.)

snatched said pistol; and clicking it to the cock, plunged *Dorn-ward* 413. [Dorn ist eine Person!].

Then at Ebenheit, *Browne-wards,* were Browne now there, rises the Lilienstein VII. 106.

Aim is, To force the Prussian lines, by determination and the help of darkness, in some weak point; the whole Army, standing ranked on the walls, shall follow, if things go well; and storm itself through — away *Daun-wards,* across the River by Podoli Bridge. 207.

hillward VIII. 39. *shoreward* 342. *Neisse-ward* 388, IX. 187.

Von den späteren Werken bieten nur die „Reminiscences" und L. M. noch einige Beispiele:

My commonest walk was *fieldwards,* or down into the City. R. II. 169.

We walked along, somewhere *Holborn-wards.* 171.

We had a pretty little room; quiet though looking *street-ward.* 299.

Seaforth House is three miles or so down river from Liverpool, *Bootleward.* L. M. I. 288.

while I sat smoking (on the hearthrug ... puffing *firewards*). III. 175.

I was waiting at Dumfries for her train *Londonward* 273.

Auch aus den Briefen Carlyles lassen sich einige Stellen anführen:

Of course you will not come to Edinburgh till you come for good, that is, I mean on your way *Munichward.* L. I. 74.

Jenny ... is always cheerful-looking, but (*to usward*) highly incommunicative. 301.

I generally turn *Townwards.* II. 263.

On Sunday I walked three hours out *Harrow-ward* through the fields. T. C. III. 200.

It was a ray of everlasting light and insight this, that had shot itself *zenithward* from the soul of a man. T. C. IV. 371.

Vgl. dazu: This „aperture *zenithward*" as I like to express it (!), has gone on slowly widening itself. 372.

Erwähnt sei noch folgendes interessante Beispiel:

R. W. E.'s „Advertisement", friendly and good as all his dealings are *to me ward.* C. E. I. 202.

sowie der ganz analoge Ausdruck Emerson's:

though I know his meltings *to-me-ward.* C. E. II. 232.

IV. Adverbia auf „-way".

Im Anschluss an die vorige ist noch eine mit ihr verwandte Gruppe von Adverbien zu behandeln, die in ihrer Art recht bemerkenswert und charakteristisch ist. In der zweiten Hälfte von Fr. Gr. tauchen adverbiale Ausdrücke auf, die durch Zusammensetzung eines das Ziel bezeichnenden

Wortes mit dem als Suffix verwendeten Substantiv „way“ nach einer der bei den Adverbien auf „-ward(s)“ gebrauchten analogen Weise gebildet sind. Es sind Konstruktionen, die man im Deutschen etwa dadurch nachahmen könnte, dass man den in „geradewegs“ z. B. sich findenden adverbialen Genitiv „-wegs“ in entsprechender Weise mit Ortsbezeichnungen verknüpfte. — Der Anlass, der Carlyle zur öfteren Anwendung derartiger Bildungen geführt hat, ist wohl ohne Frage darin zu sehen, dass er mit dem Ausdruck wechseln wollte. Darauf lässt wenigstens die Thatsache schliessen, dass diese Adverbien sich neben solchen auf „-ward(s)“ fast ausschliesslich im zweiten Teile von Fr. Gr. finden, dass sie also nur zu einer Zeit auftreten, in der sich der Autor durch die Art seines Gegenstandes genötigt sah, viele Ortsangaben zu bringen.

Es ist beachtenswert, dass Carlyle anfangs die beiden Elemente dieser Ausdrücke lose neben einander setzt, während er sie später in der bei den andern aufgeführten Adverbgruppen gebräuchlichen Weise z. T. durch ein Hyphen fest verknüpft. —

„... if we had a mind to see the Army on march“, just moving off, *Strehlen way,* „we might come out at the North Gate“. Fr. Gr. V. 30.

Neipperg ... prudently turned back, and hastened *Baumgarten way,* to his strong Camp at Frankenstein again. 59.

From Berlin, 20 th Dezember 1741; by Breslau ... thence on, *Neisse way,* as far as Löwen. 168.

He cantons ... his Hanoverians ... farther northward, *Hanover way.* 254.

get on march, *Frankfurt way.* 275.

The higher Mountain summits, *Landshut way,* or still more if you look southeastward, Glatz-ward, rise blue and huge. VI. 83.

the brooks make for the Elbe, leaning *Dresden way.* 162.

the Hanoverians ... hut themselves *Canterbury way.* VII. 37.

Towards Halle (*Leipzig way*); towards Brietzen (*Wittenberg and Torgau way*) 52. („*towards*“ gegenüber „*way*“!).

„the Austrians have named Generals, and their Army is

ordered to march, from Kolin to Königsgrätz" — *Schlesien way.* „So that, expecting..." 56.

To get within reach of the Saxons ... By Aussig, down the river, straight for the interior of their Camp, it is flatly impossible: by the south or south-east corner of their Camp (*Gottleube way*), or by the north-east (*by Schandau way*) right bank of Elbe, it is virtually so, — at least without beating Keith. 79/80.

descending diligently, *Sterbohol way.* 165.

Aehnliche Belege finden sich pagg. 174. 186. 226. 236. 286. 295.

Erst jetzt trifft man den ersten Fall, wo ein Hyphen gesetzt ist:

Here from Eilenburg, his first stage *Torgau-way,* are a Pair of Letters in notable contrast. 317.

Indessen steht dies Beispiel hier noch vereinzelt; die nächsten sind wieder sämtlich ohne das Verbindungszeichen, so pag. 327. 333. VIII. 64. 65. 78. 79. 147. 153. Erst von nun an werden Bildungen mit Hyphen neben solchen ohne das Zeichen häufiger:

Broglio retreated *Frankfurt-way,* also as usual, though not quite so far. VIII. 196.

Reitwein way 207.

They intend *Neisse-way,* with their considerable stock of baggage wagons. 388.

General Bülow ... is sent out *Goldberg-way,* to take hold of the passage of the Katzbach. IX. 60.

Glogau way 66.

The poor Reichs Army ... fell back *Leipzig-way,* southward to Düben. 105.

and Loudon, after some finessing, marches back *Schweidnitz-way,* cautiously, skilfully. 187.

The fact is, I Kaltenborn quitted the Prussian Service, and took Hessian, being (presumably) of exaggerative, over-talkative nature, and strongly gravitating *Opposition way.* X. 114.

Auch hier ist wieder ein gewisser Fortschritt noch zu konstatieren, insofern als, abweichend vom bisherigen Gebrauch, ein von Hause aus abstrakter Begriff zur Bezeichnung der Richtung verwendet worden ist. — Ganz spät taucht in L. M. noch einmal ein Ausdruck dieser Art auf:

> Bright weather this, and the day before I was crippling out *Terregles way,* among the silent green meadows, at the moment when she left this earth. L. M. III. 335.

D. Verba.

Auch die Bildungen dieser Art beanspruchen ein Kapitel für sich, denn Carlyle macht so häufig von Sonderformen Gebrauch, dass die Anzahl der hierhergehörigen Beispiele nicht weit hinter der der übrigen Gruppen zurückbleibt. Ein Blick auf die nachstehenden Belege zeigt, dass der weitaus grösste Teil von ihnen Fälle repräsentiert, wo Ausdrücke anderer Wortklassen direkt als Verba gebraucht werden, und man wird auch bald das Motiv der auffallenden Vorliebe des Autors für derartige Formen erkennen: es ist wiederum das Bestreben, sich in seinen Worten möglichst kurz zu fassen. Und in der That ist das hier eingeschlagene Verfahren solchem Zwecke in hohem Grade dienlich. Er geht nämlich folgendermassen vor: begegnet ihm im Laufe der Darstellung ein aus Verb + Objekt, oder Verb + adverbiale Bestimmung zusammengesetzter Begriff, in dem der zweite Bestandteil für die Bedeutung des Ganzen massgebend ist, so nimmt er diesen heraus und bildet sich mit ihm ein neues Verb, das den ursprünglichen Gesamtausdruck ersetzt. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass hieraus eine nicht unwesentliche Erleichterung der Redeweise entspringt. Man nehme z. B. eine Bildung wie „*manifestoing*“, die Carlyle gern anwendet, etwa für „publishing manifestoes“. Man sieht sofort, er spart damit immer mindestens ein Wort, nicht selten aber, je nach den Umständen, auch mehrere. Ausserdem jedoch hat er noch den Vorteil, dass er dabei weder nach Synonymen für den ursprünglichen Verbalbegriff, deren Anwendung der Zusammenhang manchmal angezeigt erscheinen lassen würde, zu suchen braucht, noch nach Ausdrücken von leicht differencierter Bedeutung, da er diese unbedenklich in das neue Wort hineinlegen kann. Und was von diesem Falle

gesagt ist, das gilt allgemein mehr oder weniger auch von den andern. — Es sind allerdings nicht immer in jeder Hinsicht völlig ausgebildete Verba, denen man hier begegnet; oft verwendet Carlyle von derartigen Bezeichnungen nur Verbalsubstantiva, oder Participia Praesentis bzw. Praeteriti, doch haben sie fast alle einen verbalen Charakter und setzen gewissermassen die Existenz eines entsprechenden Infinitivs voraus. Die Art und Weise, wie der Autor bei der Bildung der jedesmaligen Formen verfährt, ist wie die Konstruktion eine sehr einfache. In den weitaus meisten Fällen wird die Form des zu Grunde liegenden Worts direkt ohne Veränderung als Infinitiv genommen, an den die nötigen Endungen je nach den Umständen unmittelbar angehängt werden. Nur selten macht Carlyle von einem besonderen Verbalsuffix Gebrauch, und er konnte auch um so eher und unauffälliger nach seiner Methode gehen, als im Englischen dieser Trieb schon vorhanden war und überdies sehr viele Infinitive die gleiche Form wie die entsprechenden Substantiva aufweisen. —

Schon in den früheren Abschnitten war mit Nachdruck auf die charakteristische Erscheinung aufmerksam gemacht worden, dass Carlyle zur Prägung neuer Wörter sich sehr leicht durch bestimmte in ihrer Nähe stehende Ausdrücke verleiten lässt. Die gleiche Bemerkung gilt auch hier, und zwar äussert sich diese Eigentümlichkeit des Autors in einer doppelten Weise. Einmal darin, dass, wie früher, das Grundwort zum neuen Verb von diesem im Zusammenhang der Schilderung nicht weit entfernt ist, und durch seine Stellung seinen Einfluss deutlich zu erkennen giebt, — doch trifft man solche Fälle verhältnismässig selten. Dann aber lässt sich hier häufig, besonders später, die specielle Beobachtung machen, wie die Verwendung eines Ausdrucks gerade als Verbum dadurch hervorgerufen ist, dass er mit andern gebräuchlichen Verben zusammensteht. In solchen Fällen schwebte dem Autor zunächst ein derartiges gebräuchliches Zeitwort vor; zu diesem gesellte sich dann ein anderer, nicht als Verbum existierender Begriff, den er nun der ersten Gedankenverbindung anpasste, da er weder Zeit noch Neigung hatte, diese umzugestalten.

Die Entwicklung Carlyles auf diesem Gebiete zeigt ganz das gleiche Bild wie die früheren Kapitel. Er schreitet in der

Anwendung solcher neuer Verben, inbezug sowohl auf die Zahl, wie auf die Freiheit der Formen, wieder ganz allmählich und stets in Uebereinstimmung mit dem Charakter der Schriften vorwärts. Aufs neue lassen vereinzelte originelle Prägungen in den früheren der Werke schon die spätere Neigung und Gewandtheit ahnen, und S. R. bringt wieder zuerst eine grössere Menge von Formen, besonders von phantastisch gebildeten zu komischer Wirkung.

Oh that you saw the Giant [Irving] with his broad-brimmed hat, . . . carrying the little pepper-box of a creature folded in his monstruous palms along the beach, *tick ticking* to it, and dandling it T. C. I. 244.

The populace *hurraed.* Tr. I. 78.

he chose the room which had the friendliest aspect, where he found a well-*pillowed* [wohlgepolstert] bed. III. 35.

Ebenso: on the sofa, *pillowed* [gepolstert] with soft moss. 117.

a round vaulted tester, in the form of a dome, adorned with winged puffy-*cheeked* [bausbäckig] heads of angels. 151.

Whether, in the mean-time, there shall not be found certain quick-*scented* readers [feine Nasen von Lesern] 255.

Should the Parson ever *chrysalise* himself [sich verpuppen] into an Author, the watch-wasp may then buzz out. 372.

without the bass-drum tumult of stair-*pedaling* [Treppen-Pedalierens] 391.

The Guardian *deuced* and *devilled* [sakramentierte] 412.

the next day as the last, our Caird and Balladmonger are singing and *soldiering.* M. II. 33.

Then Madame has been known to keep the postillions cracking and *sacre-ing* at the gate from dawn till dewy eve. 203. (Im Essay „Voltaire“!)

Who am I; what is this Me? A Voice, a Motion, an Appearance; some embodied *visualised* Idea in the Eternal Mind? S. R. 51.

be he gold-mantled Prince or russet-*jerkined* Peasant. 54.

these considerations, of our Clothes-thatch, and how, reaching inwards even to our heart of hearts, it *tailorises* and demoralises us, fill me with a certain horror at myself and mankind. 55.

when thou thyself sattest *muling* and puking in thy nurse's arms 56.

Round this mysterious Me, there lies, under all these wool-rags, a Garment of Flesh (or of Senses), *contextured* in the Loom of Heaven. 64.

Topbooted Graziers from the North, Swiss Brokers, Italian Drovers, also *topbooted,* from the South 96.

its howl-chantings, *Ernulphus-cursings,* and rebellious gnashings of the teeth, might ... become only the more tumultuous. 164. (Zu dem von Carl. oft gebrauchten Subst. „Ernulphus-curse".)

For the *fire-baptised* soul ... here feels its own Freedom. 164.

and such a Church-repairing, and chaffering, and *organing,* and all other racketing held over → that spot of God's Earth. 203.

Were he not, as has been said, *purblinded* by enchantment, you had but to bid him open his eyes and look. 214.

Who ever saw any Lord *my-lorded* in tattered blanket, fastened with wooden → skewer. 232.

this fair Universe ... is in very deed the *star-domed* City of God. 255.

And again, do not we squeak and jibber ... and glide bodeful, and feeble, and fearful; or *uproar* (poltern), and revel in our mad Dance of the Dead. 256.

The Tailors are now entirely *pacificated* 286.

Siegfried by main force slew this Dragon, or rather *Dragonised* Smith's-brother. M. III. 163. →

there they balanced, *somersetted* and made postures. 335.

never ... has Man been ... *deprivated* of any faculty. M. IV. 12.

a high, keen-*visioned,* almost prophetic soul. 57.

It is a stout old-fashioned, oak-*balustraded* house. 83.

consider what a spasm, and life-clutching ice-*taloned* pang, must have shot through the brain and pericardium of Balaam 209.

all misformations of Nature *intensated* to the verge of madness by unfavourable Fortune. 262/3.

yet instead of shrieking over it, or howling and *Ernulphus-cursing* over it, let us ... keep our composure. 289.

In Fr. R. nimmt die Zahl der Formen wieder noch mehr zu; das Gleiche gilt von der Kühnheit mit der sie gebildet sind; denn waren bisher die Grundwörter der neuen Ausdrücke fast durchweg Substantiva gewesen, so treten von nun an auch Adverbia und Interjektionen als solche auf. Dazu kommt, dass nicht wenige der Beispiele wieder ein recht bizarres Gepräge tragen und so an den Eindruck erinnern, den manche aus demselben Werke citierten Belege für die vorhergehenden Abschnitte hervorgerufen haben. Einzeln deutet eine Trennung der Endung vom Stammwort mittelst Hyphen an, dass der Autor sich des Worts als einer Neubildung wohl bewusst gewesen ist. Indessen hält Carlyle sich hier doch immer noch innerhalb bestimmter Grenzen, sodass man im allgemeinen die Empfindung haben wird, diese Bildungen seien ihm ein wirkliches Bedürfnis gewesen. Dem Inhalt des Werkes entsprechend tritt hier neben einer Fülle von englischen auch eine Anzahl von Formen auf, die nach französischen Bezeichnungen geprägt sind, welche für Carlyle infolge der Häufigkeit, mit der sie ihm begegnet waren, z. T. den Charakter von Fremdwörtern verloren hatten.

a miserable Cardinal Grand-Almoner Rohan, on issuing from his Bastille, is escorted by *hurrahing* crowds. Fr. R. I. 71.

... will prove by *pamphleteering, musketeering,* that it is a truth 82 u. ö.

whereby, as in a kind of choral anthem ... the Notables are, so to speak, *organed out,* and dismissed to their respective places of abode. 97. 150 (hier in „ “!).

with such *petarding* and buzzaing that ... 138.

What *dubitating,* what circumambulating! 150.

It is the Parlement of Paris; which starts forward, like the others ... to *nose-ring* that Behemot of a States-General. 157.

The Salle des Menus is all new-*carpentered* 160.

vengeful Gardes Françaises, *sacreing,* with knit brows start out on him. I. 220. II. 244/5 u. ö.

Or, alas, is it neither restored Father nor *diswhipped* Taskmaster that walks here II. 7.

Kurz vorher steht auf derselben Seite:

Is it peace of a Father restored to his children? Or of a Taskmaster who has *lost his whip*? II. 7.

of pilfering Candle-snuffers, Thief-valets, *disfrocked* Capuchins ... let us ... forbear speaking. 26. 353. III. 9.

with ceremonial evolution and manoeuvre, with *fanfaronading*, musketry-salvoes ... 54. 227. 342. 378.

There march and constitutionally wheel, to the *ca-ira-ing* mood of fife and drum, under their tricolor Municipals, our clear-gleaming Phalanxes. 55. 321. III. 166. 179.

then is it verily, as in Herr Tieck's Drama, a Verkehrte Welt, or World *Topsy-turvied*! 66.

The thirty-*staired* Seats, all round our Amphitheatre. 80.

There is a Jousting on the River; with its water-somersets, splashing and *haha-ing* 81.

Wherewith let him again fade into dimness; and, at Metz ... mysteriously *diplomatising* ... hover as formerly. 124.

In such extraordinary manner does dead Catholicism *somerset* and caper. 193.

the People also is calm; motionless as a couchant lion. With but a few *broolings*, some waggings of the tail. 205/6.

And mark now, in the thick night, do not two Horsemen, with jaded trot, come *clank-clanking* 221. (Onomatopöie.)

For an august National Assembly must needs conquer these Refractories, Clerical or Laic, and *thumbscrew* them into obedience. 294.

Serene Highnesses, who sit there protocolling and *manifesto-ing*, and consoling mankind! 344. →

Neither do men now *monsieur* and *sir* one another; *citoyen* (*citizen*) were suitabler; we even say thou, as „the free peoples of Antiquity" did. III. 15.

But at Paris, all steeples are *clangouring*, not for sermon. 32.

ye poor *sackermenting* ghostly-visaged Hessians and Hulans. 67.

This uncertain heap of shriekers ... will become a *phalanxed* mass of Fighters. 68.

and we here, cowering *redouted*, most unredoubtable ... on the splashy Height of La Lune. 73. (Gebildet mit

Wortspiel zu unredoubtable vom englisch gebrauchten frz. „redoute", das pag. 72 vorkommt).

Europe seems *coalising* itself again. 97. 141. 369.

the Citizen Hassenfratz, as Head-Clerk, sits there in bonnet rouge ... a most insolent red-*nightcapped* man. 98.

a bald, rude, slope-*browed* infuriated visage. 158.

Thomas Paine's face is red-*pustuled* 167.

Pétion ... „composedly resumed his violin", says Louvet; thereby, with soft Lydian *tweedle-deeing* to wrap himself against eating cares. 171.

with such scrambling and *topsyturvying* as may be fancied! 178. 179. 321. 375.

Whereupon you must try *fusillading.* 267 u. ö. (vom franz. Subst. „fusillade", das Carlyle ganz als engl. Wort gebraucht, abgeleitet).

and Toulon sees *fusillading, grapeshotting* in mass, as Lyons saw. 274.

Twelve-thousand Masons are *requisitioned* from the neighbouring country, to raze Toulon from the face of the Earth. 274.

Guillotining there was at Nantes, till the Heads-man sank worn out: then *fusillading* „in the Plain of Saint-Mauve"; little children *fusilladed,* and women with children at the breast ... Wherefore now we have got *Noyading.* 275. 291 u. ö. (wie to fusillade zu frz. „noyade" gebildet).

What articulate words poor Mrs. Momoro, for example, uttered; when she had become *ungoddessed* again ... Mrs. Momoro, it is admitted, made one of the best Goddesses of Reason. 284.

With hard wrestling, with *artillerying* and *ça-ira-ing,* it shall be done. 295.

wooden arms with elbow-joints are jerking and *fugling* in the air 300/1.

The man Danton was not prone to show himself; to act or *uproar* for his own safety. 317.

What a distracted City; men riding and running, reporting and *hearsaying.* 348/9.

Likewise, General Hoche has even succeeded in *pacificating* La Vendée. 370.

the Heavens have said, Let there be an Incarnation, not divine, of the venatory Attorney-spirit which keeps its eye on the bond only; — and lo, this was it; and they have *attorneyed* it in its turn. 378.

Arrange it, *constitution-build* it, sift it through ballot-boxes as thou wilt, it is and remains an Unwisdom. 392. (Rückbildung zum häufig gebrauchten Ausdruck: „constitution-builder".)

In den Schriften der Folgezeit bleibt die relative Menge der neuen Wörter etwa auf der in Fr. R. erreichten Höhe und weist auch wieder die schon sonst für diese Periode konstatierten Schwankungen auf; der Charakter der einzelnen Formen aber wird noch phantastischer und bizarrer. Bisher vermochte sich der Leser doch wenigstens in die betreffenden Ausdrücke einigermassen hineinzudenken und sie nachzuempfinden. Jetzt aber treten, aufs neue hauptsächlich in den Werken, die auch sonst die weitgehendste Excentricität beobachten liessen, Bildungen von Verben zu solchen Bezeichnungen auf, von denen man sie unter keinen Umständen je würde erwartet haben. Die Fälle dieser Art machen von vornherein den Eindruck innerer Unwahrscheinlichkeit, und müssen selbst den nachsichtigsten Beurteiler wie capriciöse Wortspielereien und Sprachkunststücke anmuten. Man wird freilich zugeben müssen, dass auch diese Wörter sich in den Zusammenhang gut einordnen und dem Geiste der betreffenden Stelle angemessen sind; gleichwohl wird man Carlyle den Vorwurf nicht ersparen können, dass er hier seiner Neigung zu weit nachgegeben und die Freiheit der Redeweise über die äussersten Grenzen des Zulässigen hinausgetrieben habe. —

a „god-created Man", all but abnegating the character of Man; forced to exist, *automatised,* mummy-wise ... as Gentleman or Gigman. M. V. 4.

Not one in the thousand has the smallest turn for thinking; only for passive dreaming and *hearsaying.* 4.

Thus, in rosy sleep and somnambulism, or awake only to quaff the full wine-cup of the Scarlet Woman his Mother, and again sleep and *somnambulate,* does the Prospective Cardinal and Commendator pass his days. 25.

Dasselbe Wort auch transitiv gebraucht:

his Enimence again *somnambulàtes* the Promenade de la Rose. 77.

a Princess of the Blood, yet whose father had sold his inexpressibles; uncertain whether fosterdaughter of a fond Countess, with hopes sky-high, or supernumerary Soubrette; with not enough of mantuamaking : in a word, Gigmanity *disgigged.* 36.

she has to work her way, all along . . . wheedling, eavesdropping, *namby-pambying* 36/7. 39.

the ill-starred scoundrel *pendulates* between Heaven and Earth. 88.

with the *headdressings* and hungerings, the gaddings and hysterical gigglings that come between. 91.

Moved by all manner of testimonials and entreaties from uncle and family, the rigid Marquis consents, not without difficulty, to see this anomalous Peter Buffière of his; and then, after solemn deliberation, even to *un-Peter* him, and give him back his name. 143.

such a huntsman *tallyhoing* in the distance. 161.

innumerable barren Sieyeses . . . are building, with such hammering and *trowelling,* their august Paper Constitution. 181.

Mr. Lockhart at heart has a dislike to Scott, and has done his best in an underhand treacherous manner to *dishero* him! 224.

he did but seat himself at the harpsichord, and *fantasying* for a while on it . . . 298. (dtsch. phantasieren!)

Ebenso: *fantasying* for an hour on the pianoforte. 300.

Lyons *fusilladings,* Nantes *noyadings* 366.

The Saxon Kindred burst forth into cotton-spinning, clothcropping, iron-forging, *steamengineing, railwaying,* commercing and careering towards all the winds of Heaven. 400.

They are twenty-four millions of human individuals . . . weaving, delving, hammering, *joinering* 419.

they are matters which refuse to be *theoremed* and *diagramed* H. W. 30/1.

The rest of the Nation, *fractioned* and cut-asunder by deserts, lived under similar rude patriarchal governments by one or several. 61.

We will let it preach, and *pamphleteer*, and fight. 73.

I take your Bull, as an *emparchmented* Lie, and burn it. 157.

vast cities, high-*domed*, many-*engined,* — they are precious, great. 190.

Intellect is not speaking and *logicising*; it is seeing and ascertaining. 258.

through its thousand crowned, coroneted, *shovel-hatted* quack-heads. P. Pr. 24. (Vgl. shovel-hattedness C. E. I. 140 u. a.).

a Governing Class namely which ... could not with all our industry be kept from misgoverning, *corn-lawing,* and playing the very deuce with us. 37.

Vgl. dazu: My *Corn-Lawing* friends 215.

Alas he thinks that man has a soul in him, different from the stomach in any sense of this word; that if said soul be *asphyxied,* and lie quietly forgotten, the man and his affairs are in a bad way. P. Pr. 41. 43.

Ebenso: He that has a soul *unasphyxied* will never want a religion; he that has a soul *asphyxied,* reduced to a succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion. P. Pr. 282.

except as the vehicle for truth, or fact of some sort, — which surely a man should first try various other ways of *vehiculating* and conveying safe. 59. (transitiv gebraucht!)

Nature's own sacred voice heard once more athwart the dreary boundless element of *hearsaying* and canting. 108.

Truly, I think the man who goes about pothering and *uproaring* for his „happiness", — pothering, and were it *ballot-boxing,* poem making, or in what way soever fussing and exerting himself, — he is not the man that will help us ... 195.

burying itself ... in the waste *unfirmamented* seas 219.

Idle Aristocracy ... whose recognised function is that of handsomely consuming the rents of England ... *dilettante-ing* in Parliament 222. 282.

You cannot lead a Fighting World without having it regiment-ed, *chivalried* 336.

with thy emancipations, and thy *twenty-millionings* and long-eared clamourings, thou . . . threatenest to become a bore to us. 343.

immortal souls of men, ploughing, ditching, *day-drudging* 349.

To hypocrites and *tailored* quacks in high places his eyes are lightning 358.

Pause in thy mass-chantings, in thy *litanyings,* and Calmuck prayings by machinery. 359.

Doggeries never so gold-plated, Doggeries never so escutcheoned, Doggeries never so *diplomaed,* bepuffed, gas-lighted, continue Doggeries. 360.

After which follow, in Parliament and out of it, such debatings, *committee-ings,* consultings . . . Cr. II. 111.

Yes my travelling friends, *vehiculating* in gigs or otherwise over that piece of London road III. 40.

Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, *treatying* and *mis-treatying* from sea to sea. 97.

The „treaties among the Enemy" means Ker and Strahan's confused remonstratings and *treatyings* 98.

The Scots lie entrenched at Stirling, diligently raising new levies; *parliamenting* and *committeeing* diligently at Perth. 116.

and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, „the definition of a good Speech" . . . Ye Heavens, as if the *good-speeching* individual were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg and tenanted by a Devil. IV. 48.

Under the shadow of this *Constitutioning* Parliament strange things had been ripening. 127. 275.

He did not return to Ireland; got into *Major-Generalings,* into matters of State, on this side the Channel. 145.

This Parliament . . . suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued „Decimation" or *Ten-percenting* of the Royalists 277.

Here is his first Note, — in the abridged *lucidified* state. 300.

The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and *committeeings,* and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled! V. 43.

clouds of feathered Indians, somersaulting and *warwhooping* round him M. VI. 71.

each soldier lay at night wrapt in his poncho ... under the canopy of Heaven; *lullabied* by hard travail 74/75.

asking, Whether all that confused loud *litanying* about „reign of Terror", and so forth, was not possibly of a rather long-eared nature? 121.

all fighting and campaigning and *coalitioning* in regard to the existence of the Problem, is hopeless and superfluous henceforth. L. P. 12.

My dear household, cease singing and *psalmodying* 14.

To men in their sleep there is nothing granted in this world: nothing, or as good as nothing, to men that sit idly *caucusing* and *ballotboxing* on the graves of their heroic ancestors. 25. 28 u. ö.

Prussia too, solid Germany itself, has all broken out into crackling of musketry, loud *pamphleteering* and Francfort *parliamenteering* and palavering. 37.

Daneben: What an immense pother, by *parliamenting* and palavering in all corners of your empire. 121.

I ... noted well ... the dusky potent insatiable animalism that looked out of every feature of him : a fellow adequate to *animal-magnetise* most things, I did suppose. 65.

... instead of it so little done but protocolling, black-or-white *surplicing,* partridge shooting, parliamentary eloquence 79.

There is perhaps endeavour to do a little *scavengering.* 83.

By punishment, capital or other, by *treadmilling* and blind vigour ... the extremely disagreeable offences of theft and murder must be kept down within limits. 91.

whole nations and generations seem as if getting themselves *asphyxiaed,* constitutionally, into their last sleep. 212.

Dies Beispiel ist eins der prägnantesten für Carlyles Eigentümlichkeit, sich durch bestimmte Wörter zur Bildung neuer Formen verleiten zu lassen. Er hat kurz vorher „asphyxia"

gebraucht, und prägt nun mit Beziehung hierauf obigen Ausdruck, obgleich er neben dem gebräuchlichen „asphyxiated", das er ganz gut kennt, sich schon eine Form *asphyxied,* vgl. P. Pr. 41, gebildet hat.

Man könnte hier vielleicht einen Druckfehler vermuten, indessen findet sich jene Form ebenso in andern Ausgaben, auch steht Carlyles Vorgehen durchaus im Einklang zu seinem sonstigen Verfahren; der Sperrdruck deutet ausserdem an, dass der Autor sich bewusst ist, einen ungewöhnlichen Ausdruck zu verwenden. —

You will carry it, you, by your voting, and your *eloquencing* 284.

And in fine, poor devils, that their universal suffrage, as spoken, as acted, meditated, and imagined; universal suffrage, — I do not say *ballod-boxed* and cunningly constitutionalised, but boiled, distilled, digested, *quintessenced,* till you get into the very heart's heart of it, — is, to the rational soul . . . worth express zero, or nearly so. 344.

That I think, is what the small still would have told Ignatius, could he have heard them amid the loud bullyings and *liturgyings.* 364.

One of the most supple-*wristed,* dextrous, graceful and successful fencers in that kind. L. St. 49.

give them shriving if they want it; that done, *fusillade* them all. 107.

what am I that people should *quacksalver* me with their nostrums? L. W.[1] 9.

shook hands with the two inevitables (who stayed late, *clatter-clattering*) 186.

that is the whole use of Speaking and Singing and *Literaturing!* 236.

lodging in some *open-aired* and, above all, quiet place. 272.

Den hohen Grad des Sichgehenlassens einer bestimmten Neigung gegenüber, der sich in mehreren der aus den letzten Schriften citierten Beispiele kundgiebt, hat Carlyle auch im Fr. Gr. nicht überschritten. Aber ebensowenig legt er sich

dort in Bezug auf die Anwendung von Formen der besprochenen Art irgendwie eine Beschränkung auf. Man trifft daher in seinem Hauptwerke neue Verbbildungen in derselben Reichhaltigkeit wie bisher, und es ist überraschend, mit welcher Sicherheit der Autor immer wieder andere derartige Begriffe zu finden weiss. Im Charakter dieser Ausdrücke macht sich, wie gesagt, im ganzen eine Aenderung, und zwar in günstigem Sinne, bemerklich. Sie tragen nicht mehr jenes so überaus excentrische und unwahrscheinliche Gepräge, das manche der früheren Formen aufwiesen. In dieser Beziehung ist Carlyle nicht auf dem bisherigen Standpunkte verharrt, sondern er hat dem behandelten Stoffe Rechnung zu tragen und sich zu mässigen und zu zügeln gewusst. Freilich begegnet man noch Auffälligem genug; Verben, die zu den eigentümlichsten Begriffen gebildet sind, und zwar manchmal ganz willkürlich und ohne ersichtlichen Grund, da ganz ähnliche und durchaus gebräuchliche Verben existieren und sogar von ihm selbst angewendet werden. Indessen über solche Fälle wird man sich kaum noch wundern, da sie ja ganz dem Wesen des Autors entsprechen und zeigen, in wie hohem Grade die Tendenz nach solcher Ausdrucksweise ihn beherrschte. —

Bevor zur Angabe ausführlicherer und wichtigerer Belege geschritten wird, sei aufs neue an einigen geeigneten Beispielen gezeigt, wie Formen aus früheren Werken im Fr. Gr. wieder gebraucht werden:

litanying I. 192.
manifestoings I. 330. 335. 343. IV. 112 u. ö.
treatying II. 110. 113. V. 94. 219. X. 60. 158 u. ö.
somnambulating III. 302. 342. IV. 286.
committeeing VI. 191.
topsy-turvied VI. 311. VII. 34.
to pendulate VI. 384.
to fusillade VII. 274 u. ö.
soldiering (ptc.) X. 78 u. ö.

Sophie Charlotte ... plays daily on her harpsichord, and *fantasies*, and even composes. I. 52. VI. 242. 368 (hier übs. aus d. Dtsch.!).

no Czech blows into his pipe in the woodlands, without certain precautions and preliminary *fuglings* of a devotional nature. I. 84.

A certain handy and correct young fellow, Rentzel by name, about seventeen, who already knew his *fugling* to a hairsbreadth, was Drill-master. II. 22.

Such an haranguing, gesturing, symbolic *fugling,* all grown half-false. IV. 41.

Excellencies from the four winds taking wing towards Friedrich, and talking and insinuating, and fencing and *fugling,* after their sort. IV. 340.

At Herrenhausen, he has a fine time; grandly *fugling* about; negotiating with Wilhelm of Hessen; commanding his Pragmatic Army from the distance. V. 284.

after widespread necessary *fuglings* and preliminaries V. 354.

Die Beispiele sind absichtlich alle ausführlicher citiert und zusammengestellt, damit deutlich werde, mit welcher Freiheit und Geschicklichkeit der Ausdruck, von der Grundbedeutung „Bewegungen machen wie ein Flügelmann, oder wie mit Flügeln" aus, in der verschiedensten Bedeutungsschattierung gebraucht wird. —

„Friedrich the Fair, Duke of Austria", the *parricided* Albert's son, was again one of the parties. I. 154.

Her ancestor was Husband to an Aunt of that *homicided* Duke. 167.

Madame de Roucoulles ... had the honour of *governessing* Frederick the Great for the first seven years of his life. 394.

the sudden appearance of this young fighting Swede among the luxurious Kings and Kinglets of the North, all lounging about and languidly *minuetting* in that manner. 436.

Byng's Seafight, done with due dexterity of manoeuvering, and then with due emphasis of *broadsiding* ... dates itself 10th August 1718. 54. V. 391. 397. VI. 442.

George I. goes *subsidying* Hessians, Danes. II. 124. VIII. 10. 125.

„to subsidise" kennt Carlyle aber auch, und gebraucht es z. B. V. 219. VII. 26 u. ö.

The English Nation ... having set its old Bible-Faith ... well up in the organ-loft, with plenty of revenue, there to preach and *organ* at discretion ... thought the same a mighty pretty arrangement. 204.

illuminations, cannon *salvoings* and fireworks 216. VII. 97.

Twenty years of *congressing* 251.

there are dinners, there are hautboys — „two-and-thirty blackamoors", in flaming uniforms, capable of *cymballing* and *hautboying* 301.

cymballing noch III. 21. IV. 297.

if the Markgraf gets his hunting and his *heroning,* he laughs at all the rest. II. 302 (übs. a. Dtsch.).

Southward in Italy, there is marching, *strategying* in the Parma Country. III. 225.

What endless writing and *biographying* there has been about this man. 303.

The Prince of Mirow ... among other things, *white-lied* to us, that the Kaiserinn gave him a certain porcelain snuff-box he was handling. 343.

no Peace to be, „till our undoubted right", to *roadway* on the oceans of this Planet, become permanently manifest to the Spanish Majesty. 404.

Camas now gone to Paris, *embassying.* IV. 48.

his Excellency lived and *embassied* quite in vain. V. 48. 106.

embassyings V. 388.

after such wagging of the wigs, and such *Privy-councilling* and such *War-councilling* IV. 138.

certain polite Jesuits, who had by permission been praying and *extreme-unctioning* about them, came to thank the Colonel after all was over. 280.

Friedrich in person marched out, next morning, to make Feu-de-joie and *Te-Deum-ing.* 293. V. 117. 387. VII. 323.

Neipperg's trumpets *clangour,* his aides-de-camp gallop. 315.

there was of course long *conferencing,* long consulting, secret and intense. 374.

after much work done during this short visit, much ceremonial *audiencing* ... Friedrich rolled-on to Glogau. V. 96.

Mollwitz, above all, where, in spite of Römer and such

Horse-charging as was never seen, we had to melt, dissolve, and roll away. V. 115. VII. 262.

the Jesuits, and ardently Orthodox of both sexes, *flagitating* Heaven and her [Holy Virgin] with their prayers, that she would vouchsafe to keep the Prussians out. 127. 255. VI. 420. VII. 135.

Huge huzzahing, herald-trumpeting, *bob-major-ing,* bursts forth from all Prussian Towns. 190.

But, all through those hot days, it is a universal drumming, *Kettle-drumming,* coast-ward. 220.

elder Schmettau, Graf Samuel, who does a great deal of *envoying* for his Majesty. 253.

Carteret strongly *pulleying* ... did bring the High Mightinesses to their legs. 275.

Pause hereupon; much consulting; in fact endless *hithering* and *thithering,* the affair being knotty. 291. VI. 395. VII. 195. VIII. 295.

plenty of cannonading, *fusillading,* but in sporadic detached form. 293 (hier intrans. = Salven feuern).

with the endless janglings, correspondings, *court-martialings* that ensue. 360.

Barberina the Dancer ... her elegant pirouettings and *poussetings.* 368.

Austrians mainly are gone *laggarding* with D'Ahremberg up the Rhine. VI. 57.

there may be patches ploughable for rye ... boggy grass to be gathered in summer; *charcoaling* to do. 125. (charcoal-burning IV. 171.)

By slumbering and *sluggarding,* over their money-tills and flesh-pots. 161.

extensive penetrative face, not *pincered* together, but potently fallen closed. 191.

Travenol and his *pincered* ears 205.

And ... actually broke-in upon the frontier Fortresses of Zealand; found the same *dry-rotten* everywhere. 217.

Brilliant, sabring, *melodying* Chasot, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Baireuth Dragoons. 249.

Subsists, I should guess, by *schoolmastering,* — cheapest schoolmaster conceivable. 252.

world-wide shrieks . . . which were answered by unlimited hooting, catcalling, and *haha-ing* from all parts of the World-Theatre. 331.

At which the whole world *haha'd* again. 401. VII. 284. 320.

Busy people, these and others; now *legationing* in Foreign parts: able in their way. 419.

the whole hostile world marching-in upon him . . . ceases to stride forward; and merely *tramp-tramps* on the same place. VII. 187. (Onomatopöie!)

Protestants these poor Zittauers were; shone in commerce; no such weaving, *industrying,* in all Teutschland elsewhere: Hah! An eye-sorrow, they, with their commerce, their weavings and *industryings,* to Austrian Papists. 258.

the fountain-head of much other verse, and of much prose withal, and *correspondencing* not with Wilhelmina alone. 297. VIII. 11. (vgl. correspondings V. 360.)

the French had got to Langensalza . . . plundering, running, *sacre-dieu-ing.* 346.

This is the Schräge Ordnung, about which there has been such commentating and *controversying* among military people. 385.

On always homewards . . . goes the Russian Monster: violently *case-shotting* if you prick into its rearward parts. VIII. 80. (vgl. *grapeshotting* Fr. R. III. 274.)

a Daun detachment, *hussaring* about in those parts, is announced ahead. 115.

The Montazets, Montalemberts, watching, *messaging* about, in the Austrian Courts and Camps. 179.

Sad *requisitioning* needed, and sad plunder to supplement it. 205.

what *memoir-ing,* mutual consulting, beating of brains, to little purpose, during those eight days! IX. 201.

Whereupon the Guards . . . have indignantly blazed up into the fit *Hurra-hurra-ing* 283.

Most furious cannonading, *musketading*; and seemingly no end to it. 320.→

the poor Country is to get into such merchandisings, colonisings, foreign-settlings, *gold-nuggetings,* as lay beyond the drunkenest dreams of Jenkins 341.

„You could not know; you were with the Allied Army" (Duke Ferdinand's, *commissariating* and the like, where Duke Ferdinand recognised you to have a head). 368.

From Potsdam Palace to the New Palace of Sans-Souci may be a mile distance; flat ground, parallel to the foot of Hills; all through arbours, parterres, water-works, and ornamental gardenings and cottagings or *villa-ings,* — Cottage-Villa for Lord Marischal is one of them. 390/1.

there had been preliminary Diets of Convocation, much *dieting* demonstrating and electing of imaginary members of Diet. 425.

When a dark human Individual has filled the measure of his wicked blockheadisms, sins and brutal *nuisancings,* there are Gibbets provided, there are Laws provided. X. 54.

Bromberg no longer a heap of ruins; but a lively, new-built, paved, *canalled* and industrious trading Town. 134.

where the Erbprinz of Brunswick is in command, a man not to be pricked-into gratis by Pandours. Erbprinz, accordingly, provoked by their *Pandourings,* broke-out at last. 171.

Die letzten Essays und die „Reminiscences" zeigen noch in hohem Grade die charakteristischen Merkmale der früheren Werke. Carlyles Vorliebe für die bekannten Verbbildungen ist also auch damals noch in ihm lebendig. Die Abhandlungen über „The Early Kings of Norway" und „On the Portraits of John Knox" bringen trotz ihres grösseren Umfanges kaum noch etwas Erwähnenswertes, dagegen finden sich in „Letters and Memorials", sowie in der kleinen Schrift „Last Words[2]" noch mehrere, und immerhin nicht uninteressante Formen.

What most concerns us is, that he seems to do his *constabling* in a really judicious manner. M. VI. 146.

the *Biographied* Personage no longer an empty impossible Phantasm. 242.

They are to ride by two different roads toward Bohemia, that if one *misluck,* there may still be another to make terms. 262. (vgl. deutsch „missglücken"!)

For wherever I go, there is that same *gold-nuggeting* 317.

How many of them will be drawn ... into the universal vulgar whirlpool of *Parliamenteering, Newspapering,* Novel-writing, *Comte-Philosophy-ing,* immortal Verse-writing, &c. &c. 362.

in these *ballot-boxing,* Nigger-emancipating, empty, dirt-eclipsed days. 371.

stithy ... *clink-clinking* solitary through the blustering element. R. I. 86. (Lautmalerei!)

having indeed a turn herself for *medicining,* and some skill withal. 160.

the rustic natives there and their *shepherdings,* huntings ... and solitary fishings 167.

the notions they seemed to have of „reforming" (and *radicalling,* and quarrelling with their superiors) 182.

my loyal little Darling taking no manner of offence not to participate in my *lionings* 182.

the last bit of *railwaying* we did together. 241.

waves all ... beautifully humming and *lullabying* on that fine long sandy beach. II. 27.

we had all got tired of *schoolmastering* 32. 59.

... who went *niddy-noddying* with his head. 208.

Aus K. N. könnte man vielleicht noch eine Stelle anführen, wo der Sperrdruck wohl anzeigt, dass Carlyle selbst das Wort als Neubildung betrachtet habe:

His method was by no means soft, on the contrary, it was hard, rapid, severe, — somewhat on the model of Tryggveson's, though with more of *bishoping* and preaching superadded. K. N. 111.

This autumn ... I *steamered* to Kirkcaldy L. M. I. 95.

... a grizzled, blue-visaged sturdy giant, sunk in comforters and woollen wrappages, *plod-plodding* there, at a stout pace, and still good-humouredly, to Carlisle market. 141.

country rough and ill-*husbandried,* but all new. 372.

Craik from Belfast, with his daughters, was here *holidaying.* II. 310/11.

„William Harcourt“, the now *lawyering, parliamenteering,* etc. II. 374.

The wreck of poor Nero [Carl.'s Hund], who had to be *strychnined* by the doctor, was, and is still, sad and miserable to me. III. 11.

Die out of itself this thing [Promoterism] will not. And in a poor *gold-nuggeted,* plethoric, and utterly destitute and helpless Britain with its very gallows gone to the dogs, is there any chance of somebody's arising with power and will to *foot-shackle* it and extinguishing it? L. W.[2] 43/4.

Zum Schluss ist noch zu untersuchen, wie sich Carlyles hier besprochene Eigenart in seinen Briefen äussert. Was zunächst die „Letters“ betrifft, so ist zu konstatieren, dass sie nur einen vereinzelten Beleg bringen. Dass man indessen aus diesem zufälligen Umstande nicht etwa voreilig falsche Schlüsse ziehen darf, lehren die aus den gleichzeitigen in T. C. II veröffentlichen Briefen citierten Beispiele. In gleicher Weise bezeugen C. E. und T. C. III. u. IV. in Uebereinstimmung mit den „Reminiscences“ durch mannigfache recht charakteristische Formen, dass auch die in Rede stehende interessante Erscheinung in ihrem ganzen Umfange wieder ein durchaus natürliches Produkt in des Autors Sprachgestaltung ist.

whereupon I ... step out with my reins, seize the bridle, get Jane out, get the foolish brute free from her straps, — and our *gigging* has reached an untimely end. L. II. 56.

Is it true that of all quacks that ever quacked (boasting themselves to be somebody) in any age of the world, the political economists of this age are, for their intrinsic size, the loudest? Mercy on us, what a *quack-quacking* T. C. II. 78.

Last night came a whole bundle of „Fraser's Magazines“ &c.: two little papers by my brother in them, some fables by me; and on the whole such a hurly-burly of rhodomontade, punch, loyalty, and Saturnalian Toryism as eye hath not seen. This *out-Blackwoods Blackwood.* 89.

We got to talk about „Teufelsdröckh“, when, after much *hithering and thithering* about the black state of trade, &c., it turned out that ... 178.

The rest of the „Review“ is also despicable enough — blind, *shovel-hatted,* hysterically lachrymose. 200. Desgl. III. 199.

You cannot drill a regiment of knaves into a regiment of honest men, *enregiment* and organise them as cunningly as you will. 206.

there we could hear the wretched creature raving like one possessed: *hooing* and *haing,* and talking 213.

As to Craigenputtock, it is, as formerly, the scene of *scribble-scribbling.* 296.

Electioneering goes on here, in which I take no interest... *Reform-bill-ing* is the universal business, not mine. 298.

the broad river with white-*trowsered,* white-shirted Cockneys dashing by like arrows in thin long canoes of boats. 429.

I long to see some concrete Thing... well *Emersonized,* depictured by Emerson. C. E. I. 217.

the one innoxious result of all this trumpeting, reviewing, and *dinner-invitationing* 330.

there have been many things passing through my head, — *march-marching* as they ever do, in long-drawn scandalous Falstaff-regiments. II. 11.

the face of England, with its mad electioneerings, vacant tourist *dilettanteings* 139.

I *water-curing,* assiduously walking on the sunny mountains. 205.

I am here... riding, *sea-bathing,* living on country-diet 258.

I have got done with all my press-correctings, *editionings.* 339.

and especially I wonder at the *gold-nuggeting* there. 351.

He however went upon the old article „Characteristics“, and *illustrified* us at a great rate. T. C. III. 116.

one of the paltriest pieces of rapid, *shovel-hatted,* clear-starched, immaculate falsity and cant I have ever read. 199.

Precisely where the town ended, in the rear of a brown cottage, stood a young woman, *dabble dabbling* with linens in a wash-tub. 270.

We should then terminate our Fox-hunting, *Almacking, Corn-lawing,* and a variety of other things! 277 [1])

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[1]) Zu Almacking vgl. folgende Stelle aus S. R. über die „Dandies“: They have their Temples, whereof the chief, as the Jewish Temple did,

your sentence is thus *foot-shackled* to an amazing extent. T. C. IV. 79.
his reception from the *hip-hip-hurrahing* classes is not warm at all. 174.
Why not insist, as a first and inexorable condition, that all speech be a reality; that every speaker be verily what he pretends or *play-acts* to be? 385.
the present mad explosion of *threnodying* penny-a-linism. 419.

Verbbildungen mittelst des Präfixes „be-".

Neben den mit Suffixen gebildeten oder ohne weitere Aenderung direkt von Substantiven und anderen Wortklassen abgeleiteten Verben nehmen die mit dem Präfix „be-" einen besonderen Platz ein. Sie sind zwar bei weitem nicht so zahlreich wie erstere, die ja im allgemeinen die nächstliegenden waren und auch stets ihrem Zweck entsprachen, indessen es lässt sich doch durch sämtliche Schriften Carlyles hindurch eine Neigung für die Anwendung solcher Formen mit „be-" verfolgen. — In vielen Fällen dient die Vorsilbe dazu, schon existierenden intransitiven Verben transitive Kraft zu verleihen, ein Verfahren, für das die englische Sprache eine ganze Reihe gebräuchlicher Beispiele aufweist. Nicht selten hat Carlyle jedoch das Präfix auch da verwendet, wo er, wie bei den im vorhergehenden Kapitel behandelten Ausdrücken, Verba direkt von Substantiven bildet, ja er setzt es einzeln sogar vor Transitiva, um auf diese Weise die inhaltliche Bedeutung der Wörter zu verstärken oder zu erweitern. In wie weit Carlyle sich dabei von dem Geiste der englischen Sprache, bzw. von unmittelbaren Vorbildern hat leiten lassen, soll in Hauptteil II erörtert werden. — Wie früher ist auch hier wieder von Zeit zu Zeit zu beobachten, wie ein übliches mit „be-" gebildetes Zeitwort die Neuformung von anderen hervorgerufen hat, also auch in diesem Punkte äussert sich Carlyles grosse Zugänglichkeit für Analogiewirkungen.

Wenn hier ausnahmsweise einzelne archaische Formen mit aufgenommen sind, so durfte das wohl in Fällen geschehen,

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stands in their metropolis; and is named *Almack's*, a word of uncertain etymology. They worship principally by night; etc.... S. R. 267.

wo augenscheinlich jeder Gedanke an altertümliche Schreibweise dem Autor ferngelegen hatte, zumal wenn ein ganz bestimmter Grund, wie z. B. der bisweilen unverkennbare Einfluss entsprechender deutscher Wörter, ihre Anwendung veranlasst hatte. — Das Auftreten dieser Verba ist im ganzen doch zu sporadisch, um bemerkenswerte Züge zu bieten. Man sieht aber, wie sie schon in den frühesten Werken erscheinen und sich auch in allen anderen Schriften, öffentlichen sowohl als auch privaten Charakters, zeigen. Bei weitem die meisten Beispiele weist die lebhafte Sprache der Fr. R. auf, später findet man nur hier und da einmal ein paar Belege, und dann sind es noch zum grössten Teil aus den vorhergehenden Werken wiederkehrende Formen. Fr. Gr. macht allerdings in dieser Hinsicht eine Ausnahme, aber auch hier bleibt die Anzahl der eigentlich neuen Wörter relativ bedeutend hinter der in Fr. R. zurück. — Auch in dieses beschränkte Gebiet spielt das humoristische Element hinein. Verschiedene der hierhergehörigen Bezeichnungen lassen wieder an Auffälligkeit und Seltsamkeit der Prägung nichts zu wünschèn übrig, und der Leser wird auf den ersten Blick erkennen, dass der Autor mit ihnen eine komische Wirkung erzielen will. — Aehnlich wie im vorhergehenden Abschnitt hin und wieder die Endungen, so ist hier einzeln das Präfix vom Stammwort durch ein Hyphen getrennt, woraus man sofort ersehen kann, dass Carlyle die Form mit Bewusstsein neugebildet hat, oder dass sie ihm wenigstens als eine ungebräuchliche auffiel.

France has been so *betravelled* and *beridden* and *betrodden* by all manner of vulgar people that any romance connected with it is entirely gone off ten years agó. E. L. II. 281.

The truth is, it stand thus: I have been *bephysicked* and *bedrugged.* T. C. I. 235.

Kent is a delightful region ... sufficiently and not exceedingly *besprinkled* with trees. 242.

The Cameronian subject is too much *betrodden* at present, and the interest of it, in its present degree, can be but transient. 360.

Oh! I too was in that happy case, when I first *betrod* [betrat] the stage. Tr. I. 215.

In the heart of the rude Mountains shines the graceful seeming-boy, encircled with toppling cliffs, *besprayed* [besprüht] with cataracts. II. 252.

As the wedding company proceeded to the church, with the town-band *bedrumming* and *becymballing* them in the van [Als der Brautzug in die Kirche begann, und voraus von den Stadtpfeifern drommetet und schalmeiet wurde] III. 19.

only I myself was Troy, not *beridden* but riding to destruction. 263.

Outside the wall, I could direct her to the *bechained, begrated*, [umkettet, vergittert] gigantic Schabacker-Palace. 300.

he did not hide from any of his clients that Tagefahrt (Dayturn) means Term, and that Appealing was Berufen (*Becalling*) 370.

All is ready in the Palace, bowl and tripod, sharp-ground axe. For *besprinkling,* for *befuming* [zum Besprengen, zum Beräuchern]: now the Victim let us see. M. I. 204. (übers. a. Goethe.)

Whether his worth and weakness lie hidden in the depths of his own consciousness, or be *betrumpeted* and *beshouted* from end to end of the habitable globe. 242.

Courriers arrive *bestrapped* and *bebooted.* S. R. 20.

buff-belts, complicated chains and gorgets . . . have been *bepainted* in modern Romance S. R. 45.

Nutbrown maids and nutbrown men, all clear-washed, loud-laughing, bedizened and *beribanded.* 96.

Venerable too is the rugged face, with its rude intelligence, all weather-tanned, *besoiled.* 220.

Behorned Siegfried. M. III. 162.

alas! her siren finery has got all *besmutched,* ground, generations since, into dust and smoke. M. IV. 16/17.

Beppo, then, like a Noah's Raven, is out upon that watery waste of dissolute, *beduped,* distracted European Life, to see if there is any carrion there. 341.

they look into the *betarred* entangled mass of Futurity 342.

Poor Lackalls, all *betoiled, besoiled,* encrusted into dim defacement Fr. R. I. 163.

this „Saviour of France“; *beshouted, becymballed* by the world. 286.

With rich munificence, as we often say, in a most blinkard, *bespectacled,* logic-chopping generation, Nature has gifted this man with an eye. II. 13.

They are the mute representatives of their tongue-tied, *befettered,* heavy-laden Nations. 64.

their able men come marching ... under their Mayor, or Mayor and Curate, who also walk *bespaded,* and in tricolor sash. 70.

with cannon of long range, „foudroyer“, *bethunder* a patriotic Saint-Antoine into smoulder and ruin! 159.

Théroigne lies living, in dark Austrian Prison ... *Bemurmured* now by the hoarse-flowing Danube. 230.

these Forty Swiss blockheads arrive ... They are harangued, *bedinnered, begifted.* 311.

but the Camp of Twenty-thousand, the Priest-Decree, *bevetoed* by Majesty, are become impossible for Legislative. 319.

Patriot Brissot, *beshouted* this day by the Patriot Galleries, shall find himself *begroaned* by them. 340.

Above a hundred carts, heaped with Dead, fare towards the Cemetery of Sainte-Madeleine; bewailed, *bewept* 373.

The disowned of all parties, the rejected and foolishly *bedrifted* hither and thither, to what corner of Nature can he now drift with advantage? III. 161.

Mentz is changing into an explosive crater; vomiting fire, *bevomited* with fire. 166.

beshouted by the Galleries and Mountain; *bemurmured* by the Right-side and Plain. 170. 248.

Mount, Dumouriez, and spring for life! ... sprawl and plunge for life; *bewhistled* with curses and lead. 183.

Poor Pitt! They little know what work he has with his own Friends of the People; getting them *bespied,* beheaded, their habeas corpuses suspended. 193.

Open scoundrels rode triumphant, *bediademed, becoronetted, bemitred* 253.

Daneben gebraucht Carlyle auch die einfachen Formen, z. B.: all the Tiaraed and *Diademed* of the world. H. W. 100.

Out of which strange fall of Formulas, tumbling there in confused welter, *betrampled* by the Patriotic dance, is it not passing strange to see a new Formula arise? 282.

Jamaica Planters got Dogs from the Spanish Main to hunt their Maroons with: France too is *bescoured* with a Devil's Pack, the baying of which ... still sounds in the mind's ear. 285.

believed, *bewept, besung* by the whole French People to this hour. 299.

She has „Eleven hundred-thousand fighters on foot", this Republic ... Like a ring of lightning, they ... *begirdle* her from shore to shore. 368.

It [France] has been *betocsined, bestormed*; overflooded by black deluges of Sansculottism. 380.

O why was the Earth so beautiful, *becrimsoned* with dawn and twilight. 390.

the young lion's-whelp has to grow up all *bestrapped, bemuzzled* in the most extraordinary manner. M. V. 136.

Woe for the age, woe for the man, quackridden, *bespeeched, bespouted,* blown out like barren Sahara, to whom this world-old truth were altogether strange! 218.

Mr. Lockhart thinks there was no literary shrine ever so *bepilgrimed,* except Ferney in Voltaire's time. 263.

Bemurmured by the German sea-flood ... the venerable man [Bede] set down several things in a legible manner. 388.

Stately masonries, long-drawn arches, cloisters ... *begirdle* it [the chapel] far and wide. P. Pr. 71.

a „glorious Chivalry", much *besung* down to the present day. 237.

Can he do nothing for his Burns but make a Gauger of him; lionise him, *bedinner* him, for a foolish while. 350.

Besouled with earnest human Nobleness, did not slaughter, violence and fire-eyed fury, grow into Chivalry 355.

For the Marquis of Newcastle is *begirdling,* and ever more closely besieging, the Lord Fairfax in Hull. Cr. I. 175. III. 169. 176.

the General, Lieutenant-General, and chief Officers arrive at Oxford ... Solemnly welcomed by the reformed University; *bedinnered, bespeeched.* II. 145.

you cannot escape from that inexorable all-encircling ocean-moan of ennui. No: if you would mount to the stars ... it would still *begirdle* you. L. P. 403.

The first of these was this Karl Philip's Father, son of the *Beslapped* [i. e. des Geohrfeigten] Fr. Gr. II. 42.

towns and places ... much burnt, somewhat *be-jesuited* too. 45.

Ebenso: The Quadt-D'O garrison was 2, 400, — and if tales are true, it had been well *bejesuited* during those seven weeks. IX. 35.

Titular Duke of Weissenfels ... otherwise a mere *betitled, betasselled* elderly military gentleman. II. 234.

unexceptionable Human Mask, of polite turn, *behung* with titles 235.

Simple honest Orson of a Prussian Majesty, what a *bepainted, beribboned* insulting Playactor Majesty has he fallen in with! 290. (Gleich auf der folgenden Seite steht das gebräuchliche „ribboned".) [Oxf. Dict. giebt hier „beribbanded" an, p. 808, Spalte 2, sub „bepaint".]

the Prince, all *bewept* and in emotion, followed his Father. III. 46. (Uebs. a. Dtsch.)

Figure ... whether Fritzchen, with his eyes all *bewept* even for what Papa had suffered in that matter, felt lively gratitude to the House of Austria at this moment! III. 262.

the thunder roared and reverberated among the rocky cliffs which *begirdle* Berneck 229. 284. V. 18. 230. 236. 403. u. ö.

Carlyle zieht diese vom Substantiv girdle beeinflusste und emphatischere Form dem üblichen „to begird" auffällig vor, kennt dieses aber auch, z. B. IV. 349. V. 60.

multiplex industry, *besung* by rushing torrents and the swift young rivers, nestles itself high up IV. 171.

Heavens, was a Nation ever so *bespun* by gossamer. V. 132.

the French have dropped their end of the bearing-poles (so to speak), and left Friedrich by himself, to stand or stagger under the *beweltered* broken harness-gear and intolerable weight! VI. 108.

It is, in fact a kind of superb *be-tailored* running at the ring, instead of *be-blacksmithed* running at one another 269.

Abatis, *beswept* by those ten Brummers and other Batteries, till bullet and bayonet can act on it, speedily gives way. VII. 392. (Statt des gebräuchlichen „to enfilade", das z. B. VIII. 69 sich findet. Vgl. dtsch. „bestrichen" und frz. „balayé".)

English Subsidy (four [Millions]) of good gold; *becoppered* into double ... 8 millions (of Thalers) VIII. 142.

Is not this a strange turn, after such *be-pensioning, be-painting* ... as rose upon poor D'Assas. IX. 139.

his pale, ghastly-*befilleted* head. R. I. 33.

A hideous pain ... seemed to have *begirdled* her R. I. 219.

all this *betrumpeting* of Irving to me. II. 20.

And in heathen fashion he was buried, and *besung* by Eyvind. K. N. 29.

Hakon and slave, *begrunted* by the pigs above them, tortured by the devils within and about them, passed two days in circumstances more and more horrible. 51.

our dear mother ... parts from me with the stillest face, more touching than if it had been all *beteared*. L. II. 157.

Men are sick and distracted, bewildered, *bequacked,* bedevilled. 346.

Alas, poor England! ... Bentham with his Mills grinding thee out morality; and some Macaulay, also *be-aproned* and a grinder, testing it, and decrying it. T. C. II. 90.

Lone stands our home amid the sullen moor, Its treshold by few friendly feet *betrod.* 422.

My poor native Annandale never looked so impressive to me that I remember: black rain curtains all around — but there when I saw it a kind of *bewept* brightness. T. C. III. 317.

E. Negative Bildungen.

Auch auf diesem Gebiete erweist sich Carlyle als ein Schriftsteller, der, völlig unbekümmert um die Regeln und Vorschriften des allgemeinen Sprachgebrauchs, stets nur seinem momentanen Ausdrucksbedürfnis Rechnung trägt, und sorglos einen jeden der manchmal nicht unbedenklichen Pfade wandelt, die seine mitunter recht launische Feder ihn führt. Dabei hat er aber dann auch wieder häufig Gelegenheit, Proben abzulegen von dem Geschick und der Leichtigkeit, mit der er sich seiner Aufgabe erledigt, wie von der Gewandtheit, mit der er sich ihm entgegenstellende Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden weiss. —

Unter den hier zu behandelnden Begriffen verdienen die mittelst des Präfixes un- gebildeten, als die bei weitem zahlreichsten, an erster Stelle genannt zu werden. Zwar werden neue Bildungen dieser Art von Adjektiven und adjektivischen Participien vielfach nicht besonders auffallen, da man dergleichen auch sonst nicht selten trifft, — vorausgesetzt, dass nicht ein gutes anderes Wort existiert, das in positiver Form den Inhalt des neuen Negativums wiedergiebt. Aber auch solche Ausdrücke beweisen immerhin eine gewisse Selbständigkeit im Stil und muten manchmal sogar etwas fremdartig an, ganz besonders aber dann, wenn das Particip seine verbale Natur voll zum Ausdruck bringt, wie denn z. B. Thackeray, selbst in der kleinen humoristischen Erzählung „Sultan Stork“, die Bildung „unkilled“ [1]) nicht ohne Entschuldigung gebrauchen zu dürfen glaubt.

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[1]) He caused a general slaughter of all the Ghebirs in his land to take place, not only of the royal family, but of the common sort; nor of the latter did there remain any *unkilled* (*If I may coin such a word*) or unconverted“. W. M. Thackeray: Sultan Stork and other Stories and Sketches. London, George Redway. 1887. p. 2.

Da also derartige Fälle für den Charakter der Carlyleschen Schreibweise doch nicht unwesentlich sein konnten, sind die bemerkenswerteren von ihnen stets mit citiert worden. Dabei mag hier noch ein Wort über einige Gruppen von Adjektiven im besonderen gesagt werden. Von denen, die von Verben mittelst der Suffixe -able und -ible abgeleitet sind, finden sich verneinte Formen sehr häufig, auch bei längeren Formen; indessen wird man bei diesen doch im ganzen vermeiden, sie noch um eine Präfixsilbe zu verlängern, und bei prädikativer Stellung lieber das selbständige not wählen. Das Gleiche gilt von den Adjektiven auf -ful und -ous, wo sich ausserdem noch manchmal ein gewisser innerer Widerspruch zwischen dem die Reichhaltigkeit zum Ausdruck bringenden Suffix und der das Ganze wieder verneinenden Vorsilbe geltend machen könnte. — Zu allen diesen verwendet Carlyle die negierten Formen nach freiem Belieben in grosser Zahl, ohne irgendwie Rücksicht auf Nebenumstände der angedeuteten Art zu nehmen. Er geht sogar hierin noch weiter und setzt das Präfix auch vor Substantiva, wo es weit mehr auffallen muss als bei den Adjektiven, und selbst vor Verba, (wo es aber von dem vor Subst. und Adjekt. gebräuchlichen zum Teil etymologisch, wenn auch nicht immer für das Sprachgefühl, verschieden ist; vgl. Teil II. E. 1. b.).

Eine Neigung Carlyles zu solch eigenartiger Ausdrucksweise lässt sich durch seine sämtlichen Schriften hin verfolgen. Der Beweggrund hierfür ist nicht allein zu suchen in dem schon oft beobachteten, und auch hier wieder in manchen der Bildungen mit dis-, mis- und -less sich äussernden Streben nach Kürze, da ein solcher Zweck hierdurch nicht immer erreicht würde. Man wird darin vielmehr das Zutagetreten einer andern, mit der genannten aber zusammenhängenden Tendenz zu sehen haben, nämlich der, einen Gesamtbegriff möglichst auch durch e i n Wort wiederzugeben, einer Tendenz, die auch auf andern Gebieten der Wortbildung des Autors wirksam gewesen ist.

Ein sehr grosser Teil der erwähnten Formen verdankt dabei seine Entstehung einer höchst bemerkenswerten Eigentümlichkeit der Carlyleschen Denkweise, nämlich einer ausgesprochenen Neigung, zur Erzielung stärkerer Emphase Gegen-

sätze einander direkt gegenüberzustellen, wobei er die beiden Begriffe möglichst vom gleichen Grundwort nimmt, und falls der zugehörige negative Ausdruck nicht gebräuchlich ist, ihn sich einfach durch Hinzufügung der erforderlichen Negation schafft. Indessen mit den genannten Gruppen negativer Formen lässt er sich noch nicht genügen, sondern er geht in dieser Richtung noch beträchtlich weiter, indem er ausser den im Ne. so sehr verbreiteten Verbindungen mit non-, in- auch die weit selteneren mit no- und not- in der Bedeutung „Un-", „Nicht-" anwendet. Am seltensten macht er von den Zusammensetzungen mit not- Gebrauch. Siehe Näheres über diese Bildungen und ihre Bedeutung im besonderen im zweiten Hauptteil.

Es ist noch kurz auf einen andern charakteristischen Zug in Carlyles Stil hinzuweisen, der auch bei einigen der hier gegebenen Belege als produktives Moment deutlich erkennbar ist: die häufige Anwendung der Litotes. Die ersten Fälle, wo sie Sonderbildungen hervorgerufen hat, finden sich im S. R., und zwar, wie bestimmte Anzeichen verraten, zu wohlberechneter Wirkung, als charakteristisch gerade für Teufelsdröckhs bizarre Schreibweise. Indessen ist diese Vorliebe für die Litotes, wie aus der Häufigkeit ihrer Verwendung nicht nur in allen dem S. R. folgenden, sondern auch schon in den ihm vorhergehenden Schriften, klar hervorgeht, in Carlyles innerstem Wesen begründet: er macht von ihr, oft nicht ohne einen Anflug von Humor, so gern Gebrauch, wiederum weil sie ein wirksames Mittel ist, um seine Worte eindringlich zu machen. —

Ueber die Entwicklung im Gebrauch negativer Sonderbildungen überhaupt ist nicht viel Neues zu sagen: sie ist im ganzen die gleiche wie in den vorhergehenden Kapiteln. In den ersten Schriften geben wieder schon früh einige immerhin ganz bemerkenswerte Formen des Autors Eigenart auch hier zu erkennen, und in S. R. und Fr. R. nehmen dann wieder Anzahl sowohl wie Kühnheit der Ausdrücke merklich zu. —

I humbly showed ... that adventures and *misventures* had so crowded upon me. E. L. I. 21.

Daneben findet sich auch das gebräuchliche „misadventure":

In fine, after a world of perplexities and miscalculations and *misadventures* ..., we at length all assembled by different

routes on the sands of Boulogne. T. C. I. 246. Desgl. T. C. IV. 214. 269.

What is the matter with Johnstone? He is becoming very *unguidable.* 156.

He was tall and strongly boned, but *unmuscular* and lean. L. S. 223.

a secret instinct had still, by means of his *uncrazed* [gesunden] feet, led him right forward on the way to home. Tr. III. 32.

by virtue of the Pope's *insomnolency* [Nachtwache] 100.

on a *disblossomed* [ausblühenden], emptied corner of the Earth. 351.

the little *Unchristian* [Unchristen] 405.

As a whole, the first perusal of them [Richter's Works], more particularly to a foreigner, is almost infallibly offensive; and neither their meaning, nor their *no-meaning,* is to be discerned without long and sedulous study. M. I. 363.

... have in fact nothing else to live on but that highly *unnutritive* victual. M. II 120.

This head ... was so soon to be *distenanted* of all its cunning gifts. 214.

The commencement of a work ... was written in Freyberg at this time: but it lay unfinished, *unprosecuted* 267.

In all German systems, since the time of Kant, it is the fundamental principle to deny the existence of Matter; or rather, we should say, to believe it in a radically different sense from that in which the Scotch Philosopher strives to demonstrate it, and the English *Unphilosopher* believes it without demonstration. 274.

From afar I heard say, that Unintelligibility was but the result of *Unintelligence* 282 (übs. a. Dtsch.!)

as regards the *non-dependence* and infinite character of Meditation. 290. (übs. a. Dtsch.)

the Mind's vital or *non-vital* dependence on Matter 322.

... and introduced them *undisarmed* into the midst of us. 377. (übs. a. Dtsch.).

she knows only the French (*un-souled* and *un-hearted*) Shakspeare, and so values the man. 386 (übs. a. Dtsch.!).
he was a man so still and altogether *unparticating,* that ... S. R. 16.
Let but Teufelsdröckh open his mouth, Heuschrecke's also *unpuckered* itself into a free doorway. 25.
And why might he not ... walk out to St. Stephen's, as well as into bed, in that *no-fashion.* 60.
An *unmetaphorical* style you shall in vain seek for. 71.
one other leaf of that mighty Volume ... left to fly abroad, unprinted, unpublished, *unbound up,* as waste paper. 74.
For the shallow-sighted, Teufelsdröckh is oftenest a man without activity of any kind, a *No-man.* 101.
the aproned or *disaproned* Burghers moving-in to breakfast. 103.
the stern experiences ... rose there to a whole cypress forest, sad but beautiful; waving with *not unmelodious* sighs ... through long years of youth. 106.
But as for our *Miseducation,* make not bad worse. 116.
motley, *not unterrific* was the aspect. 116.
On some points, as his Excellenz was *not uncholeric,* I found it more pleasant to keep silence. 124.

Es ist immerhin charakteristisch, dass der Autor, als er p. 128 auf vorstehende Worte Teufelsdröckh's zu sprechen kommt, folgendermassen schreibt: the „not uncholeric“ old Count. — Man ersieht daraus, dass er sich der Auffälligkeit des übermässigen Gebrauchs der Litotes wohl bewusst war. Aehnlich wiederholt er auf p. 193 das früher von Teufelsdröckh gebrauchte „not ill-written“ in Anführungszeichen. —

I have heard affirmed ... by *not unphilanthropic* persons, that ... 125.
No mortal's endeavour or attainment will, in the smallest, content the as yet *unendeavouring, unattaining* young gentleman. 125.
Nay; who knows ... but Blumine herself might have aforetime noted the so *unnotable.* 137.
With slight *unrecognising* salutation they passed me. 149.

Should some one now, at the turning of that corner, blow thee suddenly, out of Space, into the other World, or other *No-world,* by pistol-shot, — how were it? 161.

to wich inspired Texts your numerous talented men, and your innumerable *untalented* men, are the better or worse exegetic Commentaries. 171.

call him, if you will, an American Backwoodsman, who had to fell *unpenetrated* forests. 172.

[they] whirl round; and simultaneously by the cunningest mechanism, explode one another into Dissolution; and off-hand become Air, and *Non-extant* 174. 252.

To trace by what complex gyrations ... Teufelsdröckh reaches his University Professorship ... would be comparatively an unproductive task, were we even *unsuspicious* of its being, for us at least, a false and impossible one. 195.

we can now prate of their Whereabout; their How, their Why, their What, being hid from us, as in the *signless* Inane. 248.

by all which the condition of its little breek is regulated, and may, from time to teime (*unmiraculously* enough), be quite overset and reversed. 249.

The most have recoiled, and stand gazing afar off, in *unsympathetic* astonishment, at our career. 259.

A certain touch of Manicheism, not indeed in the Gnostic shape, is discernible enough: also (for human Error walks in a cycle, and reappears at intervals) a *not-inconsiderable* resemblance to that Superstition of the Athos Monks ... 266.

and to all this, so far as we can see, even the *Un-German* part of the public has listened with some curiosity. M. III. 6.

in spite of all external *mistones* 18 (übs. a. Dtsch.!).

To readers of German ... he is one of the earliest studies. ... For the *Un-German,* again, we have Translations in abundance. 95.

And now when, from among so many shipwrecks and *misventures,* one goodly vessel comes to land ... 97.

Among the crowd of uncultivated and *miscultivated* writers, the high, pure Schiller stands before us with a like distinction. 97.

Goethe's political practice, or rather *no-practice,* except that of self-defence, is a part of his own conduct quite inseparably coherent with the rest. M. IV. 172.

and now, instead of the seven corporate selfish spirits, we have the four-and-twenty millions of *discorporate* selfish 242.

A similar demand continued to be reiterated for the next ten years, but always with the like *non-effect.* 245.

But already ... he has persuaded Booksellers to pay-off the Abbé Gua, with his lean Version of Chambers's Dictionary of Arts, and convert it into an Encyclopédie, with himself and d'Alembert for Editors: and is henceforth (from the year of grace 1751) a duly *disindentured* Man of Letters. 256.

The society of Grandval cannot be accounted very dull: nevertheless let no man regretfully compare it with any neighbourhood he may have drawn by lot, in the present day, or even with any *no-neighbourhood,* if that be his affliction. 277.

Such palliative considerations (which, for the rest, concern not Diderot ... but only ourselves who could wish to see him and *not missee* him ... 288.

and from its still blacker bosom had issued Madness and all manner of shapeless *Misbirths* 336. (!)

Schröpfer needed not now, as Blackguard *undeterred,* have solemnly shot himself in the Rosenthal. 340.

In an easy-chair, right before the window, sat or rather lay a sick, much *disshapen* [ungestaltet] person. 381.

He pawns diamond buckles; wanders necessitous hither and thither; repents, *unrepents*; knows not what to do. 386.

Whoever could not laugh was obliged to turn away his eyes; this miserable shape and *no-shape* was offensive to behold. [„Das Mittelding zwischen Form und Klumpen war widerwärtig anzusehen.“ Goethe's „Märchen“.] 430.

Thou unclean, yet *unmalignant,* not unpitiable thing. Fr. R. I. 27.

Nimble old man, who for all emergencies has his light jest; and ever in the worst confusion will emerge, cork-like, *unsunk*! 49.

Brave Suffren must return from Hyder Ally and the Indian Waters; with small result; yet with great glory for „six" *non-defeats* 56.

Non-Admiral Duke de Chartres . . . flies to and fro across the Strait. 60 (d. h. „der gern Admiral geworden wäre, aber nicht geworden ist".)

Dazu: *non-admiralship* 114.

The poor King, grown older, yet hardly more experienced, must himself, with such *no-faculty* as he has, begin governing. 79. (!)

For example, is there not Calonne's Subvention Territoriale, universal, *unexempting* Landtax. 100.

The wise man . . . sees, „in short, all the symptoms he has ever met with in history," — *unabatable* by soothing Edicts. 100.

Thinkers and *Unthinkers,* by the million, are spontaneously at their post, doing what is in them. 146.

Unfortunate Doctor! [Guillotin.] For two-and-twenty years, he, *unguillotined*, shall hear nothing but guillotine, see nothing but guillotine. 178.

Under all roofs of this distracted City is the nodus of a Drama, *not untragical,* crowding towards solution. 231.

It is one year and two months since these same men stood *unparticipating* . . . when Fate overtook D'Espréménil; and now they have participated; and will participate. 244/5. II. 244.

The Constitution which will suit that? Alas, too clearly, a *No-Constitution*, an Anarchy. 268.

Grand it was, says Camille, to see so many Judiths, from eight to ten thousand of them in all, rushing out to search into the root of the matter! *Not unfrightful* it must have been. 315. II. 352.

and all Constitutional Two-Chamber Royalists needing change of air; as most *No-Chamber* Royalists had formerly done. 355.

and, after certain pauses, serve any *undispering* Assemblage with musket-shot, or whatever shot will disperse it. II. 23.

Come whosesoever head is shot; thou of mind ungoverned, be it chaos as of *undevelopment* or chaos of ruin. 28.

Behold them, District after District, in some open square, where the *Non-Electing* People can all see and join. 46.

The officer still dresses and perfumes himself for such sad *unemigrated* soirée as there still may be. 94.

The Mutineer Deputies vanish, *not unpromptly* 115.

and indeed not he only, but most other officials, *non-officials*, and generally the whole French People can perform it. 131.

The bourne-stone orators speak as it is given them; the Sansculottic People, with its rude soul, listens eager, — as men will to any Sermon, or Sermo, when it is a spoken Word meaning a Thing, and not a Babblement, meaning *No-thing* 175.

Eine für Carlyles Verfahren sehr bezeichnende Form! Wiewohl nichts hinderte, das gebräuchliche „nothing“ zu nehmen, stellt er doch, seiner Gewohnheit folgend, in solchen Fällen die beiden Ausdrücke wieder auch äusserlich in deutlichen Gegensatz zu einander, und will auch unzweifelhaft inhaltlich für die beiden negativen Wörter einen feinen, wennschon nur leichten, Unterschied gewahrt wissen. —

Of human Criminals, in these centuries, writes the Moralist, I find but one *unforgivable*: the Quack. 178/9.

Dragoon and Hussar Troops galloping on roads and *no-roads* 224.

It [the ignominious Royal Procession] sweeps along there, in most *ungorgeous* pall, through many streets in the dusty summer-evening. 231.

Above all places, the *unluminous* combustion in Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin was fierce. 263.

Vgl. dazu: a combustion most fierce, but *unlucent*, not to be noticed here! 265.

So the South-west smoulders and welters again in an „Amnesty“, or *Non-remembrance.* 270.

To all which our poor Legislative, tied up by an *unmarching* Constitution, can oppose nothing 293. 333.

Private Patriots and even Legislative Deputies may have each his own opinion, or own *no-opinion* 320.

Scoundrel hearts also there are ... To whom, in this mood, law is as *no-law.* III. 38.

and we here, cowering redouted, most *unredoubtable* ... on the splashy Height of La Lune. 73. (Vgl. ib. sub „Verba“).

In such *untriumphant* Procession has the Brunswick Manifesto issued! 80.

Marat ... descending the Tribune-steps, is heard to articulate these most *unsenatorial* ejaculations: „Les cochons, les imbéciles“. 160.

Commandant Santerre may be sent there; but with *non-effect* 168. (! emphatisch statt „without effect“.)

So they perorate and speculate; and call on the Friends of Law, when the question is not Law or *No-Law,* but Life or *No-Life* 172.

as a kind of Nightmare Vision, and thing *non-extant* 173.

They ... shall dwell peaceably in their own houses; as *Non-Senators*; till farther order. 202.

Ghastly châteaus stare on you by the wayside; *disroofed, diswindowed.* 303.

With blackened face, hirsute, horned, a shaggy Satan snatches him *not unshrieking* 337.

The Convention, driven such a course by wild wind, wild tide, and steerage and *non-steerage,* these three years, has become weary of its own existence. 393.

Wie zu erwarten war, bringen die Werke der folgenden Periode neue Negativbildungen der verschiedensten Art in unverminderter Häufigkeit. Eine besondere Bemerkung ist indessen wohl nur bezüglich der Ausdrücke mit „no-“ zu machen. Aus der Zunahme der Fälle, die hauptsächlich für P. Pr. zu konstatieren ist, geht deutlich hervor wie sehr Carlyles Vorliebe für diese anfangs nur vereinzelt aufgetretenen Formen gestiegen ist. Selbst die im allgemeinen doch weniger Charakteristisches

aufweisende Schrift über Cromwell lässt einige Belege beibringen. Doch finden sich derartige Bezeichnungen fast ausschliesslich bei wirklichen Gegensätzen, in Gegenüberstellung zu den positiven Begriffen. —

Rest yet in thy innocent gracefully heedless seclusion, *unintruded on* by me. M. V. 49.

Hence such criticism by the bystanders, loud *no-knowledge,* loud *mis-knowledge*! 100.

having, by his own act (*non-notarial*), summoned him to appear in this World. 113.

liable to trial, with *non-acquittal* or difficult acquittal, at the great Bar of Nature herself. 164.

For the thing which was not they, which was not anything, has fallen away piecemeal; and become avowedly babble, confused shadow, and *no-thing.* 183. 347.

We will omit this of popularity altogether; and account it as making simply nothing towards Scott's greatness or *non-greatness,* as an accident, not a quality. 227.

to ray-out error and darkness, misintelligence, which means *misattainment,* otherwise failure and sorrow. 291.

If men had lost belief in a God, their only resource against a blind *No-God,* of Necessity and Mechanism ... 357.

Not misgovernment, nor yet *no-government,* only government will now serve. 370/1. 373.

„Six centuries of obscure endeavour", continues Sauerteig, „which to read Historians, you would incline to call mere obscure slaughter, discord, and *misendeavour*". 387.

Here the matter, is debated of ... reduced to feasibility; — can at least solace itself with hope, and die gently, convinced of *unfeasibility* 404.

His is a *no-godlike* sorrow; sadder than the godlike. 422. (!)

briefless Barristers, chargeless Clergy, *taskless* Scholars, languishing in all court-houses ... in passionate want of simply one thing, Work. 422.

That is his religion; or, it may be, his mere scepticism and *no-religion*: the manner it is in which he feels himself

to be spiritually related to the Unseen World or *No-world.* H. W. 5.

Such hideous inextricable jungle of *misworships,* misbeliefs, men, made as we are, didactically hold by, and live at home in. 6.

Its [der Esche Igdrasil's] „boughs", with their buddings and *disleafings* . . . stretch through all lands and times. 25.

is it not, indeed, the awakening for them from *no-being* into being, from death into life? 26.

we can unterstand well that the whole Scandinavian Scheme of Nature, or dim *No-scheme,* wathever it might before have been, would now begin to develop itself altogether differently. 34.

Do we not see well enough how the Fable might arise, without *unveracity* on the part of any one? 47.

To fall into mere unreasoning, deliquium of love and admiration, was not good; but such unreasoning, nay irrational supercilious *no-love at all* is perhaps still worse. 52. (!)

No matter how good it was, how good you say it is, we cannot believe it; the light of our whole mind, given us to walk-by form Heaven above, finds it henceforth a thing *unbelievable* 160. 254.

unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the Heavens. 168.

The *unforgiveable* offence in him is, that he wished to set-up Priests over the head of kings. 178.

If we think his scheme of truth was too narrow, was not true, we may rejoice that he could not realise it; that it remained after two centuries of effort, *unrealisable,* and is a „devout imagination still". 179.

How far such Ideals can ever be introduced into Practice, and at what point our impatience with their *non-introduction* ought to begin, is always a question. 179.

Perhaps no man one could point out, was ever so sorely tried, and so little forgot himself. Tranquil, *unastonished*; not abashed, not inflated. 228.

You have put the too Unable Man at the head of affairs! The too ignoble, *unvaliant,* fatuous man. 235.

The king coming to them in the rugged *unformulistic* state shall be no King. 247.

Short way ahead of us it is all dim; an *unwound* skein of possibilities, of apprehensions, attemptabilities, vague-looming hopes. 262.

Poor Master Worker! And the Master *Unworker,* is not he in a still fataler situation? P. Pr. 8.

law of Supply-and-demand, law of Laissez-faire, and other idle Laws and *Un-laws.* 27. 45.

according to the laws of Delusion, Imposture, and wilful and *unwilful* Mistake of Fact. 35.

behold therefore the *Unveracity* is worn out. 35.

Ebenso: We, for our share, will put away, all Flunkyism, Baseness, *Unveracity* from us; we shall then hope to have Noblenesses and Veracities set over us; never till then. 43. 172. 311 u. ö.

Thou and I, my friend, can, in the most flunky world, make, each of us, one *non-flunky,* one hero, if we like. 44.

Is not serene or complete Religion the highest aspect of human nature; as serene Cant, or complete *No-religion,* is the lowest and miserablest. 76.

Such is the buzz and frothy simmering ferment of the general mind and *no-mind* 94.

entirely confirmed Valethood, — which will have to *un-confirm* itself again. 108.

First get your man; all is got . . . Catch your *no-man,* have you not caught the terriblest Tartar in the World! 111.

clapping „conflagrations“ on the public, which the services of blockheads, *non-idonei,* intrinsically are. 118.

(Auf der Seite vorher war von *idonei,* „fit men“, die Rede!)

To us, as already hinted, the Lord Abbot's eloquence is less admirable than his *ineloquence,* his great invaluable „talent of silence!“ 120.

That certain human souls ... should think to save themselves and a ruined world by noisy theoretic demonstrations of the Church, instead of some *unnoisy*, unconscious, but practical, total, heart-and-soul demonstration of a Church. 147.

with gaspings, gesturings, with *unsyllabled* cries. 161.

The good were found adoptable by men; ... the bad, found inappropriate, *unadoptable,* were gradually forgotten. 162.

There is no religion; there is no God; ... Truly, any Society setting out from this *No-god* hypothesis will arrive at a result or two. 172.

The most Conservative English People ... is driven alike by its Logic and its *Unlogic.* 204.

A serious, most earnest Mammonism, grown Midas-eared; an *unserious* Dilettantism, earnest about nothing 212.

Unworking Aristocracy. 218. (Ueberschrift von Buch III. Kap. VIII.)

True government and guidance; not *no-government* and Laissez-faire. 221.

which ought really to teach, and to have long since taught, an indomitable common-sense Plugson of Undershot, much more an *unattackable uncommon-sense* Grace of Rackrent, a thing or two! 237.

Of an idle *unrevolving* man the kindest Destiny, like the most assiduous Potter without wheel, can bake and knead nothing other than a botch. 245. (Kurz vorher auf derselben Seite: revolving!)

Set down a brave Sir Christopher in the middle of black ruined Stone-heaps, of foolish *unarchitectural* Bishops ... and see wheter he will ever raise a Paul's Cathedral out of all that, yea or no! 246. 247.

„Fair day's-wages for a fair day's-work“ is the most *unrefusable* demand! 253.

to Nature herself it is a thing unseen, a thing which never hitherto was; — very „impossible“, for it is as yet a *No-thing.* 255 u. ö.

Or your *unreposing* Mammon-worshipper again 270.

The toiling Millions of Mankind, in most vital need and passionate instinctive desire of Guidance, shall cast away False-Guidance; and hope, for an hour, that *No-Guidance* will suffice them. 272.

and in these thimes one has to be tolerant of many strange „Articles", and of many still stranger „*No-articles*", which go about placarding themselves in a very distracted manner. 280.

He that has a soul *unasphyxied* will never want a religion; he that has a soul asphyxied, reduced to a succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion. 282.

You can follow your affairs, your *no-affairs,* go along money-hunting, pleasure-hunting 282.

The Past cannot be seen; the Past, looked at through the medium of „Philosophical History" in these times, cannot even be not seen: it is *misseen.* 297.

Huge French Revolutions ... finishing in very *unfinal* Louis-Philippisms 299.

All this may have taught us, That False Aristocracies are insupportable; that *No-Aristocracies,* Liberty-and-Equalities are impossible; that true Aristocracies are at once indispensable and not easily attained. 299.

It is we that no longer know the difference between Human Worth and Human *Unworth* 315/6.

Chief Secretaries and others, who find themselves at once Chiefs and *No-Chiefs,* and often commanded rather than commanding. 320.

But in practice ... he proves not a strong Worker; — you are too happy if he will prove but a *No-worker,* do nothing, and not be a Wrong-worker. 348.

o brother, it is an endless consolation to me, in this *dis-organic,* as yet so quack-ridden ... world, to find that disobedience to the Heavens, ... is and remains impossible. 354.

O mutinous Trades-Unionist, gin-vanquished, *undeliverable.* 357.

antique „Reign of God", which all true men in their several dialects and modes have always striven for, giving place to modern Reign of the *No-God,* whom men name Devil. Cr. I. 3.

Here properly lies the grand unintelligibility of the Seventeenth Century for us. From this source has proceeded our maltreatment of it, our *miseditings,* miswritings, and all the other „avalanche of Human Stupidity". 6.

For the leafy blossoming Present Time springs from the whole Past, remembered and *unrememberable* 9.

when both are foolish, and the general soul is overclouded with confusions, with *unveracities* and discords, there is a „Rushworthian chaos". 9.

They stand in their old spelling; *mispunctuated,* misprinted, *unelucidated*, unintelligible. 76.

Good reader, if you be wise, search not for the secret of Heroic Ages, which have done great things in this Earth, among their falsities, their greedy quackeries and *unheroisms* 84.

Most distasteful to Scotch Crawford, to Mylord Manchester, not to say criminal and *unforgivable* to the respectable Presbyterian mind. 189.

The „ancient rights and inheritance" are the right to choose our own King or *No-King,* and so forth. II. 57.

. . . properties the value or *no-value* of which will much depend on the Lord Lieutenant's success at present. 185.

The Scotch Editor of Hodgson says farther „The Water of Leith lay between the two Armies"; which can be believed or not; — which indeed turns out to be *unbelievable.* III. 32.

and yet how many zealous Preachers, *unpresbyterian* but real Promoters of God's glory, have you . . . found means to menace. 78.

Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, treatying and *mistreatying* from sea to sea. 97.

Difficult to settle the New Representative; impossible for this Old *Misrepresentative* or Rump to continue! 214.

this fabulous Barebones's Parliament itself . . . once flesh and blood, now air and memory; *not untragical* to us! 231.

A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations and incondite *misutterances* of speech, into the real inner man of him. IV. 63.

Bradshaw and Company look on it *unblanched*. 75.

Howard's Book (a *disorganic* Quarto . . .) 147. 159.

Jamaica, a poor *unpopulous* Island, was quickly taken. 159.

One of the Letters, we at length find, is even *misaddressed* 162.

„And by such things" [His Highness's face indicates that he means „*no-things*", „babblements".] . . . 219.

As this matter of the kingship is to me even now; very „dark" and *undecidable*! V. 19.

Why subject the Nation to us, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your *non-approval* of us seems to insinuate. 68.

I, having once been led to assert the fable, hold myself bound, on all fit occasions, to *unassert* it with equal emphasis. M. VI. 19.

Herein he fundamentally mistook; *mis-saw*; — and so *mis-went*, poor Prince, in all manner of ways. 46.

This honourable Member is one of the Five whom Charles himself, some months afterwards, with a most irregular *non-constabulary* force in his train, sallied down to the House to seek and seize. 60.

Large sections of this Reign of Terror are a sort of unmusical sonate, or free duet with variations, to this text: „How *unadmirable* a hide-merchant that does not keep his word!" 127.

Is not *No-government* beautiful in human business? L. P. 34. 122. 150.

Reader, did you ever hear of „Constituted Anarchy"? Anarchy; the choking, sweltering, deadly and killing rule of *No-rule* 35. (!)

Captainless, uncommanded, these wretched outcast „soldiers" must needs become banditti, street-barricaders, since they cannot starve. 43.

these outcast soldiers of his, *unregimented* roving banditti for the present, or *unworking* workhouse prisoners. 45.

Free Men, — alas, had you ever any notion who the free men were, who the *not-free,* the incapable of freedom! 49.

I will lead you to the Irish Bogs, to the vacant desolations of Connaught now falling into Cannibalism, to *mistilled* Connaught, to ditto Munster, Leinster, Ulster, I will lead you. 54.

And I could not save the *insalvable* M'Pastehorn. 82.

Such . . . is the exoteric public conviction about these sublime establishments in Downing Street and the Neighbourhood, — the esoteric mysteries of which are indeed still held sacred by the initiated, but believed by the world to be mere Dalai-Lama pills, manufactured let not refined lips hint how, and quite *unsalvatory* to mankind. 112.

to clean-out the dead pedantries, *unveracities,* indolent somnolent impotences . . . 113. 150. 204/5 u. ö.

Vgl. hierzu: In the cotton-spinning and similar departments our English friend knows well that truth or God will have nothing to do with the Devil or falsehood, but will ravel all the web to pieces, if you introduce the Devil or *Non-Veracity* in any form into it. 193.

deep-seeing, wise and courageous eyes, that could look through innumerable cobweb veils, and detect what fact or *no-fact* lies at the heart of them. 119.

Zu beachten ist auch folgende Wendung:

Heaven's blessing is purchasable by that; by *not that,* only Heaven's curse is purchasable. 164.

Man müsste hier nach Carlyles sonstigem Sprachgebrauch ein Hyphen, „by *not-that*", erwarten, da dies ein dem „that" gegenübergestellter Gesamtbegriff ist. Vgl. „free" und „not-free" L. P. 49, „Right" und „Not-Right" Fr. Gr. IV. 94. „dead" und „not-dead" Fr. Gr. V. 341.

the indispensable point, for both you and us, is that you do always advance, unresting if *unhasting,* and know in every fibre of you that arrive you must. 290.

Now and then they correctly copy Heaven's settlement in regard to it, ... Far oftenest they quite *miscopy* Heaven's settlement. 299.

But Government does interfere to prevent afflictive accumulations on the streets, malodorous or other *unsanitary* public procedures of an extensive sort. 345.

Can you, my misguided friends think it humane to set-up, in its present uncomfortable form, this blotch of *mismolten* copper and zinc, out of which good warming-pans might be made. 349.

Where you meet a man believing in the salutary nature of falsehoods ... there is a follower of *Unsaint* Ignatius. 367.

Moral evil is *unattainability* of Pig's-wash; moral good, attainability of ditto. 379.

My friends, it is partly true: your Scepticism and Jesuitism, your ignoble *no-belief,* except what belief a beaver or judicious pig were capable of, is too undeniable. 399.

Why had a Biography been inflicted on this man; why had not *No-biography,* and the privilege of all the weary, been his lot? L. St. 5.

The express schoolmaster is not equal to much at present, — while the *unexpress,* for good or for evil, is so busy with a poor little fellow! 36.

A singular condition of Schools and High-schools, which have come down, in their strange old clothes and „courses of study“, from the monkish ages into this highly *unmonkish* one. 41.

For, alas, the world, as we said, already stands convicted to this young soul of being an untrue, unblessed world; its high dignitaries many of them phantasms and players'-masks; its worthships and worships *unworshipful.* 45.

The constant gist of his discourse was lamentation over the sunk condition of the world; which he recognised to be

given-up to Atheism and Materialism, full of mere sordid misbeliefs, *mispursuits* and *misresults.* 69.

If he loved his *disenchantress*? L. W.[1] 36.

„Umph", *inarticulated* Dalbrook. 101. (!)

To Wotton ... such entertainment was peculiarly *unsolacing.* 116.

Für Fr. Gr. erfolge nach Angabe einiger Belege von wiederkehrenden früheren Bildungen gleich die Citierung von andern Sonderformen. —

unrememberable Fr. Gr. I. 92.
misventures I. 165. II. 197.
unveracity II. 75 u. ö.
unforgiveablest II. 413 u. ö.
disorganic IV. 125.
non-effect IV. 225.
unluminous IV. 398. V. 389.
unattackable V. 174. VII. 89. 163. 270 u. ö.
unsurveyable VII. 236.

much more as to the least interpretation or human delineation of the man and his affairs ... instead of the Prussian *no-interpretation,* you find, in these vacant circumstances, a great promptitude to interpret. Fr. Gr. I. 15.

but they are altogether uncertain, a shadowy intermittent set of Markgraves, both the Wittekind set and the *Non-Wittekind.* 76.

There are heavy Ditmarsch strokes for the *unimpressible.* 88.

Let us at least name the Three Kaisers, or Triple-elixir of *No-Kaiser* 132.

Of the other six Kaisers not Hapsburgers we are bound to mention one ... This is ... Henry Count of Luxemburg; called among Kaisers Henry VII. He is founder, he alone among these *Non-Hapsburgers,* of a small intercalary line of Kaisers. 150.

These did not try to govern it; sent it to the Pawnbroker, to a fluctuating series of Pawnbrokers; under whom Brandenburg tasted all the fruits of *Non-government,* that

is to say, Anarchy or Government by the Pawnbroker. 178.

It is the history of a State, or Social Vitality, growing from small to great; steadily growing henceforth under guidance: and the contrast between guidance and *no-guidance,* or *mis-guidance,* in such matters, is again impressively illustrated there. 208.

The Bibliographical Dictionaries, producing no evidence, name quite another person, or series of persons, highly *unmemorable* otherwise. 210. III. 290.

Ludwig ohne Haut (Ludwig *No-Skin),* and other Ludwigs. 224.

From it too came an *unmomentous* Margraf; of whom we shall hear. There is lastly a still more *unmomentous* Margraf, only Son of said *Unmomentous* and his said Spouse. 235.

A man who would not have risen in modern Political Circles; man *unchoosable* at hustings or in caucus; man forever invisible, and very *unadmirable* if seen, to the Able-Editor. 415.

tearing off many solemn wigs in those Northern parts ... even as he did his own full-bottom wig ... finding it *unfurthersome* for actual business in battle. 446.

Spectre-Scullion, it turns out, had been employed by Grumbkow, as spy upon one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, — suspected by him to be a *No-maid of Dishonour,* and of ill intentions too. 450. (!)

To which unspeakable advantage we add a second, likewise considerable: That his masters, though rigorous, were *not unloveable* to him. II. 18.

Prussian recruiters hover about barracks, parade-grounds, in foreign Countries; and if they see a tall soldier ... will persuade him to desert, — to make for a country where soldier-merit is understood, and a tall soldier of parts will get his pair of colours in *no-time.* 142. 392. V. 383. IX. 97.

Message *mis-delivered* by my Official Gentleman, that stupid Katsch. 209.

„When will it go off then (Wann geht es los)?" asks Friedrich Wilhelm often; diligently drilling his Sixty Thousand, and snorting contempt on „*Ungermanism* (Undeutschheit)", be it on the part of friends or enemies. 254.

the reference in now blown away, and lost in those *un-indexed* Sibylline Farragos, the terror of human nature. 441. VII. 370.

the date, in these *indexless* Books, is blown away again. 471.

. . . testifies the liveliest desire to be admitted to the Prince, and bear him company a little! Surely the law of *No-company* does not extend to that of an innocent child? 483.

Rebuke which can still be read, in growling, *unlucid* phraseology. 486.

Fancy the hurry-scurry, the *unforensic* attitudes and pleadings! III. 31.

a noble not too conscious Sense of what is Right and *Not-Right,* I have found in some of them. 94.

These two Imperial gifts, such as they are, he has consciously brought back with him; — and perhaps, though as yet unconsciously, a third gift of much more value, once it is developed into clearness : some dim trace of insight into the *no-meaning* of the high people. 163.

The King led her into the Queen's Apartment; then seeing, after she had saluted us all, that she was much *dis-powdered* (dépoudrée), he bade my Brother take her to her own room. 189.

Watching the War-theatre *uncurtain* itself in this manner, from Dantzig down to Naples. 219.

one Marquis de la Chétardie . . . who did much intriguing at Petersburg some years hence, first in a signally triumphant way, and then in a signally *untriumphant.* 257/8.

„The Thing cannot always have been *No-thing*", you reflect! 299.

the old M. Arouet seems . . . to have settled some small allowance on him, with peremptory *no-hope* of more. 306. (!)

in fact they are an effective *non-haranguing* Parliament. IV. 43.

Friend Algarotti, charming talker, attended him; who else, official and *non-official,* ask not. 45.

My shrill Princess ... knows how to be patient; and veils many things, though of a highly *unhypocritical* nature. 63.

Rambonet had started straightway for Liége, with this missive; and had duly presented it there ... with notice that he would wait forty-eight hours, and then return with what answer or *no-answer* there might be. 108. 110. 111. VII. 52 u. ö.

A good affectionate kaiserinn, I do believe; honourable, truthful, though *unwitty* of speech, and converted by Grandpapa in a peculiar manner. 141.

It must be owned the Prussian Army understands business; and, with brevity, reduces to a minimum its own trouble, and that of other people, *non-fighters,* who have to do with it; *Non-fighters,* I say; to fighters we hope it will give a respectable maximum of trouble when applied to! 201.

Much bottled emotion. 210.

Dazu vgl.: „Archives of Breslau!“ cried the general population, at sight of these wagons; and largely turned out, with emotion again like to *unbottle itself.* 211.

on this Sunday, Newyear's morning, all is ice and glass; and they slid about painfully by lamplight, — with *unroughened* horses. 242.

And, for certain, she herself went on growing, in orthodox devotions of spiritual type (and in strangely heterodox ditto of *non-spiritual*!) 264.

Ye traitors, *misgovernors,* worthy of death! 266.

In general, we observe the Catholic Dignitaries, and the zealous or fanatic of that creed, especially the Jesuits, are apt to be against him : as for the *non-fanatic,* they expect better government. 280.

Karl Albert of Baiern is by some counted as a Signer of the Pragmatic Sanction ... And he did once, in a sense

sign it, he and his Brother of Köln, but, before the late Kaiser's death, he had openly drawn back from it again; and counted himself a *Non-signer*. 352.

Ambitious persons often slur this question; and get squelched to pieces, by bringing the Twelve Labours of Hercules on their *Unherculean* backs! 354.

„Excellent", answers Belleisle and *unpuckers* his stern brown again. 369.

The pretensions of Spain to keep Half the World locked-up in embargo were entirely chimerical ... and no amount of Pope's Donation Acts ... could redeem them from *untenability,* in the modern days. 388.

To Comte de Saxe ... the outlook of this grand Belleisle Army, standing shelterless, *provisionless,* grim winter at hand, ... is in the highest degree questionable. V. 112.

Friedrich, wrestling his utmost with Human Stupidity, ... „against which the very gods are *unvictorious*" 150. VII. 157.

To the poor Polish, *Non-Moravian* Majesty ... it became a fixed truth that the blame was all Friedrich's. 159. (vgl. *Non-Admiral* Fr. R. I. 60.)

Height which he judged *unattackable,* and on the side of which he pitches his camp accordingly. 174. VII. 89. 163. 270 u. ö.

all these other places lie in what is called the Valley of the Elbe, but what to the eye has not the least appearance of a hollow ... were it not that dull *bushless* brooks ... warn you of the contrary. 178.

Here is one Austrian regiment, came rushing on like lions; would not let-go, death or *no-death* 185. (!)

and the troops, say my French authorities, are *unsurpassable* 257.

They linger in that Frankfurt-Mainz region, *not unobservant* of Noailles and his movements. 277.

„Treaty of Worms", and „Conferences", or *Non-Treaty* „of Hanau". 298.

Noailles ... gives piteous account of him ... : How he

bitterly complains of Broglio, of the *no-subsidies* sent 301. (!)

as if a *Non-Austrian* Kaiser were impossible, and the Reich and its laws had, even officially, become phantasmal! 312.

Wise head, that could discriminate the dead Formulas from the *not-dead* 341.

a Public comfortably blank as to German facts or *non-facts.* 396.

Reverence, sacred Respect for Human Worth, sacred abhorrence of Human *Unworth,* have you considered what it means? 420.

Nor has Grüne's corps, the right wing, done anything except meditate: — it stood there, unattacked, *unattacking* VI. 166.

Duc du Maine with Comte de Toulouse were products of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan: — „legitimated" by Papa's fiat in 1763 ... *dislegitimated* again by Regent d'Orléans. 207.

but there was one Copy which, or the *Mis-title* of which, as Oeuvre de „Poeshie" du Roi mon Maître, became miraculously famous. 242.

with other the like *uncriminal* fancies 391.

Reverend Count (subsequently Cardinal) de Bernis ... a soft-going man ... whom the Pompadour has brought with her as henchman, or *unghostly* counsellor. VII. 32.

Draw up memorial of that, Monsieur Klinggräf, and send us the supercilious *No-answer.* 52. (!)

Towards evening, rain still violent, the Saxons, *baggageless* ... are mostly across. 104.

... which bursts out, peal after peal, filling the Universe, Plotho *not unvigilant.* 140.

„Nothing now left at home to hinder us and our Hanover and Weser Problem!" thinks Royal Highness. No, indeed: a comfortable pacific *No-government*, or Battle of the Four Elements left yonder. 204.

A truly elende, or miserable, Reichs Execution Army (as the *misprinter* had made it) 246.

Next evening, Sunday, after dark, Prince of Prussia strikes his tents again; rolls-off in a very *unsuccinct* condition. 260.

The question of a German Army, if you must have a *No-General* at the top of it, might well be problematical to Pitt ... But with a General, Pitt sees that it can be different. 285.

... till their sacred Poet extricated them. And our *unsacred* all-desecrating Dryasdust ... 377.

Ziethen ... repels and is repelled (wagon-chaos ever harder to keep plugged); finally perceives himself to be beaten; that the wagon-chaos has got *unplugged* VIII. 41.

Surprisal of Czetteritz's first vedette, in the dawn of a misty February morning ... *non-surprisal* of his second, which did give fire and alarm. 385.

Daun ... was flowing back to Dresden and the Bohemian Frontier, *uncheered* by anything, till that comfortable Maxen Incident turned up. IX. 108.

Hopes were of getting back Dresden itself; but that, on closer view, proved *unattemptable.* 132.

old Earl Marischal, Friedrich's Spanish Envoy, is a good deal in England ... and has been beautifully treated. Been pardoned, *disattainted,* permitted to inherit. 209.

These beautiful recalcitrants of the Cabinet-council had, themselves, within three months (think under what noises and hootings from a *non-admiring* Nation), to declare War on Spain. 244.

It is certain, Friedrich, about six times over in this paltry War or *Quasi No-War,* set his attendants on the tremble ... Humour very sour, they say ... ashamed that any War of his should be a *No-war.* X. 164.

Die verhältnismässig hohe Zahl obiger Belege und ihre reiche Mannigfaltigkeit wird nach den in den früheren Kapiteln für Fr. Gr. gewonnenen Erfahrungen kaum noch besonders auffallen. Dagegen wird eine nach einer andern Seite hin zielende Beobachtung des Interesses nicht entbehren. Es ist nicht zu verkennen, dass Carlyle in der Kühnheit der Bildung und zumal der Konstruktion der Negativausdrücke noch erheblich weiter gegangen ist, als bisher. Das tritt besonders deutlich bei denen

mit „no-“ zu Tage. Früher hat er diese fast nur in Verbindung mit den entsprechenden positiven Wörtern gebraucht, und in den wenigen Fällen, wo sie allein standen, war das zugehörige Positivum entweder nicht allzufern, oder es war doch wenigstens eine innere Beziehung zu ihm vorhanden. Infolge der bisherigen häufigen Verwendung sind jene Formen ihm nun aber so geläufig geworden, dass er sie jetzt mehrfach setzt, ohne dass der Gegenbegriff auch nur in Gedanken hinzuträte. Das auffälligste Beispiel hierfür ist die Wendung „in no-time“, die in Fr. Gr. verschiedentlich direkt für sich, im Sinne von „in sehr kurzer Zeit, im nu“, steht. — Mit wie grosser Sorglosigkeit Carlyle manchmal Bildungen dieser Art handhabt, geht sehr schön aus den folgenden Konstruktionen hervor:

with peremptory *no*-hope of more Fr. Gr. III. 306. (statt „without hope“); vgl. dazu: *with* such *no*-faculty *as he has* Fr. R. I. 79.

und: How he bitterly complains ... of the *no*-subsidies *sent.* Fr. Gr. V. 301.

Alle drei enthalten einen auffälligen inneren Widerspruch. —

Die letzten Schriften geben zu besonderen Erörterungen kaum noch Anlass. Bemerkt sei nur noch, dass die „Reminiscences“ sich auch in dieser Hinsicht durchaus zu den übrigen Schriften des Autors stellen, indem sie, wie diese, Fälle von fast jeder der erwähnten besonderen Arten aufweisen.

Thus were your minimum producible, — with no God needed to assist, nor any Demon even, except the general Demon of Ignavia (*Unvalour*), lazy Indifference to the production or *non-production* of such things M. VI. 186.

Alas, look at that group of unsold, unbought, *unmarketable* Irish „free“ citizens, dying there in the ditch. 208.

We will note a few of the main phenomena in these two Saxon Lines, — higher trees that have caught your eye, in that sad wilderness of princely shrubbery *unsurveyable* otherwise. 269.

by way of varnish to continual past, present, future *mis-perfomance* of thing 361.

Goethe has shadowed out a glorious far-glancing specimen of that *Non-vocal,* or very partially vocal kind of School. 382. Daneben auch oft *unvocal*; z. B. Fr. Gr. III. 378 u. ö.

Alas! such is the *mis-education* of these days. R. I. 11.

the mouth again bearing marks of *unrefinement*; shut, indeed, and significant. 20.

from treshold to roof-tree, no paltriness or *unveracity* admitted into it. R. I. 75. II. 69. 92. 123.

I was Thomas the Doubter, the *Unhoping.* 100.

hence various *misqualities* of hers, perhaps most of her qualities too. 154.

A most quizzing, merry, entertaining, guileless and *unmalicious* man. II. 63.

I went with the Irvings once to his house . . . very sumptuous, very cockneyish, strange and *unadmirable* to me. 121.

I strictly *unparticipant,* sitting silently apart. 175.

My feeling with him was that of *unembarrassment.* 236. 241.

I found that essentially he was always as if speaking to a jury; that the thing of which he could not convince fifteen clear-headed men, was to him a *no-thing,* — good only to be flung over the lists. 253.

given to meditation, and much contemptuous of the *unmeditative* world and its noisy nothingnesses. 298.

Wordsworth's pride in himself . . . so quiet was it, so fixed, *unappealing* 302.

Oh, my heroine, my *too unacknowledged* heroine! L. M. I. 40.

The uzing, some *misfeature* of pronunciation, which I have now forgotten. 42.

Es ist nur noch übrig, die in den Briefen Carlyles sich bietenden negativen Sonderformen anzuführen, und so den aus den „Reminiscences" gewonnenen Eindruck vom Verhalten des Autors in seinen Privatschriften zu vervollständigen. Aufs neue erkennt man auch in diesem Punkte, dass sie dieselben Eigentümlichkeiten aufweisen wie seine Publikationen. Man findet hier, in kleinerem Umfange, die gleichen charakteristischen Ausdrücke, die gleichen Anlässe zu ihrer Prägung wieder, die man in den Werken beobachten konnte. Und auch hier macht

sich der Fortschritt in Carlyles Methode geltend, denn es ist wohl nicht unbegründet, wenn in den „Early Letters“ wie den „Letters“ sich keine der bezeichnenden Bildungen mit „no-“ finden, und dass die frühesten Beispiele dafür in den vielen publicierten Briefen erst im Jahre 1832, — ein Jahr nach dem Erscheinen des „Sartor Resartus“ — auftauchen.

she watches over her joiners and painters with an eye like any hawk's, from which nothing crooked, *unplumb*, or otherwise irregular can hide itself a moment. L. I. 155.

There will be a highly *unmystical* paper in the next number 182.

our kitchen door ... stands sunk half way up in a snow drift *unuseable.* 252.

He is the slipperiest, lamest, most confused *unbusinesslike* man I have seen. 337.

one minute we are driving prosperously along, in three minutes more we are *gigless.* II. 56.

I ... find the whole all-too thin, *unnutritive,* unavailing. 205.

men have been parading all streets with Election Placards on long poles, or with two *poleless* Placards, one on breast and one on back, fastened with string. 258.

You have now enough on your posture and speculation and *non-action.* 332.

the very Inn-windows where he chanced to scribble ... have all been *unglassed* C. G. 233.

I arrived at Liverpool ... quite sleeples, and but for your dinner ... quite *victual-less* T. C. II. 165.

which duty it were my dear Goody's part to do, were I not for a time *Goodyless.* 184.

All friends were touched with a kind of wae joy to see, as I said, „the colour of Jack's money“, after so many *misventures* and foiled struggles. 297.

A very large mass of magazines, reviews, and such like, I have consumed like smoke within the last month, gaining, I think, no knowledge except of the *no-knowledge* of the writing world. 301.

Shall I study this enigma, then write my solution or *no-solution* 329.

a theory in very considerable favour here, which to me is pleasant as streams of *unambrosial* dishwater. 442.

the most inspired utterance will come form it, inconceivable, *misconceivable,* to the million. C. E. I. 23.

My silence you may well judge is not forgetfulness; it is a forced silence; which this kind Letter *unforces* into words. 101.

we must all meet some day — or *some no-day* then (as it shall please God!) 206. (!)

The velocity of all things, of the very word you hear on the streets, is at railway rate : joy itself *unenjoyable,* to be avoided like pain. 214.

and this alone remains of the *misventure.* 228.

I apprised Fraser instantly of his *invoiceless* Books. 264.

„That is precisely what I am doing!“ answered the aspiring, *unaspirating.* 277.

In fact, my prophecy rather is at present that —, the *gibbetless* thief at New-York, will beat us after all. II. 26.

the reasons would be difficult to give, — alas they are probably *no-reasons.* 39.

who knows but I, the most *unlocomotive* of mortals, might be able to escort you up and down a little. 124.

Or possibly I do the poor man wrong by *misremembrance.* 153.

The Gospels of Political Economy, of Laissez-faire, *No-Government*, Paradise to all comers ... will first have to be tried. 183.

„Eighteen Million bores“, — good Heavens, don't I know how many of that species we also have; and how with us, as with you, the difference between them and the Eighteen thousand noblemen and *non-bores* is immeasurable and inconceivable. 191.

he ought still to keep a bridle on himself, and not let *insomnolence* nor any other perversity drive him beyond limits T. C. III. 253.

whatever were the spoken *unveracities* of Parliament ... here has a great veracity been done in Parliament. 376.

The loving ones here are all *unvictorious* too. 389 [kurz vorher: victorious].

This, my generous young friend, this is the sad *No answer* I have to give you — a sad but a true one. 410.

how sad that ... all the world in its protest against False Government, should find no remedy but that of rushing into *No Government* or anarchy (kinglessness) 430.

This is all about the *No Revolution* we have just sustained: and so may the Lord put an end to all cruel wars. 436. (Gegensatz zu „Revolution“, von der im Briefe berichtet wird.)

In diesen 3 letzten Fällen steht bei Froude kein Hyphen, doch ist nach Carlyles sonstigem durchgängigem Gebrauch ein solches zu ergänzen.

Give up that, I entreat you; for it is mere want of sleep and other *unreality,* I tell you. T. C. IV. 15.

Ugly spectacle, sad health, sad humour, a thing *unjoyful* to look upon. 21.

All infinitives, as they still do in German, ended in en; our beautiful Lindley Murray, alarmed at a *mispronunciation* like „Buildin'“, stuck a g to the end of it. 78.

I am a most *unvictorious* man surely. 135. 136.

The second part of your letter ... is wholly grounded on *misknowledge,* or in deep ignorance of the circumstances. 185.

In my bewildering, *indexless* state ... I cannot single-handed deal with the thing. 246.

Aus dem vorhergehenden Teile der Abhandlung wird man ein Gesamtbild von Carlyles Entwicklung auf dem besprochenen Gebiete gewonnen haben. Man hat gesehen, wie schon sehr früh vereinzelte Formen eine Neigung, neue Wörter zu bilden, verraten, und wie dann die Uebersetzungsschriften, und mehr noch die folgenden Essays, einen überaus günstigen Boden darbieten für eine üppige Entwicklung jener Tendenz nach allen Seiten hin. Die Fr. R. offenbart zuerst Carlyles Meisterschaft über das Wort in ihrer vollen Kraft und in ihrem ganzen weiten Umfange, aber auch mit all ihren Launen und Sonder-

barkeiten. Die späteren Werke bringen im wesentlichen die gleiche Fülle von geschickten und zweckmässigen, wie von willkürlichen und bizarren Bildungen. Immer neue und wieder neue Ausdrücke tauchen auch noch in Fr. Gr. auf, trotz der reichen Vermehrung, die der Wortschatz des Autors bereits erfahren hat, und selbst die letzten Schriften zeigen noch Spuren von der Eigenart der Feder, aus der sie geflossen sind.

Dabei hat die Untersuchung vielfach Gelegenheit zu mancherlei interessanten und charakteristischen Beobachtungen geboten. Sie hat gelehrt, dass der Entwicklungsgang Carlyles im Gebrauch neuer Wörter bezüglich der einzelnen Wortklassen ein durchaus harmonischer ist. Man hat jene phantastischen Formen kennen gelernt, die häufig mit einer alles Mass überschreitenden, und gerade in so ernsten Werken völlig unerwarteten Kühnheit und Bizarrerie gebildet sind. Man hat aber zugleich auch gesehen, wie die Sprache des Autors überall in seinen Werken in mehr oder minder hohem Grade dieses eigenartige Gepräge trägt, und hieraus den Schluss ziehen können, dass sie ein durchaus natürliches Produkt seiner eigenartigen Denkweise ist, — einen Schluss, den die herangezogenen Privatschriften noch wesentlich gestützt haben. Auch für die Prägung selbst der neuen Wörter haben sich verschiedene charakteristische Motive, ausser dem allgemein geltenden des Bedürfnisses nach angemessener Wiedergabe des Gedankens, nachweisen lassen. Ein Hauptgrund ist ein sehr begreifliches Streben nach möglichster Knappheit im Ausdruck, dem sich eine Tendenz, zusammengehörige Begriffe in ein Wort zusammenzufassen, hinzugesellt. Höchst auffällig ist ferner Carlyles grosse Zugänglichkeit für Analogiewirkungen, die sich hauptsächlich äussert in den Fällen, wo er des Nachdrucks halber die Grundform eines bestimmten Wortes auch in anderer Verbindung beizubehalten wünscht, die aber nicht selten den sorglosen Autor schon durch die blosse äussere Form eines gebräuchlichen Ausdrucks zur Bildung eines neuen verleitet. Ein Anlass endlich, der sich hauptsächlich bei den excentrischen Prägungen als bestimmend erwiesen hat, ist des Autors Neigung zu humoristischer oder komischer Wirkung, die sich selbst in den Werken tiefsternsten Inhalts nicht verleugnet.

II. Hauptteil.

Man hat im vorhergehenden Hauptteil Carlyles allgemeine Entwicklung in der Verwendung ungewöhnlicher Formen verfolgt und gewisse charakteristische Züge, die sich dabei offenbarten, kennen gelernt. Das gegebene Material lässt sich nun aber noch nach einer anderen Seite hin in sehr instruktiver Weise verwenden, indem man nämlich untersucht, welche Lehren nach Zusammenstellung der Wörter zu grammatischen Unterabteilungen sich aus einer Betrachtung ihrer Bildungsmethode sowie ihres beabsichtigten Bedeutungsinhalts — und zwar unter Bezugnahme auf die durch den vorhandenen Sprachbestand etwa gegebenen vorbildlichen Analogien — für die bei Carlyle sich geltend machenden Neubildungstendenzen gewinnen lassen. Und wenn es auch nur ein einzelner Autor ist, dessen Sprachgebrauch nach dieser Richtung hin hier betrachtet wird, so ist doch gerade dieser Autor, infolge seines aussergewöhnlich grossen Reichtums an neuen Prägungen, wie auch wegen des Umfanges und der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner schriftstellerischen Thätigkeit, wie wohl kaum ein andrer geeignet, als Beispiel zu dienen auch bei einer Erkenntnis der in der englischen Sprache dieses Jahrhunderts im allgemeinen sich kundgebenden produktiven Strömungen. —

Für die folgenden Ausführungen sind, soweit es möglich war, die eingehenden Artikel des Oxf. Dict. ausgiebig verwertet; wo solche noch nicht vorliegen, sind die Angaben im Cent. Dict. benutzt, unter grösserer oder geringerer Ergänzung nach Mätzners Englischer Grammatik³, Bd. I, die auch für die allgemeineren Bemerkungen direkt zu Grunde gelegt worden ist.[1])

[1]) Absichtlich sind bei den einzelnen Suffixen etc. die einleitenden historischen Angaben recht ausführlich nach diesen grösseren Werken gegeben worden, und nicht nur kurz etwa in der von Sweet in seiner

Bisweilen sind auch andere Werke zu Rate gezogen worden, wie

Koch: Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache.[2] Bd. II. Cassel 1878.

Sweet: A New English Grammar. Bd. I. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1892.

Wilmanns: Deutsche Grammatik. Zweite Abteilung: Wortbildung. Strassburg 1896.

Abbot: A Shakespearian Grammar. London 1881.

Ausserdem sind noch anderweitige Abhandlungen benutzt, die indessen nur für einzelne Punkte Aufklärung gegeben haben und an den betreffenden Stellen namhaft gemacht sind.

Es sei nochmals betont, dass als Beispiele im Folgenden ausschliesslich solche Formen gewählt sind, die, soweit das Oxf. Dict., bzw. das Cent. Dict., Garantie geben, thatsächlich als Neubildungen Carlyles aufzufassen sind. Natürlich sind bei den sehr zahlreiche Fälle bietenden Gruppen nicht sämtliche Belege für neue Wörter wieder aufgeführt, sondern nur die charakteristischsten, und zwar in einer Carlyles Freiheit und Eigenheit nach allen Seiten hin genügend beleuchtenden Anzahl.

„New English Grammar" gewählten Art. Es sollte eben, soweit es anging, ein jeder unmittelbar ein Bild erhalten sowohl von dem Zusammenhang der einzelnen Erscheinungen in Carlyles Wortbildung mit analogen in früheren Perioden des Englischen, wie auch von ihrem Verhältnis zu den Tendenzen des modernen Sprachgebrauchs.

A. Substantiva.

Vor allen anderen Wortklassen weist die der Substantiva, als der Hauptträger der Gedanken, wie im allgemeinen, so auch bezüglich der Neubildungen bei Carlyle, ganz naturgemäss weitaus die meisten Fälle auf. Gleichwohl ist ihre grosse Zahl nicht ohne charakteristische Begleitumstände. Carlyle macht mit einer bemerkenswerten Vorliebe von ihnen Gebrauch, um die verschiedenartigsten Gedankenverbindungen zum Ausdruck zu bringen, für die der gewöhnliche Sprachgebrauch Umschreibungen verwenden würde. In dieser Hinsicht erinnert seine Schreibweise in gewissem Sinne an den Hauptwörterreichtum des Altenglischen, wo sich auch eine Tendenz, Substantiva in erster Linie zur Wiedergabe einer Idee zu benutzen, bemerkbar macht. Es ist keine Frage, dass diese Methode schon an sich eine sehr glückliche ist, da der Hauptbegriff so recht nachdrücklich zur beabsichtigten Geltung kommt; daneben aber ergiebt sich, wie schon früher betont ist, für Carlyle noch ein weiterer nicht bedeutender Vorteil durch Vereinfachung und Erleichterung der Rede.

Unter den Substantiven selbst nehmen wieder bezüglich der Häufigkeit die durch Suffixe neu gebildeten den Vorrang ein; daher seien sie auch hier zunächst behandelt.

I. Mit Suffixen gebildete Substantiva.

a) Abstrakt-Suffixe.

1. Germanischen Ursprungs.

α) -dom.

Das dem dtsch. -tum entsprechende ne. Suffix -dom hat sich wie jenes aus einem ursprünglich selbständigen Substantiv, ahd. tuom „Stand, Würde, Lage“, ae. dōm „Satzung, Urteil,

Autorität", entwickelt. Schon im Ae. findet es sich häufig als Suffix gebraucht zur Bildung abstr. Subst., sowohl von

1. Substantiven, z. B. biscopdōm, ealdordōm, crīstendōm, cynedōm, — wie auch von

2. Adjektiven, wie frēodōm, wīsdōm.

Die Zahl solcher Ableitungen hat in späteren Zeiten zugenommen, und -dom ist jetzt noch, wie auch Carlyles Sprachgebrauch sehr schön erkennen lässt, ein lebendes Formativ, das mit grosser Freiheit zur Bildung von Gelegenheitsausdrücken verwendet wird, mit der Bedeutung von

a) Zustand, Lage, Würde; wie in freedom, wisdom, martyrdom etc.,

b) Reich, Gebiet (figürlich), wie bishopdom, christendom, kingdom u. a.

Carlyle benutzt dieses Suffix fast ausschliesslich zur Ableitung neuer Wörter von Subst.; für die von Adjekt. ist nur das dem dtsch. „Eigentum" nachgeformte nonce-word *owndom* S. R. 192 zu nennen.

Fälle mit dem unter a) genannten Sinne sind verhältnismässig selten; hierher gehören nur: *tinkerdom* L. II. 174, *gigmandom* L. II. 174, *Martindom* L. II. 213, *gipsydom* T. C. III. 219, sowie das auffällige *joy-dom* C. E. II. 163, das etwa „Freudenzustand" bedeutet, und wo das Suffix eine gleichsam intensificierende Kraft besitzt, — alles Citate aus Privatschriften!

Sehr frei und ausgedehnt aber ist bei Carlyle der Gebrauch von -dom zur Verleihung der Bedeutung „Reich, Gebiet". Das erste Beispiel hierfür findet sich schon im „Wilhelm Meister" Tr. II. 300, wo „Zwergenreich" mit *dwarfdom* wiedergegeben wird. Dann folgt vom II. Bande der „Miscellaneous Writings" an eine ganze Schar von Formen dieser Art, so *grocerdom* und *grazierdom* M. II. 55, *duncedom* M. II. 206, *rascaldom* M. IV. 248, *philosophedom* M. IV. 270, (zu dem von Carl. in verächtlichem Sinn häufig für philosopher gebrauchten frz. philosophe), *Dubarrydom* Fr. R. I. 4, *harlotdom* Fr. R. I. 27, *Orleansdom* Fr. R. III. 84, *jesuitdom* M. V. 61, *valetdom* M. V. 71, *scoundreldom* M. V. 85, *Greekdom* P. Pr. 201, *dupedom* P. Pr. 298, *Mashamdom* Cr. I. 100, *owldom* L. P. 177, *pigdom* L. P. 380, *Welfdom* Fr. Gr. I. 98.

Bezeichnend für Carlyles Vorliebe für diese Endung ist ihre häufige Verwendung in Briefen etc., wo man Ausdrücke wie *bulldom* C. E. I. 295, *felondom* C. E. I. 295, *Celtdom* C. E. I. 339, *demirepdom* T. C. III. 159, findet, und besonders auch zahlreiche Belege für Verbindung von -dom mit Personen- und Familiennamen, analog *Mashamdom* Cr. I. 100; so z. B. *Jeffreydom* T. C. II. 431, *Montagudom* T. C. III. 67, *Douglasdom* T. C. III. 252, *Brightdom* T. C. III. 412 u. a.

Die bizarrste unter solchen freien Bildungen ist wohl *Yankee-doodle-doodom* C. E. I. 295; indessen geben ihr nonce-words, wie sie das Oxf. Dict. aus neuerer Zeit, besonders aus Zeitschriften belegt, an Seltsamkeit kaum nach. Man vergleiche u. a.

„the honours of *B. A. dom*", H. C. Merivale. 1882.
„*appledom* and *peardom*", H. Pearson. 1885.
„*good-sailordom, theatredom*", Pall Mall Gaz. 1889.
„*topsy-turvydom*", Spectator 1890.

β) -hood.

Auch das Suffix ne. -hood, me. hōde, -hōd, ae. -hād, geht wie das dtsch. -heit auf ein ursprünglich selbständiges Substantiv zurück: ae. hād „Lage, Rang, Eigenschaft", auch „Person, Geschlecht", das aber später als Sonderwort ausstarb und nur noch als Suffix weiterlebt. Es wird gefügt an

1. Substantiva, und bezeichnet

a) den Charakter, die Eigenschaft, auch die persönliche Stellung, wie in childhood, manhood, fatherhood, etc.

Solche Subst., die eigentlich abstrakt sind, werden manchmal in gewisser Weise konkret und in

b) kollektivem Sinne gebraucht; so in brotherhood, sisterhood, priesthood u. a.

-hood ist aequivalent dem mehr und mehr veraltenden Suffix -head (z. B. godhead, maidenhead), < me. -hēde, -hēd, (vgl. Morsbach, Me. Gram. § 137), das ursprünglich meist bei Adjekt., wie -hood meist bei Subst., verwendet worden zu sein scheint, um den Begriff des Grundworts als abstrakte Eigenschaft zu substantivieren. Im Sprachgebrauch trug -hood dann den Sieg davon über -head, das veraltete und auch bei

2. Adjektiven durch -hood ersetzt wurde; vgl. falsehood, likelihood.

Carlyle verwendet -hood, abgesehen von *humanhood* L. W.^{2} 35, nur in Verbindung mit Subst., hier aber in weiter Ausdehnung, und zwar um auszudrücken

a) „Zustand, Eigenschaft, Lage, Rang“ (bei weitem die Mehrzahl); hierher gehören z. B. *Germanhood* M. I. 314, *count-hood* M. IV. 117, *gigmanhood* M. IV. 132, *elfhood* Fr. R. I. 160, *Celthood* II. 136, *beasthood, hoghood* III. 64, *Romanhood* M. V. 390, *gianthood* H. W. 24, *herohood* H. W. 258, *flunkyhood* P. Pr. 94, *dandyhood* P. Pr. 94, *oxhood* L. P. 17, *pedanthood* L. W.^{1} 217, *jackalhood* L. W.^{2} 36 u. a.

Aus den Briefen etc. seien noch citiert: *dollhood* T. C. II. 296, *pariahood* T. C. IV. 106, *scamphood* R. II. 111.

Recht auffällig ist *nationhood* L. P. 25, wo das Suffix mit einem abstrakten Begriff verknüpft ist.

b) kollektiv: „eine Körperschaft, Gesamtheit von“, (*youth-hood* Tr. I. 221), *Frenchhood* Fr. R. III. 193, *burgherhood* M. V. 191, und *pighood* L. P. 380, das ebendort pag. 366 auch in der unter a) genannten Bedeutung steht.

γ) -ness.

German. Ursprungs ist ferner das ne. Suffix -ness, < me. -nes, -nesse, < ae. nes, -nis, entspr. ahd. -nessi etc., nhd. -nis. Es dient dazu, von Adjekt. und adjektivischen Participien abstrakte Subst. zu bilden, die die durch den Grundbegriff gegebene Eigenschaft bezeichnen, so goodness, humbleness, knowingness. Die Endung kann an jedes Adjekt. gefügt werden, durch Analogie an solche roman. Ursprungs ebensowohl wie german.; bei ersteren wird aber auch das aequivalente latein. Suffix -ity gebraucht, und oft vorgezogen, so credibleness, torpidness und credibility, torpidity.

Auch hier finden sich ungewöhnliche Formen bei Carlyle nicht selten; so z. B.: *houselessness* M. II. 91, *unweddedness* M. III. 67, *woodenheadedness* M. IV. 70, *uncontrollableness* M. IV. 306, *longwindedness* Fr. R. I. 204, *divisiveness* III. 147, *right-honourableness* III. 319, *studiedness* M. V. 307, *ownness* M. V. 309, *hoofiness* P. Pr. 197, *half-and-halfness* Cr. III. 265, *kinglessness* Cr. V. 148, *shovel-hattedness* C. E. I. 140, *hamperedness* T. C. II. 211.

Von den genannten Beispielen trägt neben *hoofiness,* das nach „handiness", aber ohne ein coexistierendes entspr. Adjekt., direkt vom Subst. „hoof" geprägt ist, *half-and-halfness* den Charakter des Seltsamen am meisten an sich. Indessen steht Carlyle mit seiner Verwendung des Ausdrucks „half and half" zu Weiterbildungen nicht allein da: das Oxf. Dict. citiert „half and half-ism" schon aus dem Examiner von 1832, ferner „half-and-halfed" Times 1861, „half and halfer" Daily News 1896 — freilich alles Zeitungswörter!

δ) -ship.

Wie -dom und -hood ist auch das ne. Suffix -ship, me. -shipe etc., ae. -scipe, aus einem ursprünglich selbständigen Subst., dass indessen schon im Ae. als solches nicht mehr existierte, hervorgegangen. Es wird zur Bildung abstrakter Subst. gebraucht und vorwiegend an

1. Substantiva, besonders an

a) Personennamen gehängt; so z. B. ae. hlāford-scipe, frēond-scipe etc. Es bezeichnet dann Eigenschaft, Stand, Würde, Geschäft der Person. Beispiele im Ne. sind zahlreich, z. B. apprenticeship, authorship, ladyship, regentship u. a.

Das Suffix wird sowohl auf höhere als auch auf niedere Wesen, wie in godship, foxship etc., übertragen, sowie an

b) Namen von Sachen und Abstrakten, wie courtship, relationship, worship gehängt.

Selten nur findet man es mit

2. Adjektiven verbunden, wie in hardship.

Die bei Carlyle zu nennenden Sonderformen beschränken sich auf Gruppe 1.

a) Fälle, wo er das Formativ mit Personennamen in dem Sinne von „Eigenschaft, Stellung, Würde" combiniert, zeigen sich in grosser Mannigfaltigkeit. Man vgl. *favourateship* Tr. III. 121, *auscultatorship* S. R. 122, *assessorship* S. R. 122, *commandantship* Fr. R. I. 128, (frz. „commandant", statt engl. „commander") *commendatorship* M. V. 20, *countess-ship* M. V. 80, *popeship* H. W. 158, *auctioneership* P. Pr. 236, *fuglemanship* Cr. I. 45, *sluggardship* Cr. IV. 280, *feoffeeship* Cr. V. 178, *sailorship* L. P. 127, *pageship* Fr. Gr. II. 430, *brideship* III. 71, *swindlership* IV. 350, *spyship* V. 239 u. a.

Bezeichnend für die Freiheit, mit der Carlyle oft verfährt, sind hier Bildungen von zusammengesetzten Begriffen, nämlich: *Dameship of the Palace* Fr. R. I. 135, *Chequeship in Ward* Cr. II. 151 und *Gentlemanship of the Chamber* Fr. Gr. VI. 202. Eine besondere Stellung nehmen unter den Ausdrücken dieser Gruppe die eigenartigen von nomin. propr. geformten Wörter ein: *Faustship* M. I. 210, *Hectorship* Fr. Gr. I. 285, („to hector" und „Hectorism" werden übrigens vom Oxf. Dict. öfters belegt), und in gewisser Weise auch *Cunctatorship* Fr. Gr. VIII. 157.

Von Tiernamen sind gebildet: *spanielship* M. IV. 37, und *chimeraship* P. Pr. 160, Formen, die indessen mehr figürlichen Sinn haben.

b) Ein Sachname, bzw. ein Abstraktum, ist Grundwort für den gleichfalls figürlichen Ausdruck *chaosship* P. P. 234, ferner für *helpship* M. VI. 189, das in seiner logischen Bedeutung steht, aber doch wohl mehr nach dem Sinne einer Form **helpership* hinneigt, sowie für die Bildung *worthship* H. W. 234, die ihre Neuentstehung Carlyles Neigung zu etymologischen Erklärungen verdankt.

2. Abstrakt-Suffixe roman. Ursprungs.

α) -ad.

Dies Subst.-Suffix stellt dar das griech. *-άδα* (nom. *-άς*), das

1. kollektive Zahlwörter, wie *μονάς*, *τριάς*, engl. monad, triad, myriad, etc.,

2. femin. Patronymica, wie Dryad, Naiad, und mit Erweiterung von diesen

3. Namen von Gedichten bildet, wie Iliad, „der Sang von Ilium".

Dieser letztere Gebrauch ist in neuerer Zeit mehrfach nachgeahmt worden (und zwar, wegen Iliad, mit -iad als Suffix), z. B. Lusiad, Dunciad, Columbiad, u. a. So auch von Carlyle in *Johnsoniad* M. IV. 39, *Cromwelliad* Cr. I. 7, *Robinsoniad* Fr. Gr. V. 49. Dieser letzte Ausdruck, der soviel bedeuted wie „die Unterredung, oder der Bericht über die Unterredung (Friedrich's des Grossen) mit Robinson (dem engl. Gesandten)", ist wieder recht charakteristisch für Carlyles Freiheit in der Bildung von nonce-words.

β) -ade.

Das Subst.-Suffix ne. -ade geht über die frz. aus dem Provenzal. adoptierte Form -ade auf ein lat. -ata zurück, eine substantivisch gebrauchte Femin.-Form lat. partic. praeter. wie z. B. vlt. strata (scil. via). Die volkstümliche frz. Form dieser Endung ist -ée, wie in entrée, accolée. Im modernen Frz. ist -ade ein produktives Suffix geworden, mit dem neue Wörter wie gasconnade, cannonade, fusillade gebildet sind. Aus dem Frz. sind Subst. auf -ade ins Engl. gekommen, z. B. ambassade, crusade, serenade etc. Analog diesen sind einige auch von Wörtern german. Herkunft gebildet, z. B. blockade. Die Ausdrücke dieser Art bezeichnen:

1. eine gethane Handlung: blockade, fusillade.

2. die Gesamtheit der bei einem Vorgang beteiligten Personen: ambuscade, brigade, cavalcade.

3. Das Produkt einer Handlung, und durch weitere Ausdehnung auch das irgend eines Processes oder Materials: arcade, colonnade, lemonade, pomade.

Aus Carlyle sind hier nur zwei neue Bildungen zu erwähnen:

Unter 1. würde gehören das dem frz. mousquetade nachgeformte *musketade* Fr. Gr. VI. 127,

unter 2. der Ausdruck *Pandourade* Fr. Gr. VIII. 101, der sich regelrecht zu dem von Carlyle gleichfalls neugebildeten Verbalsubstantiv Pandourings Fr. Gr. X. 171 stellt.

γ) -age.

Das ne. Suffix -age geht über frz. -age auf lat. aticum zurück, eine Endung abstrakter die Zusammengehörigkeit bezeichnender Substantiva (eigentlich neutra von Participialadjektiven auf -aticus). Im Englischen findet es sich ursprünglich nur in aus dem Frz. entlehnten Wörtern, wie carriage, homage, umbrage etc., wurde dann aber durch Analogie auch an engl. Wörter gehängt, z. B. bondage, leafage, steerage u. a. Seiner Bedeutung nach bezeichnet es

1. bei Namen von einzelnen Dingen

a) das was zu etwas gehört, das was funktionell mit etwas verwandt ist, so language, potage, tonnage, voyage.

Mit Erweiterung dieses Sinnes wurde es auch zur Bildung von

b) Kollektivausdrücken gebraucht, wie baggage, foliage, cellarage, fruitage, luggage u. a.

2. Bei Personennamen bezeichnet es die Funktion, Wirkungssphäre, Rang, Lage, z. B. baronage, orphanage, parsonage, vassalage.

3. bei Verben die Handlung, Ausführung des genannten Begriffs, so damage, marriage, message, pilgrimage.

Die Sonderausdrücke bei Carlyle lassen sich nur zum Teil mit Sicherheit unter eine der oben genannten Gruppen bringen; es gehören zu

1 a) *proppage* Fr. III. 318,

b) *whiskerage* Fr. Gr. I. 9.

2. *Helotage* S. R. 219. Eine kollektive Bedeutung haben von hierhergehörigen Subst.: *burgherage* Fr. Gr. I. 216, *gazetteerage* Fr. Gr. X. 146/7, *dissenterage* R. II. 12. Die Form *tailorage* P. Pr. 305, die sich dem Sinne nach zu 1 b) stellen würde, ist wohl vom Verb to tailor, nicht als vom Subst. genommen aufzufassen. *millerage* C. E. II. 178 würde seiner Bedeutung nach eher eine Form wie etwa *millage erwarten lassen und zu Gruppe 3 treten.

Unter 3. sind zu rechnen: *drownage* Fr. R. III. 275, *pawnage* Fr. Gr. I. 186, *floodage* Fr. Gr. IV. 133, *steepage* C. E. II. 205.

Im ganzen dürfte wohl eine reine und überzeugende Scheidung nach dem Inhalt der Ausdrücke hier kaum zu bewerkstelligen sein, da Carlyle selbst sich eben nicht streng an die durch den vorhandenen Wortbestand gegebenen Tendenzen gehalten hat, was übrigens bei dem ziemlich unbestimmten Charakter der Bedeutung des Suffixes in manchen Formen, wie z. B. baggage, luggage, immerhin begreiflich ist.

δ) -ance, -ence, -ancy, -ency.

Die beiden ersten Endungen gehen ursprünglich über das Frz. auf lat. Subst. zurück, die mit dem Abstrakt-Suffix -ia von Participialstämmen auf -ant- und -ent- gebildet sind. Da im Afrz. e + nasal + conson. wie a + nasal + cons. ã ergab, so

mussten dort alle Subst. dieser Gattung unter -ance nivelliert werden. So erklärt sich auch z. B. das a in nuisance, complaisance, assistance. Andere derartige lat. Wörter, die später ins Frz. aufgenommen wurden, nahmen -ance, oder -ence an, entsprechend der lat. Endung, so tempérance, absence, providence. Ausdrücke von beiden Arten wurden ins Engl. übernommen in ihren frz. Gestalten, die sie im allgemeinen noch beibehalten haben. Aber seit etwa Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts sind verschiedentlich Subst. auf -ance nach der lat. Form zu -ence rückgebildet worden, und alle in der Neuzeit aus dem Lat. direkt oder durch das Frz. entlehnten, sowie die nach lat. Analogien gebildeten Wörter, haben -ance oder -ence entsprechend dem lat. Vokal angenommen. Die Folge von alle dem ist gewesen, dass die moderne Schreibung einzelner Wörter, und noch mehr die von Gruppen verwandter Wörter, oft unsicher und widersprechend ist; man vgl. z. B. assistance, consistence, existence, resistance, subsistence; appearance, apparent, u. a.

Die Suffixe -ancy und -ency sind jüngere rein englische differencierte Formen der älteren -ance und -ence. Sie entsprechen genau wie diese den lat. Endungen -antia und -entia, nur dass das Element -ia (engl. -y, wie z. B. auch in fallacy, modesty) in diesen gelehrten Bildungen deutlicher bewahrt ist. Der Grund für die Differencierung war das Bedürfnis, Sinnesverschiedenheiten auch durch die äussere Form zum Ausdruck zu bringen: Die lat. Subst. auf -antia, -entia bezeichneten ursprünglich Eigenschaften oder Zustände; einige aber wurden später durch Bedeutungsentwicklung zu Wörtern, die eine Handlung oder einen Vorgang ausdrückten, und im Spätlat. und Roman. wurde die Bildung von nomin. actionis die normale Funktion der Suffixe. Infolgedessen haben auch die engl. Subst. auf -ance und -ence sehr häufig den Sinn von „Handlung“ oder „Vorgang“, zu dem der von „Eigenschaft, Zustand“ bisweilen hinzutritt. Die Subst. auf -ancy, -ency aber sind eigentlich nur dazu bestimmt, die Bedeutung von „Eigenschaft, Zustand“ auszudrücken, und erst später haben einige von ihnen einen mehr konkreten Sinn entwickelt. — Die Tendenz der Sprache geht also im allgemeinen dahin, -ance, -ence auf Handlung und Vorgang, -ancy, -ency auf Beschaffenheit, Zu-

stand zu beschränken; man vgl. z. B. coherence und coherency, persistence und persistency.

Was bei den von Carlyle gebildeten Formen zunächst die Verwendung von -a- und -e- in den Suffixen betrifft, so entspricht sie, ausgenommen *riancy* S. R. 180, wo das zugehörige Participialadj. riant die alte frz. Form bewahrt hat, wie überhaupt in den modernen Bildungen, durchgehends der in den betreffenden lat. Wörtern. Bezüglich ihrer Bedeutung ist festzustellen, dass sie durchaus mit den dargelegten Tendenzen der Sprache harmonieren, indem die Subst. auf -ance, -ence eine deutlichere Beziehung zu den entsprechenden (eventuell latein.) Verben, die auf -ancy, -ency zu den entsprechenden Adjekt. auf -ant, -ent haben. Man vgl. hierzu die folgenden Belege:

1 a. -ance: *renunciance* Fr. R. II. 271, *reverberance* M. V. 145, *precontrivance* H. W. 126.

NB. Eine Verwendung von -ance als Formativ bei rein engl. Verben, ähnlich wie z. B. bei forbearance, furtherance, hindrance, findet sich nicht.

b. -ence: *fremescence* Fr. R. I. 217, *dissentience* Fr. Gr. VI. 378.

2 a. -ancy: *riancy* S. R. 180, *imitancy* M. IV. 258, *somnambulancy* Cr. IV. 191 (ebenso Fr. Gr. V. 205; *somnambulency* Fr. Gr. VII. 197 ist zweifellos Druckfehler), *fulminancy* Fr. Gr. I. 65, *obligancy* T. C. I. 372.

b. -ency: *lucency* Fr. R. III. 54, *plangency* Fr. Gr. II. 169, *lambency* R. II. 15, *transiency* T. C. II. 324; *translucency* Fr. Gr. VII. 358 ist dem dtsch. „Durchlaucht“ in humoristischer Weise nachgebildet.

ε) -ation.

-ation ist die gelehrte Sonderform des zusammengesetzten Suffixes -t-ion-, das nomina actionis von lat. partic. praeter. auf -atus von Verben auf -are, frz. Verben auf -er, und ihren engl. Repraesentanten bildet. Die entsprechende volkstümliche Form im Afrz. war -aison, -eison, woraus ne. -eason, -ison entstanden sind, wie z. B. in reason, venison.

Im Frz. übertreffen die Verba auf -er an Zahl alle andern weit; sie bilden auch den Haupttypus für die Bildung neuer

Verba. Daher findet sich -ation als Subst.-Suffix im Frz., und in der Folge auch im Engl., überaus häufig. Einige dieser Subst. haben kein begleitendes Verb im Engl., so constellation, ovation; die grosse Mehrzahl hat Verba auf -ate, so creation, moderation, saturation; einige sind gebildet von griech. Verben auf -ize, oder Nachahmungen solcher, z. B. organization, civilization. Die übrigen haben ein Verb ohne Suffix, abgeleitet aus dem Frz., entweder mit oder ohne Modification, so apply — application, publish — publication, prove — probation. Fälle wie alteration, formation, embarcation, plantation u. a., die man leicht als direkt von to alter, to form, to embark etc. gebildet ansehen konnte, führten zur Verwendung von -ation als einem lebenden engl. Suffix auch bei Verben, die nicht aus dem Frz. stammen, wie z. B. flirtation, botheration, starvation.

Aus der Mannigfaltigkeit der Verwendung dieses Suffixes geht hervor, in wie hohem Grade es im Ne. gebräuchlich ist. Es ist demnach immerhin bemerkenswert, dass Carlyle es nur selten zu Sonderformen benutzt. Für *tripudiation* Fr. R. I. 307 existiert ein entsprechendes Verb im Engl., für *intensation* M. I. 291 und *vehiculation* R. II. 117 hat Carlyle aber selbst es erst geprägt (vgl. später D. II. 1).

ζ) -cy.

Das in -ancy, -ency enthaltene Formativ -cy kommt auch selbständig vor. Es stammt aus dem lat. -cia, -tia, griech. *-κία*, *-κεία*, *-τία*, *-τεία*, wo die Abstraktendung -ia (engl. -y) einem andern Bildungselement folgt. Es begegnet im Engl. z. B. in prophecy, policy, secrecy, dann besonders auch in den combinierten Suffixen -ancy, -ency, -acy, -cracy. Analog einigen mit den beiden erstgenannten Suffixen gebildeten Substantiven, die Stand und Rang eines Beamten oder Officiers bezeichnen, wie

1. adjutancy, lieutenancy, ist -cy von participialen Subst. auf -nt ausgedehnt auf

2. einige auf -n, wie captaincy, chaplaincy, aldermancy, und da -cy so als selbständiges Suffix, wie -ship, behandelt wurde, übertrug man es noch weiter auf

3. andere Wörter, colonelcy, und hängte es sogar an

4. Subst. auf -t, wie bankruptcy (statt eines etymologisch

richtigeren *bankrupcy, da ja c < urspr. t) baronetcy, brevetcy (vgl. auch *truantcy* Fr. Gr. II. 386, statt des üblichen *truancy*).

Für alle vier Gruppen findet man einige weitere Beispiele bei Carlyle: teils zu 1., teils zu 4. gehört *drill-sergeantcy* Fr. Gr. VIII. 41.

Zu 2. gehört *guardiancy* Fr. Gr. VI. 113.

Zu 3. *generalcy* Fr. Gr. V. 385 und auch *seneschalsy* Fr. R. I. 152, wo -sy nur graphische Variante von -cy ist.

η) -cracy.

Das ne. Suffix -cracy, früher auch -cratie, crasie, ist aus dem nfrz. afrz. -cratie übernommen, das aus mlt. -cratia < gr. *κρατία*, vom Subst. *κράτος* „Macht, Herrschaft“, entstanden ist. Die schon im Griech. gebrauchten Ausdrücke dieser Form, wie *ἀριστοκρατία, δημο-, πλουτο-, θεο-κρατία* etc. haben sämtlich vor dem Suffix ein -o-, das den Stammvokal des ersten Bestandteils repräsentiert; dies -o- konnte daher leicht als zur Endung gehörig betrachtet werden, als ob diese -ocracy lautete.

Das Wort aristocray hat in neuerer Zeit die Bedeutung „eine herrschende Gruppe von Vornehmen“, „die Vornehmen als eine herrschende Klasse“, angenommen, und danach haben auch democracy und plutocracy einen entsprechenden Sinn erhalten. Infolge davon ist das Suffix in der Form -ocracy auch an engl. Wörter angefügt worden, um in lächerlichem oder satirischem Sinn irgend eine herrschende, oder herrschen wollende Klasse zu bezeichnen.

Carlyle hat in dieser Weise gebildet: *quackocracy* Fr. R. I. 167, *strumpetocracy* Fr. R. I. 264, *millocracy* P. Pr. 175.

Das Oxf. Dict. bringt an Substantiven dieser Art noch bei: snobocracy (Thackeray, Book of Snobs, ca. 1840), cottonocracy (1845. Ford, Handbook Spain), countyocracy (1859 Trollope), barristerocracy (1866 Lond. Rev.), beerocracy (1881 World), clubocracy (1882 Daily News), brokerocracy u. a., nicht datierte. Alle datierten Beispiele stammen, wie man sieht, aus der Zeit nach der Fr. R., und wenn man auch nicht mit völliger Sicherheit behaupten kann, dass Carlyle quackocracy etc. ohne ein ähnliches englisches Vorbild[1]) ganz und gar originell geschaffen

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[1]) Als solche könnten in gewisser Weise, jedenfalls in höherem Grade als aristocracy etc., etwa in Betracht kommen *pantisocracy* und

habe, so hat doch wenigstens die Annahme sehr viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, dass seine Prägungen für die nicht minder wirksamen von andern später geformten nonce-words vorbildlich gewesen sind.

Erwähnt sei auch, dass das Cent. Dict. Millocrate und Millocratism bei Bulwer „Caxtons“ belegt, also nach P. Pr.

ϑ) -ry.

Das Suffix -ery, me. -erie, entspr. mhd. -erîe, nhd. -erei, begegnet im Engl. zuerst in Wörtern, die aus dem Frz. übernommen sind, wie z. B. battery, bravery, cutlery, drapery, treachery u. ä. Das frz. -erie ist entstanden

1. durch Anfügung der Endung -ie < ía an Subst. oder Adjekt., die mit dem lat. Suffix -arius frz. -ier, -er gebildet sind, so draperie, archerie.

2. durch Anhängung von -ie an nomina agentis auf afrz. -ere, -eor (nfrz. -eur, < -ator, -atorem) so tromperie u. a.

In beiden Fällen wurde durch Analogie -erie auch zur Ableitung von Subst. unmittelbar von andern Subst. oder auch von Verbstämmen verwendet, wo keine entsprechende Form auf -ier, oder -eor vorhanden war.

Unter Einwirkung des frz. Gebrauchs ist -ery auch im Engl. als Formativ in weitem Umfange üblich geworden, und dient zur Bildung von andern Subst., wie auch von Verben. Zur letzteren Gruppe gehören von den aus Carlyle beigebrachten Sonderbeispielen nur *croakery* Fr. Gr. VI. 277, *crackery* Fr. Gr. VIII. 101, *shriekery* IX. 341, *swarmery* M. VI. 342, *whifflery* T.

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bureaucracy. Der erstere Ausdruck, der nach dem Centur. Dict. von Southey und seinen Freunden Coleridge und Lovell stammt, kann aus dem Grunde nur wenig eingewirkt haben, dass er, wenngleich eine Neubildung, doch ganz aus griech. Elementen besteht und durchaus keinen humoristisch-satirischen Charakter trägt. Dagegen hat die aus dem Frz. stammende Bezeichnung *bureaucracy* (nach Angabe des „Dictionnaire Général“ von Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, vom Oekonomisten Gournay (1712 bis 1759) geprägt, 1798 von der Académie angenommen) mit den behandelten Bildungen Carlyles sowohl den satirischen Charakter gemein, wie auch das Moment, dass das Suffix an einen geläufigen Begriff der Sprache des Autors angehängt ist. — Carlyle wird dies Wort zweifellos auch schon in jener Zeit gekannt haben, obschon das Oxf. Dict. *bureaucratic* erst seit 1836, *bureaucracy* gar erst seit 1848 im Engl. belegt.

C. III. 60. — Bemerkt sei noch, dass es in einzelnen Fällen unsicher ist, ob die zu Grunde liegende Form im Subst. auf -er, oder ein anderes Subst. oder ein Verbum ist. Zum ersteren Falle würde die betreffende Form eigentlich nicht hierhergehören, sondern unter Subst., die mit dem Suffix -y < -ia gebildet sind. Hierüber eine genauere Untersuchung anzustellen, würde zu weit führen, überdies auch ganz unthunlich sein, da man nur selten überzeugend wird nachweisen können, welches Wort für den Autor massgebend gewesen ist. Starke Gründe für -y als Suffix könnten geltend gemacht werden bei *cordwainery* S. R. 203, *mosstroopery* Cr. III. 185, *tailory* L. P. 393, *slaughtery* Fr. Gr. X. 31. Die Grundformen sind freilich cordwainer, troopers (möglicherweise, oder auch direkt das belegte „mosstrooping"), tailor, slaughter; indessen ist es nach Carlyles ganzem Sprachgebrauch nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass er im Grunde die Endung -ery im Sinne gehabt und bei obigen Wörtern an Subst. wie archery, bzw. troops und onslaught (oder bei letzteren bloss an das dtsch. „Schlachterei") gedacht hat, und dass tailory nicht so wohl als tailor + y, denn als tailor + ry aufzulösen ist, wie die dabei stehenden cookery und upholstery andeuten. —

Die andern Formen, bei weitem die Mehrzahl, sind von Subst. abgeleitet. Wo das zu Grunde liegende Wort (im Simplex) ein Paroxytonon war, ist das -e- des Suffixes synkopiert, wofern es nicht aus Gründen der Aussprache erhalten bleiben musste.

Die Substantiva dieser ganzen Klasse bezeichnen ihrem Inhalt nach

1. bisweilen die Beschäftigung, die Kunst, das Gewerbe, die die genannten Personen treiben, so z. B. archery;

2. den Platz, auf dem sie ihre Arbeit verrichten, z. B. bakery, brewery;

3. Kollektivbegriffe aller Art, sowohl

a) von Personen und andern Lebewesen, wie in cavalry, peasantry, poultry, — wie auch

b) von Sachbegriffen jeder Gattung, so confectionery, crockery, machinery, pottery, scenery.

4. Oefters verleiht das Suffix auch die Bedeutung „was charakteristisch ist für", „alles was verbunden ist mit", meist

mit verächtlichem Beigeschmack; Beispiele sind knavery, monkery, popery.

5. Ein anderer häufiger Gebrauch ist der, den Platz zu bezeichnen, in dem gewisse Tiere oder Pflanzen gezüchtet werden: piggery, swannery, vinery u. a. —

Die aus Carlyle citierten Fälle verteilen sich besonders auf die unter 1., 3. und 4. genannten Klassen.

Es gehören zu Klasse

1. *cordwainery* S. R. 203. *swindlery* M. IV. 332. *tailory* L. P. 393.

3. Hier ist hervorzuheben Carlyles charakteristische Vorliebe für Prägung von Ausdrücken die zu Abteilung

a) zu rechnen sind, wie *sansculottery* Fr. R. III. 147, *doggery* P. Pr. 335, *cousinry* Cr. I. 29, *Gadarenes-swinery* M. VI. 187, *valetry* Fr. Gr. II. 215, *Tolpatchery* Fr. Gr. V. 173, *Croatery* VIII. 30, *Loudonry* VIII. 94, *ecclesiastry* VIII. 28, *drill-sergeantry* X. 25.

Auch *tagraggery* ist hier zu nennen, denn es steht Fr. Gr. II. 7, und R. I. 84, im Sinn von „Lumpengesindel", während es sonst, wie z. B. Cr. V. 216, etwa „lumpige, unbedeutende Sachen" bedeutet.

Zu b) gehören die folgenden Belege, die sich indessen im ganzen erst aus der späteren Zeit von Carlyles Thätigkeit beibringen lassen:

junglery Fr. Gr. VI. 11, *cloudery* VI. 213, *sashery* VII. 105, (T. C. III. 264 steht es allerdings schon um das Jahr 1842), *frothery* T. C. IV. 79.

Unter 4. sind anzuführen: *oldwifery* Tr. III. 347, *owlery* S. R. 213, *cobwebbery* Fr. R. II. 13, *Tartuffery* Fr. R. III. 36, *jesuitry* Fr. R. III. 129, *wiggery* P. Pr. 164, *mosstroopery* Cr. III. 185, *taggraggery* Cr. V. 216, *Exeter-Hallery* M. VI. 192, *buttery* Fr. Gr. III. 302, *raggery* Fr. Gr. VIII. 37, *shovel-hattery* C. E. II. 123, *infernalry* L. M. III. 199.

In dem unter 5. genannten Sinne steht *owlery* L. P. 133, während es S. R. 213 und sonst stets die Bedeutung von etwa „Thorheiten" hat.

Deutschen Ausdrücken direkt nachgeformt sind *swarmery*

M. VI. 342 und *slaughtery* Fr. Gr. X. 31. Das nonce-word *wind-dust-ry* C. E. II. 197 ist nach industry gebildet.

ι) -ism.

Ne. -ism geht über nfrz. afrz. -isme, lat. -ismus, zurück auf griech. *-ισμός*, ein Substantiva von Verben auf *-ίζειν* bildendes Suffix. Im Lat. und später im Frz. ist dies Suffix auf Substantiva jeder Art ausgedehnt worden, und so findet man es auch im Engl. überaus häufig. Es bezeichnet die Praktik, Theorie, Lehre, das Prinzip, System, oder allgemein die abstrakte Idee des durch das Grundwort ausgedrückten Begriffs; vgl. dogmatism, socialism, terrorism, Gallicism u. a. Besonders oft wird es auch an Personennamen angefügt und bezeichnet dann bestimmte Theorien, oder Theorien verbunden mit Praktik, so Benthamism, Darwinism, Caesarism u. a.

Carlyle hat von diesem Formativ einen sehr weitgehenden Gebrauch gemacht, und er hat mit grosser Feinheit verstanden, es zum Ausdruck der verschiedensten Bedeutungsnüancen zu verwerten, Nüancen, die natürlich sämtlich auf eine abstrakte Grundbedeutung zurückgehen. Nicht selten sind Substantiva dieser Formation von Carlyle in einem völlig konkreten Sinne gebraucht worden. Eine starke Neigung, Abstrakta in dieser Weise zu behandeln, tritt bei ihm überall deutlich zu Tage und ist ein sehr wesentlicher Zug in seinem Stil. Die Erscheinung erklärt sich, wie sein schier unerschöpflicher Reichtum an Metaphern und ähnlichen Redefiguren aus der Stärke und Lebhaftigkeit seiner Intuition, und sie ist, beiläufig bemerkt, auch eine Hauptursache mit dafür, dass er Abstrakta so häufig im Plural verwendet. Hier kann auf diesen Punkt, der für sich zu besprechen sein wird, nicht näher eingegangen werden. Am eigentümlichsten wird die konkrete Bedeutung berühren bei dem Ausdruck „her blonde German Frankism“ Fr. R. III. 304, der nach dem Zusammenhange etwa soviel heissen muss wie „ihr germanisch-fränkisch blondes Haupthaar“; man vgl. auch noch z. B. spectralism L. W.[1] 151, das dort direkt im Sinn von „gespensterhafte Erscheinung“ steht.

Die Stammwörter, die zur Weiterbildung dienen, sind nicht nur aus der engl. Sprache entnommen, sondern bisweilen auch unmittelbar aus andern; so aus dem

Frz.: *Grand Monarque-ism* Fr. R. III. 354. *Citoyenism* Fr. R III. 301, *Culottism* Fr. R. III. 358, *Roué-ism* M. V. 24, (dem Frz. nachgebildet ist *Patrollotism* F. R. I. 297).

Dtsch.: *Burschenism* M. III. 31.

Ital.: *Pococurantism* P. Pr. 272.[1])

Im ganzen überwiegen die von Eigennamen und Personenbezeichnungen abgeleiteten Formen.

Genannt seien von solchen, denen zu Grunde liegen:

Eigennamen: *Rolfinkenism* Tr. III. 336, *Werterism* M. II. 99, *Ahrimanism* S. R. 266, *Brummelism* M. III. 361, *Dubarryism, Pompadourism* Fr. R. I. 16, *Robert-Macairism* M. V. 375, *Dick-Turpinism* Fr. Gr. I. 10, *Gargantuism* R. II. 63 u. a.; auch *Oxfordism* und *Cambridgeism* M. III. 31.

Andere Personalbezeichnungen: *Philistinism* S. R. 138, *drudgism* S. R. 275, *dapperism* M. III. 42, *scoundrelism* Fr. R. II. 134, *attorneyism* Fr. R. III. 378, *donothingism* und *saynothingism* P. Pr. 188, dazu *feel-nothingism* T. C. III. 222; *scavengerism* L. P. 196, *gigmanism* T. C. II. 284 u. a.

Dazu kommen dann noch mannigfache andere Prägungen, so von Tiernamen: *vampyrism* Fr. R. II. 134, *owlism, vulturism* P. Pr. 164, *apism* P. Pr. 212, *torpedoism* Cr. I. 80, *beaverism* L. P. 225, *vulpinism* L. W.[1] 187.

Von Sachbegriffen: *illuminationism* M. I. 40, *memoirism* M. IV. 304, *mammonism* P. Pr. 23, *volcanoism* P. Pr. 114, *bedlamism* P. Pr. 266 u. a.

Auch von Adjektiven leitet er solche Subst. ab: *inconsequentism* M. II. 290, *descendentalism* S. R. 63, *vapidism, nullism* M. III. 95, *didacticism* T. C. III. 222, u. a.

Wie weit Carlyle auch hier bei der Prägung von nonce-

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[1]) Krummachers Vermutung, dass dieser Ausdruck geprägt sei nach dem Kardinal Pococurante in Voltaire's Candide wird zutreffend sein; sie wird gestützt dadurch, dass Carlyle gerade in seinem Essay „Voltaire“ von jenem ital. Wort zuerst Gebrauch macht: „Voltaire was by birth a mocker, and light *Pococurante*“. M. II. 182. — Er kannte es aber auch schon von „Tristram Shandy“ her; vgl. „Leave we my mother — (Truest of all the *Poco-curante's* of her sex!) — careless about it“, Tr. Sh. VI. 85. (cap. XX.) — Später findet sich pococurante noch mehrfach in Carlyle's Schriften, aber nur in adjektivischer Funktion, z. B.: „in that sniffing, *pococurante* kind“ Fr. Gr. VI. 63, und: This Neue Palais ... has the air dégagé, *pococurante.* Fr. Gr. IX. 386.

words gehen konnte, zeigen Formen wie *bare-back-ism* P. Pr. 154, *black-cattleism* T. C. II. 405, *green-roomism* T. C. III. 155.

ϰ) -ity.

-ity ist das roman. Aequivalent des germ. Suffixes -ness. Es geht über nfrz. -ité, afrz. -eté auf lat. -itatem zurück, das das zur Bildung abstrakter Subst. von Adjekt. häufig gebrauchte Suffix -tatem mit einem ursprünglichen oder hinzugefügten Vokal ist. Die Wörter auf -ity sind so häufig, dass diese Endung im Engl. oft als Formativ verwendet wird, meist bei Adjekt. von lat. Ursprung oder Typus, so z. B. activity, civility u. a. — Die Zahl der hier begegnenden Sonderformen bei Carlyle ist sehr gross, es wird genügen, eine Auswahl aus ihnen noch einmal zu nennen. Fast alle sind regelmässig nach entsprechenden Adjekt. gebildet; so z. B. *ephemerality* E. L. II. 67, *interminability* M. II. 378, *detestability* S. R. 125, *endurability* Fr. R. I. 115, *astucity* Fr. R. III. 13, *despicability* Fr. R. III, 342, *attemptability* H. W. 262, *biblicality* L. St. 116, *visuality* M. VI. 55, *arability* Fr. Gr. X. 279, *injurability* T. C. IV. 361 u. a.

Abweichend von den Regeln sind abgeleitet von Subst. anstatt von Adj. der von Carlyle gern gebrauchte Ausdruck *gigmanity* M. IV. 35, sowie das im Gegensatz zu „verity" geprägte *cantity* L. P. 402.

Bezüglich der Bedeutung der Beispiele dieser Gruppe sei hervorgehoben, dass bei ihnen Carlyles Neigung zum konkreten Gebrauch abstrakter Begriffe, wie auch seine Vorliebe für den Plural, ganz besonders deutlich zu Tage tritt. Hervorgehoben seien nur: schon aus frühester Zeit *ephemeralities* E. L. II. 67, etwa = „Eintagsfragen, Dinge von vorübergehender Wichtigkeit"; ferner *adoptabilities* P. Pr. 162, eigentlich „Annehmbarkeiten", hier etwa „die anzunehmenden Gegenstände, Dinge"; *spectralities* L. P. 49, eigentlich „Geisterhaftigkeiten", hier aber bedeutet es „gespensterhafte Wesen, Erscheinungen", ebenso wie spectralism L. W.[1] 151.

λ) -ment.

Sowohl abstrakte wie konkrete Subst. bildet das ne. Suffix -ment, das über nfrz. afrz. -ment zurückgeht auf latein. -mentum, eine Endung, die von Verben Subst. ableitete, wie z. B. regimentum, fragmentum. Es findet sich im Engl. häufig, da es

an fast jedes Verbum angefügt werden kann, sei es frz.-lat. Ursprungs, wie in movement, nourishment, sei es germ. Herkunft, wie in bewilderment, fulfilment. — Es bezeichnet im allgemeinen:

1. abstrakt, die Thätigkeit oder den Zustand, den der Verbalbegriff bedingt, so endowment, enchantment, bereavement;

2. konkret, einerseits das Mittel zur Bewirkung der Thätigkeit, andererseits das Resultat der Handlung, wie in ointment, ornament, fragment.

Von den Sonderformen bei Carlyle gehören zu

1. *dispiritment* M. I. 263, *disheartenment* M. III. 39, *dishevelment* Fr. R. II. 72, *mumblement* Fr. R. III. 190, *guillotinement* Fr. R. III. 362, *cashierment* Fr. Gr. X. 202.

2. *affeoffment* Tr. III. 79, *ravelment* M. IV. 297, *bedizenment* Fr. R. III. 228, *twaddlement* C. E. I. 356, *scribblement* T. C. III. 339.

μ) -ure.

Ne. -ure, < frz. -ure, < lat. -ura ist Suffix des Supinums, das die abstrakte Bethätigung, dann aber auch ihr konkretes Ergebnis bezeichnet. Das Suffix wurde schon im Lat. einzeln an nicht-supinische Verbalstämme gefügt, z. B. figura, und trat dann schon im Frz. auch an Nominalstämme. Beispiele sind im Engl.: capture, departure, nature, verdure etc. Aus Carlyle ist speziell zu erwähnen nur das vom Verb to legitimate abgeleitete *legitimature* Fr. Gr. VI. 207, das das Ergebnis einer Handlung bezeichnet.

b) Personal-Suffixe.

1. Germanischen Ursprungs.

α) -er.

Das Personalsubst. bildende ne. Suffix -er, entsprechend dtsch. -er, geht zurück auf ein me. -er(e), ae. -ere, in dem laut Oxf. Dict. die wgm. Suffixe -āri u. -ari < urgerm. -ărjo-z verschmolzen sind. Doch ist die Annahme, dass das engl. und entsprechende deutsche Suffix nichts anderes als latein. -arius sei, wahrscheinlicher; vgl. Wilmanns, Deutsche Gram. II § 221 und Behaghel, Zur Lehre von der deutschen Wortbildung S. 10 Berlin 1898 (Sonderabdruck aus den W. Beiheften z. Z. d. Allg. d. Sprachvereins XIV/XV).

1. In einem ursprünglichen Gebrauche wurde das Suffix an Subst. gefügt und bildete abgeleitete Subst. mit dem allgemeinen Sinn

a) „ein Mensch, der zu thun hat mit", wobei der Gegenstand durch das primäre Glied ausgedrückt wurde, so z. B. ae. bōcere, sanȝere. Von diesem Typus sind viele speciell engl. Bildungen, wie hatter, slater, tinner.

Die Zahl der engl. Wörter dieser Bildung, die

b) nicht auf Gewerbe oder Beschäftigung Bezug haben, ist verhältnismässig gering; hierher gehören z. B. bencher, cottager, outsider.

Ein besonderer Gebrauch des Suffixes, der den modernen germ. Sprachen gemeinsam ist, ist eine Anfügung an

c) Namen von Plätzen und Ländern, um den Sinn „ein Einwohner von" auszudrücken, wie in Londoner, Icelander u. a.

Von Bildungen dieser Klasse sind bei Carlyle fast nur zur Rubrik c) gehörige speciell zu erwähnen, und zwar gebraucht er hier mit grosser Freiheit auch Subst. anderer Sprachen als Grundwörter, so *Lunévillers* Fr. R. II. 112, *Thionvillers* III. 72, *Lillers* III. 77, in der Fr. R.; im Fr. Gr. z. B. *Anhalters* I. 174, *Baireuthers* V. 141, *Lobositzers* VII. 86, *Saxen-Gothaers* VII. 135. Mit solchen stehen in nahem Zusammenhange die folgenden auch in Anlehnung an das Deutsche gebildeten Ausdrücke *Ziethеners* Fr. Gr. VII. 170, und *Schweriners* Fr. Gr. VII. 178.

Der Bedeutung nach gehören vielleicht eher zu a): *Bastillers* Fr. R. I. 259 = „die Bastille-Stürmer" und das das frz. „Septembriseurs" wiedergebende *Septemberers* Fr. R. III. 55. Ferner sind doch wohl unter a) zu rechnen auch *Passau-treatiers* Fr. Gr. I. 267 und *gold-nuggeter* C. E. II. 351, indem man sie auffasst als entstanden aus den Substantiven Passau-treaty + er und gold-nugget + er, wenngleich man darin, dass Carlyle auch die Formen „treatying" und „gold-nuggeting" als Verbalsubst. bildet, auch eine gewisse Berechtigung erblicken könnte, sie unter die folgende Gruppe 2) zu bringen.

2. Die meisten der Subst., die im Frühgerm. Ableitungen auf -ărjoz bzw. aus lat. -arius entstehen liessen, wurden der Ursprung auch für schwache Verben auf -jan oder ōjan, mit denen erstere als nomina agentis sinnverwandt waren. Infolge-

dessen wurde das Suffix durch Analogie als ein Formativ von nominibus agentis betrachtet, und es wurde mit dieser Funktion angehängt an Verbalstämme der schwachen und der starken Konjugation. Die Zahl der im Ae. bereits existierenden Ausdrücke solcher Entstehung ist in den späteren Sprachperioden erheblich vergrössert worden, und im Ne. können sie von allen Verben gebildet werden, ausgenommen einige von denen, die ein nomen ag. auf -or haben. — Solche nom. ag. bezeichnen normalerweise Personen, die in der durch das Verb genannten Weise handeln; manche von ihnen können aber auch zur Benennung dinglicher Agentien, und infolgedessen auch von blossen Werkzeugen verwendet werden, so blotter, cutter, roller.

Bei Carlyle finden sich Neubildungen dieser Art, wie man bei der sehr grossen Zahl gebräuchlicher Formen schon erwarten kann, nicht häufig. Man kann etwa die folgenden erwähnen: *honer* E. L. II. 349, *lessener* Tr. III. 268, *mechaniser* S. R. 226, *blubber* M. IV. 59, *sentimentaliser* M. IV. 187, *enlister* Fr. R. III. 13. — Auch nachstehender Beleg sei hier noch angeführt: these wretched outcast „soldiers“ must needs become banditti“, street-*barricaders*. L. P. 43.

β) -ster.

Das ne. Suffix -ster, < me. -stere, -estre, < ae. -estre, -istre, hat im Laufe seiner historischen Entwicklung einen völligen Bedeutungswechsel durchgemacht. Im Ae. wurden mit ihm weibliche nomina agentis gebildet, entweder im Anschluss an vorhandene Masculina oder direkt von Verben, so bæcere: bæcestre, sēamere: sēamestre, webbere: webbestre, wīteʒa: wīteʒestre. Im Me. ist -estre zur Bildung von Femininformen noch zum Teil gebräuchlich, daneben aber findet sich mit der Zeit immer häufiger Uebergang in die männliche Bedeutung; so ist z. B. songster im Me. mascul., ja man hat dazu sogar ein neues Femininum songsteresse, mit dem rom. Femin.-Suffix -esse < lat. -issa geprägt. Sweet äussert sich über diese Entwicklung von -estre nur kurz folgendermassen: „Diese Endung verlor, da sie unbetont war, bald das End-e, und das resultierende -ster wurde mit der Zeit als eine emphatische Form von -er angesehen und infolgedessen auf Männer sowohl wie auf Frauen angewendet.“ — Kluge will jene Erscheinung er-

klären als eine Folge von Uebertragung weiblicher Arbeiten auf männliche Arbeiter, doch dürfte das für das Me. kaum zutreffen. Im Me. ist das Suffix noch lebenskräftig, ferner gehen weibliche Arbeiten nur selten an männliche Arbeiter über. Prof. Morsbach in seinem Kolleg über „Historische Syntax der englischen Sprache", Göttingen, W.-S. 1896/7, giebt folgende Erklärung: -estre wird in mittelengl. Zeit mit Gleitlaut zu -estere, im Norden und Mittelland zu -ester. Da diese Bildungen so lautlich mit den Masculinis auf -er zusammenfielen, konnte leicht auch eine Bedeutungsausgleichung eintreten. Hierfür spricht auch die Entwicklung des Suffixes im Ne., wo es, spinster und ganz wenige andre Wörter ausgenommen, in denen die feminine Bedeutung aber nicht mehr an dem Suffixe hängt, nur männliche Personen bezeichnet, und zwar in Bezug auf ihre Beschäftigung; so gamester, seamster, tapster, teamster u. a. Uebrigens ist bei der ganzen Frage nicht ausser Acht zu lassen, dass es schon im Altenglischen (Angelsächsischen) vereinzelte Fälle wie *bæcestre, sēamestre* giebt, in denen die betr. Bildungen männliche Personen bezeichnen; vgl. Sohrauer, Kleine Beiträge z. altengl. Gram. Berlin. Diss. 1886. S. 36. Daraus geht hervor, dass in einigen derartigen Bildungen der feminine Begriff infolge besonderer Umstände schon früher verdunkelt gewesen sein muss.

Im Ne., ausser etwa in den Dialekten, hat diese Endung kaum noch Lebenskraft; um so bezeichnender ist es, wenn man sie bei Carlyle gleichwohl zu freilich nur einer einzigen Neubildung verwendet findet, nämlich *goadster* (nicht „goodster", wie Krummacher schreibt) Fr. R. II. 177, „Der Mann, der mit der Peitsche, Geissel zu thun hat", „der Treiber".

2. Suffixe romanischen Ursprungs.

a) -ee.

Ne. -ee, als Personalendung, < frz. -é, < lat. -atus, findet sich im Engl. zunächst in

1. Rechtsausdrücken, die dem Frz. entlehnt, oder nach Analogie frz. Vorbilder von engl. Verbalstämmen gebildet sind. Entsprechend ihrer eigentlichen Natur als substantivisch gebrauchter partic. praeter. bezeichnen diese Ausdrücke im Frz.,

und so auch im Engl., die bei einem Rechtshandel passivisch beteiligte Person; der Begriff der aktiv beteiligten Partei wird durch ein entsprechendes Subst. auf -or ausgedrückt. Beispiele sind: appellor — appellee (afrz. apelour — apelé), bailor — bailee, legator — legatee, pawner — pawnee.

2. Der Gebrauch dieses Suffixes in Gesetzesausdrücken ist oft nachgeahmt worden in der Bildung von meist humoristischen nonce-words, wie cuttee, educatee, sendee, wo das persönliche Objekt der Grundverben bezeichnet wird.

3. -ee erscheint auch in der engl. Schreibung gewisser Formen, die von modernen frz. Participial-Subst. auf -é angenommen sind, wie debauchee, refugee.

Die bei Carlyle auffallenden Ableitungen dieser Art verteilen sich auf No. 1 und 2 der angegebenen Gruppen.

Unter 1. ist wohl zu bringen *provokee* Tr. III. 313, welches das in der dtsch. Vorlage stehende „Provokat“ übersetzt.

Zu 2. gehören *cursee* M. II. 153, *laughee* M. II. 183/4, *importee* Fr. Gr. I. 454, wie auch *crownee* Tr. III. 289, wodurch Carlyle, allerdings nicht mit völliger Entsprechung, den Ausdruck „Koronand“ der Vorlage wiederzugeben sucht.

Von den Formen dieses Ursprungs ist zu trennen das adjektivisch und mit verächtlicher Bedeutung gebrauchte *Benthamee* H. W. 89, ein Ausdruck, der jedenfalls nach Pharisee, Sadducee geprägt ist, wo -ee aber ein lat. -aeus repräsentiert. — Endlich sei hier auch noch das adjektivisch gebrauchte nonce-word *Frangcee* Fr. Gr. VI. 430 mit angeführt, wo das Suffix -ee weder auf ein lat. -atus noch -aeus zurückgeht; denn Frangcee ist, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, nach dem etymologisch bisher noch kaum genügend aufgeklärten „Yankee“ unter Einwirkung von frz. „Français“ gebildet, — ein charakteristisches Beispiel dafür, dass Carlyle zu Zeiten auch ziemlich triviale Wortspielereien nicht verschmähte.

β) -eer.

-eer ist die anglofrz. Form des frz. Suffixes -ier < -arius Es wird gebraucht zur Bildung von Personalsubst. wie cannoneer, muleteer, indem der gewöhnliche Sinn ist „einer, der mit etwas zu thun hat“. In Analogie zu solchen dem Frz. entlehnten Wörtern ist das Suffix dann auch im Engl. an andere Subst.

angefügt, wie in charioteer, mountaineer. Viele der so geformten Ausdrücke haben einen mehr oder weniger verächtlichen Beigeschmack, so crotcheteer, pamphleteer, sonneteer u. a. Dies trifft auch zu bei *pistoleer* M. IV. 92, dem aus Carlyle zu nennenden Sonderbeispiel.

γ) -ess.

Das weibliche Personen bezeichnende engl. Suffix -ess ist roman. Ursprungs; es geht über nfrz. -esse und spätlat. -issa auf griech. *-ισσα* zurück. Im Griech. und Lat. nicht häufig, wurde es im Roman. das gewöhnliche Mittel, um das Geschlecht ausdrückende Femin.-Subst. zu bilden. Im Me. wurden viele Wörter auf -esse aus dem Frz. übernommen, so countess, duchess, hostess, mistress, princess, auch einige die von Subst. auf -eor, -ier gebildet waren, wie enchantress, sorceress. In Nachahmung dieser wurde im 14. Jahrhundert das Suffix an engl. nomina agentis auf -er gehängt wie dwelleresse, sleeress, und an andre rein engl. Subst. wie goddess. — Im 15. Jahrh. verdrängten die Formen auf -er + ess allmählich die älteren engl. Feminina auf -ster < ae. -estre, die nicht länger eine ausschliesslich weibliche Bedeutung hatten und in der Folge auch, mit Ausnahme von spinster, als eigentliche masculina betrachtet wurden, sodass man neue feminina auf -ess zu ihnen prägte, wie seamstress, songstress. —

Die Autoren des 16. und der folgenden Jahrhunderte bildeten Feminina auf -ess mit grosser Freiheit. Viele von diesen sind jetzt veraltet oder wenig gebräuchlich, da die Tendenz des modernen Gebrauchs dahin geht, die nom. agentis auf -er und die Subst., die Gewerbe oder Beschäftigung bezeichnen, als zweigeschlechtig zu gebrauchen, falls nicht ein besonderer Grund für das Gegenteil vorliegt, wie etwa Gegenüberstellung des männlichen und weiblichen Begriffs. Beispiele für im Ne. noch ganz gebräuchliche Formen sind authoress, giantess, patroness, poetess, priestess, quakeress, tailoress. Vgl. wegen des heutigen Sprachgebrauchs auch Krüger, Schwierigkeiten des Englischen, Teil II, 1898. S. 3.

Wenn -ess an Subst. auf -ter, -tor angehängt wird, so wird der Vokal vor dem -r- gewöhnlich elidiert, wie in actress, waitress. Die Einführung von governess hatte ihren Grund

vielleicht in falscher Analogie zu Wortpaaren wie adulter-er, adulter-ess cater-er, -ess, sorcer-er, -ess. In conqueress, murderess, adventuress, wird die ähnliche Erscheinung durch phonetische Gründe genügend erklärt. —

Bei Carlyle scheint die bei den Schriftstellern des 16. und der folgenden Jahrhunderte wahrnehmbare Tendenz wieder aufzuleben, denn auch er bildet feminine Subst. der besprochenen Art mit grosser Vorliebe und weitgehendster Freiheit. Indessen ist bei ihm eine Beeinflussung durch jene älteren Autoren nicht anzunehmen, vielmehr geht aus seinem ganzen Sprachgebrauch hervor, dass, wie schon früher erwähnt, in erster Linie das Vorbild des Deutschen für ihn massgebend gewesen ist. In manchen Fällen hat offenbar der Wunsch, sich klar auszudrücken, solche Formen entstehen lassen, einzeln macht sich auch frz. Einfluss geltend; das Hauptgewicht ist jedoch auf die Analogie zum Dtsch. zu legen. Diese Einwirkung seiner Studien in der deutschen Literatur macht sich während der ganzen ersten Periode seiner schriftstellerischen Thätigkeit, noch bis nach der Fr. R., deutlich bemerkbar. Etwa vom Jahre 1840 an lassen sich aus seinen öffentlichen Werken wirklich auffällige Formen kaum noch beibringen. Auch Fr. Gr. bietet eigentümlicherweise kein Sonderbeispiel mehr; vermutlich werden die benutzten Quellen Carlyle keine hinreichende Anregung hierfür mehr gewährt haben. Die wenigen Fälle, die sich in späterer Zeit aus seinen Briefen noch beibringen lassen, sind nonce-words humoristischen Charakters.

Von den hierhergehörigen Formen sind die meisten regelmässig gebildet; so *dwarfess* Tr. I. 10, *pilgrimess* Tr. II. 308, *milleress* Tr. II. 321, *negotiatress* Tr. III. 12, *participatress* III. 52, *wardeness* III. 311, *drinkeress* III. 347, *legatess* III. 361, *parsoness* III. 396, *Poless* M. I. 361, *revieweres* M. II. 363, *inspectress* M. II. 377, *readeress* II. 387, *Parisianess* II. 391, *visitress* II. 400, *confessoress* M. III. 66, *neighbouress* M. III. 321, *knavess* M. IV. 344, *masoness* IV. 352, *Grand-Cophtess* IV. 387, *gunneress* Fr. R. I. 317, *bakeress* I. 358, *promenaderess* II. 346, *presidentess* M. V. 202, *patriotess* M. V. 421, *playwrightess* T. C. II. 171/2, *speakeress* T. C. II. 177, *selectress* C. E. II. 330.

Ein besonderes Wort verlangen noch die folgenden Formen: *philosophess* M. IV. 267/8 ist nicht zu dem bei Carlyle oft ge-

fundenen frz. philosophe gebildet, sondern zu philosopher, wie seine Zusammenstellung mit diesem Ausdruck zeigt. Es stellt sich demnach in gewisser Hinsicht zu dem oben genannten governess. Bei *writeress* M. II. 360 hätte man wie bei waitress oder inspectress, visitress, Synkope des -e- erwarten können, doch ist sie jedenfalls aus Gründen des Wohlklangs unterblieben, und auch nicht notwendig erforderlich. Statt *gigmaness* T. C. II. 185 würde man grammatisch etwa eine Form *gigwoman (wie Frenchman — Frenchwoman u. a.) erwarten; die Bildung zeigt jedoch, dass Carlyle den beliebten Ausdruck „gigman" als völlig untrennbare Einheit auffasste. Bemerkenswert ist auch das nonce-word *Brightess* T. C. III. 413, das er zu dem Familiennamen Bright in analoger Weise gebildet hat, wie er die dtsch. Femininbezeichnung „Karschin" (= „die Frau Karsch") durch *Karchess* Fr. Gr. X. 179 wiedergiebt. Mit ähnlicher Bestimmung findet sich -ess in Verbindung mit dem Herkunft oder Verwandtschaft bezeichnenden Formativ -ite, < lat. -ites, < griech. -ίτης, in *Neusattelitess* Tr. III. 289 verwendet zur Wiedergabe des Ausdrucks „Neusattlerin" [= Einwohnerin von Neusattel] der Vorlage.

δ) -ist.

Das dem germ. Suffix -er entsprechende lat.-griech. Formativ ist ne. -ist, das über frz. -iste, lat. -ista, -istes, auf griech. -ιστής zurückgeht, mit dem nomina agentis von Verben auf -ίζειν gebildet wurden (vgl. -ism). Diese Endung findet sich in vielen engl. Ausdrücken, die

a) entweder rein griech. Bildung sind, wie Atticist, baptist, oder von griech. Elementen genommen, wie dramatist, philologist. Anderen liegt

b) eine lat. oder roman. Wurzel zu Grunde, so annalist, artist, jurist. Analog diesen hat man solche Subst. auch von

c) engl. Wörtern, einheimischen, oder naturalisierten, geprägt, wie druggist, harpist.

Die Beispiele für die ersten beiden Klassen sind sehr zahlreich, und neue Formen werden mit grosser Freiheit geschaffen. Im letzteren Gebrauch findet man das Suffix seltener, da hier meist -er gebraucht wird.

Ihrer Bedeutung nach bezeichnet diese Endung die bei dem, was das Grundwort aussagt, anhaltend bethätigte Person, und sie wird daher angewendet auf Personen, die sich

1. mit Kunst, Wissenschaft, oder einem Gewerbe u. s. w. beschäftigen, so artist, latinist, pugilist, tourist;

2. einer Partei oder bestimmten Grundsätzen anschliessen, so Jansenist, monarchist, chartist; bisweilen mit einer Beimischung von Tadel, z. B. devotionist, mannerist.

Die bei Carlyle sich findenden Sonderausdrücke dieser Bildung würden sich auf die beiden letztgenannten Gruppen folgendermassen verteilen; es sind zu rechnen zu

1. *ideologist, ideopraxist* S. R. 172, *decorationist* M. I. 296, *idylist* M. IV. 239, *demolitionist* Fr. R. II. 162, *anecdotist* M. V. 83, *mythist* H. W. 32, *Germanist* T. C. II. 188.

2. Die einer Partei oder Grundsätzen anhangenden Personen bezeichnen unmittelbar: *Sansculottist* S. R. 63, *Hébertist* Fr. R. III. 314, *Dantonist* Fr. R. III. 323, sowie das bizarre nonce-word *Gift-of-tongues-ist* T. C. II. 298.

Mit allgemeiner Bedeutung gehören hierher auch:

trivialist M. II. 231, *subtlist* M. II. 289, *formulist* T. C. III. 129, die einen tadelnden Nebensinn haben.

ε) -or.

Das ne. Personalsuffix -or (frz. -eur), entsprechend dem lat. Supinsuffix -or, findet sich in zahlreichen dem Frz. oder Lat. entlehnten, bzw. nachgebildeten engl. Ausdrücken, und bezeichnet Personen, die die im Stammbegriff genannte Thätigkeit ausüben; so creditor, orator, traitor, tutor u. a.

Speciell zu erwähnen ist hier nur *mensurator* Tr. III. 275, abgeleitet vom Verbum to mensurate.

c) Diminutiv-Suffixe.

1. Germanischen Ursprungs.

α) -kin.

Das zur Bildung von Diminutivbezeichnungen von Personen und Sachen verwendete Formativ -kin, < me. -kin, entsprechend holländ. und nieddtsch. -ken, nhd. -chen, findet sich im Ae. noch nicht, und gehört im Ne. meist der Volkssprache an.

Das Ae. hatte dafür -čen (doch selten belegt). Sweet führ das me. und ne. -kin auf den Einfluss des frz. -quin (mannequin) zurück, das selbst niederd. Ursprungs ist. Beispiele seiner Anwendung zur Bezeichnung von Personen, wo es vielfach in verächtlicher Bedeutung steht, sind manikin, lordkin, ladykin (lakin), devilkin.

Häufig findet es sich in Eigennamen, auch schon im Me., so Wilekin, Perkyn, Tymkyn, wovon neuere Geschlechtsnamen, z. T. in der possessiven Genitivform, stammen, wie Wilkins, Perkins, Tomkins, Hopkins u. a.

In Verbindung mit Sachnamen zeigt sich die Endung in napkin, kilderkin, canakin u. a.

Im allgemeinen aber ist ihre Verwendung zu Neubildungen in moderner Zeit nicht häufig, und wenn Fälle davon bei Carlyle sehr zahlreich sind, so hat das seinen besonderen Grund. Man kann hier aufs neue deutlich einen starken Einfluss des Deutschen, wo ja die Endung recht gebräuchlich ist, konstatieren. Man braucht, um sich von der Richtigkeit des Gesagten zu überzeugen, nur die folgende Reihe von Ausdrücken zu betrachten, die samt und sonders ohne Zweifel direkt nach den entsprechenden deutschen Bezeichnungen geformt sind:

Lisekin S. R. 22/3, *mankin* S. R. 92, *brotherkin* S. S. 237, *morselkin* L. I. 261, *wifekin* L. I. 268, *lovekin* L. I. 311, *housekin* L. I. 359, *letterkin* L. II. 131, *gardenkin* L. II. 180, *princekin* Fr. Gr. I. 26, *Feekin* Fr. Gr. I. 65, *dovekin* Fr. Gr. I. 276, *daughterkin* Fr. Gr. III. 295, *cousinkin* T. C. II. 267, *motherkin* T. C. III. 271, *friendkin* T. C. IV. 207.

Ausserdem ist noch eine Anzahl von andern Formen zu notieren, für die Carlyle kaum direkte deutsche Vorbilder gehabt haben dürfte, und die daher erkennen lassen, wie gern er dies Suffix, jedenfalls wiederum nicht ohne Allgemeinwirkung deutschen Sprachgebrauchs, auch sonst verwendet.[1])

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[1]) Es ist übrigens nicht unmöglich, dass bei dieser Vorliebe Carlyles für solche Diminutiva ein Einfluss der schottischen Umgangssprache neben dem der deutschen mitgewirkt hat; man vgl. *dovekie* im Oxf. Dict., wo neben diesem noch *lassikie* und *wifekie* als schott. Diminutiva angeführt werden. Gerade in den Briefen macht nun Carlyle sehr oft von schott. Wörtern Gebrauch, darunter auch *lassie*, z. B. L. I. 96, *wifie* L. II. 365, auch *wifiekin* L. II. 151, halb schott., halb engl., findet sich.

Man vergleiche die folgenden Beispiele:

worldkin S. R. 189, *Deankin* L. I. 202, *disciplekin* L. I. 322, *screamikin* L. I. 324, *goodykin* L. I. 334, *despairkin* L. II. 139, *swordkin* Fr. Gr. II. 26, *tastekin* C. E. II. 170, *daisykin* C. E. II. 323, *planetkin* R. I. 35, *beaverkin* R. I. 75, *thoughtkin* R. I. 171, *notekin* R. I. 203, *pathkin* T. C. II. 297, *Janekin* T. C. II. 301, *poetkin* II. 325, *bustkin* IV. 113.

Hinsichtlich der allgemeinen Bedeutung der mit dem Suffix -kin gebildeten Wörter ist zu betonen, dass kaum ein einziges deutlich irgendwie einen Anflug von Geringschätzigkeit an sich trägt; vielmehr bringen sie ausnahmslos den Sinn der Kleinheit entweder rein und einfach zum Ausdruck, oder, wie es besonders bei den vielen bezeichnenden Belegen aus den Privatschriften der Fall ist, verbunden mit dem Charakter des Zärtlichen. Indessen wie sehr auch die grosse Zahl von Fällen von Carlyles Vorliebe für diese Endung zeugt, so lässt doch eine auffallende Thatsache die Substantiva dieser Gruppe in einem ganz besonderen Lichte erscheinen. Betrachtet man nämlich die Quellen, denen die beigebrachten Belege entnommen sind, so findet man, dass die bei weitem grössere Anzahl der Citate aus Briefen etc. stammt, also aus Schriften, bei denen der Autor keine stilistischen Rücksichten irgend welcher Art zu nehmen brauchte, sondern seiner Feder nach Belieben freien Lauf lassen konnte. Von den für die Oeffentlichkeit bestimmten Werken finden sich Beispiele nur im S. R. und im Anfang von Fr. Gr., wo der Einfluss des Deutschen ja besonders stark war. Dagegen weisen die Uebersetzungen, Wilhelm Meister und German Romance, wo man in diesem Sinne doch zu allermeist solche Formen erwarten sollte, ebensowenig Sonderfälle auf, wie, mit Ausnahme der zwei genannten, die andern Publikationen überhaupt. Wenn nun Carlyle diese Diminutiva, bei seiner sonst so deutlich gezeigten Vorliebe für sie, überall da vermeidet, wo er nur einigermassen Rücksicht auf seinen Stil nimmt, so muss sich mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit die Vermutung aufdrängen, dass sie ihm aus gewissen Gründen, vielleicht eben weil sie, wie Mätzner angiebt, im Englischen vorwiegend in der Volkssprache üblich sind, für die gewähltere Prosa nicht empfehlenswert zu sein schienen. Ueberhaupt gehört ja die Diminutivbildung im ganzen mehr

dem vertrauten Verkehrston, als der ernsten Betrachtung an. Es ist indessen nicht zu verkennen, dass Carlyle im höheren Stile dem Suffix -let zur Bildung von Diminutiven vor dem Suffix -kin den Vorzug giebt.

β) -ling.

Das ne. Suffix -ling, < me., ae. -ling, entsprechend nhd. -ling, ist schon im Ae. zur Bildung von Menschen- und Tiernamen, selten von Sachsubst., benutzt, und an Subst., Adjekt., Verbalstämme, und selbst an Partikeln gehängt, so z. B. dēorlinȝ, eorðlinȝ, hȳrelinȝ, ȝeonȝlinȝ.

Im Ne. findet es sich mehrfach in

1. Personennamen, wie dearling, hireling, worldling,
2. Tiernamen, wie youngling, gosling, kitling, nestling.
3. Sachnamen (seltener) wie chitterlings, shorling.

Der Ausdruck der Missachtung, der sich an manche dieser Formen knüpft, ist ursprünglich meist wohl durch das Stammwort bedingt gewesen, in späteren Neubildungen aber beabsichtigt.

Specielle Prägungen dieser Gattung sind bei Carlyle nicht häufig, und in den wenigen zu nennenden Beispielen, in denen übrigens alle drei angegebenen Klassen vertreten sind, dient -ling ausschliesslich als Diminutivsuffix; den Charakter des Verächtlichen trägt höchstens *wolfling.*

Schon die erwähnte geringe Anzahl der Fälle lässt vermuten, dass -ling für Carlyles Sprachgefühl keine rechte Lebenskraft mehr besass; und dieser Schluss wird noch weiter gestützt durch die Thatsache, dass er es, *wolfling* Fr. R. III. 276 ausgenommen, nur verwendet zur direkten Nachbildung deutscher Subst. auf -lein, so *eyeling* M. III. 155, *maidling* M. III. 156, und auch *bookling* M. III. 239, das allerding schon allerdings vor ihm bei Southey und in Blackwood's Magazine belegt ist.

2. Diminutiv-Suffixe roman. Ursprungs.

α) -let.

Die ne. Diminutivendung -let, < me. -let, < afrz. -let, zusammengesetzt aus zwei Diminutivformativen, -el- (-l-) und -et < lat. -ittum, ist aus dem Frz. ins Englische gedrungen und

hier dann analog Wörtern roman. Herkunft wie bracelet, branchlet, rivulet, auch an engl. Stämme angefügt worden, so in armlet, ringlet, streamlet. -let ist dasjenige Suffix, das Carlyle überall da zur Bildung von Diminutiven anwendet, wo es ihm, ohne weitere Nebenabsichten oder -einwirkungen, nur darum zu thun ist, den Begriff der Kleinheit zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Er gebraucht es unbedenklich in all seinen Werken, (auch in den Translations, und zwar zur Wiedergabe von deutschen Diminutiven auf -chen!) und man wird daraus entnehmen dürfen, dass es ihm als die eigentliche engl. Diminutivendung geläufig und natürlich war.

Er prägt mit ihm neue Substantiva sowohl von

1. Sachnamen, so *songlet* Tr. I. 266, *starlet* Tr. III. 383, *textlet* S. R. 69, *squeaklet* M. IV. 26, *grouplet* Fr. R. I. 152, *coachlet* Fr. R. III. 78, *lamplet* Fr. Gr. II. 388, *oozelet* Fr. Gr. VIII. 212, *benchlet* Fr. Gr. X. 192, *booklet* C. E. I. 24, wie auch von

2. Personennamen, hier allerdings mit verhältnismässig starkem Beigeschmack des Verächtlichen: *squirelet* M. IV. 35, *Byronlet* M. IV. 202, *queenlet* M. IV. 270, *mayorlet* Fr. R. II. 156.

β) -ule, -cule.

Diese beiden ne. Diminutivsuffixe gehen über gleiche frz. Formen auf die lat. Endungen -ulus, a, um, und -culus, a, um, zurück. Diese lat. Formative sind in ihrer Entwicklung bisweilen ohne Verkürzung geblieben, besonders wenn die ursprüngliche diminutive Kraft fühlbar blieb; so formule, globule; animalcule, vermicule u. a. Die Bildungen auf -cule sind aber häufig nicht allein, wo die Diminutivbedeutung zurücktrat, und wo auch im Frz. das u fiel, zu -cle verkürzt, wie in oracle, receptacle, article, sondern auch wo jener Sinn erhalten blieb, namentlich in Subst. auf -icle, wie auricle, particle u. a.

Für jedes der beiden Suffixe lässt sich aus Carlyle je eine Sonderbildung beibringen, und zwar ist für die Verwendung der Formative hier bezeichnend, dass mit ihnen eine gewisse halb-komische Wirkung erzielt werden soll. Die beiden Fälle sind: *notule* E. L. II. 351, und *dramaticule* Fr. Gr. VI. 201. — Man hat schon vor Carlyle Diminutive von „drama“ mittelst des gleichen Suffixes zu bilden versucht, und es ist recht

interessant und scherzhaft zu sehen, wie man dabei jedesmal auf eine andere Form geraten ist. Das Oxf. Dict. bringt folgende drei Belege:

dramacles, 1792 T. Twining; dramatucle (! „if we may be allowed such a diminutive“), 1813 Examiner; dramaticles, 1851 Beddoes, Poems. Dazu kommt nun Carlyles dramaticule.

II. Anderweitig gebildete Substantiva.

Es ist noch eine Reihe von Substantiven, fast durchgängig nonce-words, zu besprechen, bei denen die Bildung nicht wie bei den vorhergehenden, mittelst Suffixen erfolgt ist, sondern wo andere gestaltende Principien zu Grunde gelegen haben.

Zunächst sind einige Sonderbildungen zu nennen, die durch Komposition von ursprünglich selbständigen Gliedern entstanden sind:

Das wohl analog blockhead gebildete und in der gleichen Bedeutung wie dieses stehende *loghead* S. R. 158, *idleman* M. IV. 188, als Gegensatz zu workman, *lackall* M. IV. 337, und *eatall*[1]) Fr. R. I. 26 (letzteres ist, obgleich 1598 schon einmal vor Carlyle belegt, vgl. später (Anhang) doch zweifellos direkte Neubildung), *Metzland*[2]) Fr. R. III. 18, als entsprechender Begriff zu „the Clermontais“, *bumbarge* M. V. 394, nach dem Oxf. Dict. „perversion of bumboat after barge“, *ba'spel* Fr. Gr. Fr. Gr. III. 321 als Gegensatz zu gospel; auch *my-doxy, thy-doxy* Fr. R. II. 193, sowie das nach donothing geformte, adjektivisch gebrauchte *do-something* M. V. 20, seien hier genannt. Endlich sind *say-nothingism* P. Pr. 188, und *feel-nothingism* T. C. III. 222 zu erwähnen.

In Nachahmung des frz. „sansculotte“ ist die frz. Präposition „sans“ zusammengesetzt mit engl. Wörtern zunächst in *sans-breeches* Fr. R. III. 279, dann auch in *sans-potato* Fr. R. III. 387.

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[1]) Eine ganz analoge Bildung findet sich in W. Scott's „Quentin Durward“, cap. V: „The Duke of Burgundy is a hotbrained, impetuous, pudding-headed, iron-ribbed *dare-all*“. — Das Oxf. Dict. belegt *dare-all* nur aus späterer Zeit als Name für ein Kleidungsstück.

[2]) Ebenso gebildet sind: The Battle of Chalons, where *Hunland* met Rome M. IV. 223, sowie auch das nonce-word *Yankeeland* P. Pr. 363.

Kurz hingewiesen sei hier auch noch auf die nach den frz. Monatsnamen „Messidor" etc. geprägten nonce-words *reapidor, heatidor, fruitidor,* Fr. R. III. 230 (vgl. pag. 69).

Onomatopöetische Bildungen sind offenbar das wohl unter Einwirkung von dtsch. „brüllen" entstandene *brool* Fr. R. I. 205, sowie *alleleu,* das zuerst, Fr. R. I. 346, als Interjektion, dann aber, Fr. R. III. 195, auch als Substantiv gebraucht ist, und hinter dem man vielleicht eine Reminiscenz irgend welcher Art an das griech. ἐλελεῦ vermuten darf.

Der Ausdruck *whiskerando* M. IV. 93 ist nach Angabe des Cent. Dict. nach „Don Whiskerandos" (< whisker + andos = „bearded person"), dem Namen einer Person in Sheridan's „The Critic", gebildet.

Hier ist auch zu nennen die Bezeichnung *Katerfelto* M. VI. 350, und R. II. 173. Sie ist genommen von dem aus Preussen gebürtigen Zauberkünstler Gustavus Katterfelto (so!), † 1799, der in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts in London grosses Aufsehen erregte und besonders auch in den Zeitungen damals viel von sich reden machte. (Vgl. Dictionary of National Biography XXX, p. 241.) [1])

Wie Harpagon, Don Juan und andere Personennamen zu typischen Benennungen für entsprechende Charaktere geworden sind, so hat Carlyle hier in *whiskerando* den Namen einer erdichteten, in *Katerfelto* den einer realen Persönlichkeit zu einfachen typischen Substantiven gestempelt. — Bei *whiskerando* hat er Nachahmer gefunden in Southey „The Critic", und in Thackeray „Philip".

In *fugle-motion* Fr. R. III. 279 and *fugle-worship* L. P. 377 hat Carlyle mit grosser Freiheit den ersten Bestandteil des vom dtsch. „Flügelmann" adoptierten Ausdrucks „fugleman" losgetrennt und zu anderweitigen Kompositionen benutzt.

Nur lat. Elemente liegen zu Grunde in *soniped* L. I. 287, das vom latein., der Dichtersprache angehörigen „sonipes" adaptiert ist, *sinumbra* C. E. I. 205, *dorsoflexions* T. C. I. 192, nur griech. in *eleutheromania* Fr. R. I. 101, *dyslogy* zu eulogy M. V. 182, *heroarchy* H. W. 15, *bibliopoesy* T. C. II. 310.

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[1]) Diese Erklärung, wie manche andere, verdankt Verfasser seinem verehrten Lehrer, Herrn Lektor Dr. Geo. Tamson, Göttingen.

Eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit Carlyles ist ferner die, einzelne Suffixe selbst direkt als Substantiva zu verwenden, um sie als Vertreter einer ganzen Klasse von in Form und Bedeutung ähnlichen Begriffen hinzustellen. Völlig originell ist dieser Brauch bei ihm allerdings nicht, denn *doxy* wird in einer gleichen Verwendung wie Fr. Gr. I. 260 vom Oxf. Dict. schon im 18. Jahrh., z. B. bei Warburton, und auch im 19. Jahrh., z. B. bei Mrs. Browning, vor Carlyle mehrfach belegt, ferner *ism* (bei Carlyle z. B. Fr. R. III. 386) vom Cent. Dict. schon 1809 in Southey, Letters, und *ologies* (M. VI. 321) bei de Quincey. Indessen ist das häufige Vorkommen besonders von *ism* in des Autors Werken für seine ganze Denk- und Schreibweise überaus kennzeichnend, und nicht minder sind es die folgenden analogen Ausdrücke: *ist* T. C. III. 43/4, und *anities* T. C. III. 123.[1])

Schliesslich sind noch ein paar Worte zu sagen über vereinzelte hierhergehörige Beispiele von Wortbildung durch die Uebertragung eines unveränderten Wortkörpers auf eine andere Wortklasse. Diese freiere Handhabung der verschiedenen Redeteile und ihre Vertauschung schliesst sich an die schon in älterer Zeit geübte Freiheit, ein unabgeleitetes oder selbst abgeleitetes Wort ohne weitere Ableitungsendung auf eine andere Wortklasse zu übertragen. Vor allem geht, wie sich später auch in Carlyles Sprachgebrauch deutlich zeigen wird, das

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[1]) In neuerer Zeit finden sich Beispiele für eine derartige Erhöhung griechischer und lateinischer Suffixe zu selbständigen Wörtern mehrfach auch in anderen Sprachen, wie Jespersen nachgewiesen hat in Abschnitt B. 4 (p. 25 ff.) seiner Abhandlung

Om subtraktionsdannelser, soerligt þå dansk og engelsk. Festskrift til Vilhelm Thomsen. København 1894.

Er bespricht im genannten Kapitel zunächst Erscheinungen wie *tatoes*, *taters* für *potatoes*, in der Londoner Vulgärsprache, desgleichen *teener* für *concerteener*, und weist auch auf analogen Gebrauch von ital. *accio* hin. Aus dem Dänischen belegt er Fälle, wie *ana*, nach Wörtern wie *Scaligerana*, *Baconiana*, *ismer*, nach *ateisme*, *deisme* u. a., *aner*, nach *Brandesianer*, etc., *ør* (plur. *ører*) nach *regissør*, *sufflør* etc., und noch andere. Für das Englische bringt er als Beispiele: *isms* (Carlyle, H. W.), *ists* (Huxley, XIX. Cent. Febr. 1889, 183), *ology* (Bleek, Comp. Gr. South African L. 106). [Cent. Dict. citiert auch noch Lowell, New Princeton Rev. I. 158; etwa um das Jahr 1878.]).

Verb mit Leichtigkeit aus andern Redeteilen hervor. (Vgl. unter Abschnitt D. I.) Wie Verba aus Substantiven, so entstehen auch Subst. ohne weitere Aenderung aus Verben, jedoch ist diese Tendenz in der Sprache viel weniger ausgeprägt, als die umgekehrte, zumal man ja nach Belieben zu jedem Verbum ein Verbalsubstantiv auf -ing bilden kann. Gebräuchliche Beispiele für so entstandene Subst. sind z. B. concern, turn, crack, blush.[1]) Bei Carlyle begegnet man noch folgenden neuen Fällen: *hustle* Fr. R. II. 267, *prance* Fr. R. II. 342, *welter* Fr. R. III. 318, *henpeck* M. IV. 257, *higgle-haggle* Fr. Gr. II. 314.[2]) Als Subst. gebrauchte Infinitive mit vorgesetzter zugehöriger Präposition liegen vor in *off-put* L. II. 243/4, *outflush* S. R. 178, *upturn* Fr. R. II. 94. Ein Adverb findet sich als Subst. gebraucht in *hoity-toity* Fr. R. III. 320.

Im allgemeinen lässt sich wohl sagen, dass die immerhin vereinzelten Fälle von Substantivbildung durch Komposition oder Uebertragung von Ausdrücken in eine andere Wortklasse sich der Hauptsache nach in der früheren Zeit finden, und dass Carlyle sich in späteren Jahren fast ausschliesslich mit der überhaupt gebräuchlicheren, aber auch z. T. weniger originellen Ableitung durch Suffixe begnügt.

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[1]) Zahlreiche weitere Beispiele giebt Krüger: Schwierigkeiten des Englischen. Dresden 1897. II. § 570 (pag. 209.)

[2]) Hierher gehört auch noch: the touching last-*flicker* of Etiquette, Fr. R. I. 350, das in Fr. Gr. noch einmal wieder vorkommt: From the first his Enterprise was a final *flicker* of false hope Fr. Gr. VII. 108.

B. Adjektiva.

I. Mit Suffixen gebildete Adjektiva.

1. Suffixe german. Ursprungs.

α) -ful.

Das ne. Adjekt.-Suffix -ful ist ursprünglich identisch mit dem engl. Adjektiv full, das schon im Ae. dazu verwendet wird, in Verbindung mit Subst. neue Adjekt. zu bilden, wie z. B. bealuful, synful, þanceful; ne. baleful, sinful, thankful. Im Me. und Ne. sind zahlreiche weitere Formen dieses Typus entstanden, darunter auch viele von roman. Subst., so artful, beautiful, fruitful, graceful etc., und das Suffix ist noch in einem gewissen Grade produktiv. Entsprechend der Bedeutung des Adjektivs haben solche Wörter denn Sinn „voll von" dem im Subst. gegebenen Begriff; vielfach ist diese etymologische Bedeutung indessen etwas abgeschwächt zu der von „habend, charakterisiert durch". Bei Carlyle finden sich nur zwei specielle Prägungen: *misdateful* Fr. Gr. V. 146, und *defenceful* Fr. Gr. VI. 438; in der ersten kommt die ursprüngliche, stärkere, in der zweiten die abgeschwächte Bedeutung mehr zum Ausdruck.

β) -ish.

Die dtsch. -isch entsprechende ne. Endung -ish geht über me. -ish, -isch etc., auf das ae. Suffix -isc zurück, das im allgemeinen die Zugehörigkeit zu dem im Grundwort enthaltenen Begriffe ausdrückt. So wird es seit ältester Zeit schon z. B. von der Abstammung gebraucht, wie ae. denisc, enȝlisc, ȝrēcisc. Anderweitig liegt der Sinn von „Verwandtschaft mit, Artung nach" vor, so in ae. folcisc, hæðenisc, mennisc, wæterisc.

Dementsprechend findet sich dies Formativ im Ne.

1. an Substantiva gehängt, und zwar an

a) Land- und Völkernamen, wie in Babylonish, British, Irish, Turkish etc.

b) Personenbezeichnungen, z. B. babyish, boyish, childish, foolish;

c) Namen von Tieren: apish, brutish, mulish, snakish;

d) seltener an andere Begriffe: hellish, snappish.

In vielen solcher Wörter hat das Suffix durch Verbindung mit dem Substantiv einen mehr oder weniger geringschätzigen Charakter angenommen, infolgedessen auch in einigen andern Ausdrücken, wo das Subst. ursprünglich keinen verächtlichen Sinn hat, z. B. mannish, womanish.

Häufig wird, hauptsächlich in neueren Bildungen, nur Annäherung an eine Eigenschaft ausgedrückt, und -ish tritt dann mit einer diminutiven Kraft

2. an Adjektiva, so in bluish, coldish, oldish, longish, tallish u. a.

Formen dieser Art gehören aber mehr der gewöhnlichen Sprache an, haben einen etwas vulgären Charakter und werden deshalb in der guten Prosa gemieden und lieber mit rather, somewhat u. a. umschrieben.[1])

Carlyle zeigt eine stark ausgeprägte Vorliebe für dies Suffix, das er in weiter Ausdehnung anwendet.

Zu 1a) gehören an Sonderformen bei ihm: half-*japannish* L. St. 40, *Hunnish* Fr. Gr. IX. 100, *Aberdeenish* R. II. 58.

Zu 1b) *redtapish* (figürl.) L. P. 118, *hermaphroditish* Fr. Gr. I. 257, *busybodyish* Fr. Gr. III. 234, malicious-*valetish* Fr. Gr. IV. 333, *old-maidish* L. M. I. 16, *sneakish* Fr. Gr. VI. 254.

Hervorzuheben ist hier, dass Carlyle, z. T. wohl nicht ohne Beeinflussung seitens des Deutschen, das Suffix gern zur Ableitung von Adjekt. von persönlichen nomin. propr. verwendet, so *Frank-Dixon-ish* E. L. I. 336, *Fayettish* Fr. R. III. 335, *Teufels-*

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[1]) Vgl.: Stoffel, Studies in English. Zutphen. 1894. pag. 281: „secondary adjectives, excepting those denoting colour, are most of them more or less slangy or colloquial". Er citiert z. B. fairish, goodish, largish, longish, baddish.

dröckhish T. C. II. 244, *Dalgettyish* T. C. II. 282, *Neckerish* M. V. 148, *Daunish* Fr. Gr. VIII. 238, *Jean-Paulish* C. E. II. 185.

Unter 1 c) sind zu nennen *screech-owlish* S. R. 256, *hawkish* M. VI. 60, *beaverish* L. P. 157.

Unter 1 d) *antiguillotinish* Fr. R. III. 366, *whirlpoolish* L. I. 376/7, *mammonish* H. W. 259, *pumpkinish* M. VI. 199, *sawdust-ish* R. I. 105, *brickish* C. E. II. 90, *cobwebbish* L. W.[1] 167, *will-o'-wispish* R. I. 104.

c) Von dem überaus häufigen Gebrauch, den Carlyle von sekundären Adjekt. auf -ish macht, ist schon im ersten Hauptteil des weiteren gesprochen worden. Es lässt sich dabei im ganzen kurz folgende Entwicklung konstatieren: In allen für die Oeffentlichkeit bestimmten Werken zeigen sich solche Formen bis zum Fr. Gr. hin nur sporadisch, dann aber treten sie plötzlich, besonders in Fr. Gr. und R., in auffällig grosser Menge hervor. In den Briefen etc. dagegen findet man sie schon von früher Zeit an gern verwendet, allerdings auch hier in der späteren Periode häufiger als vorher. Aus diesem Gesamtergebnis darf man wohl, ähnlich wie bei den Subst. auf -kin, den Schluss ziehen, dass Carlyle die Adjekt. auf -ish, wiewohl sie bei ihm meist eine rein diminutive, und nur selten hier und da eine direkt geringschätzige Nebenbedeutung haben, im Grunde doch ziemlich lebhaft als für den guten Stil ungeeignet empfand. Damit steht nicht im Widerspruch ihr plötzliches zahlreiches Auftauchen in Fr. Gr., das sich, wie schon früher ausgeführt ist, hauptsächlich durch die Gemütsstimmung des alternden Autors erklärt.

Im Folgenden sei noch eine knappe Uebersicht über die bemerkenswerteren dieser Adjektiva gegeben:

melancholickish, *ill-naturedish*, *affectionatish* E. L. II. 31, *steepish* Tr. II. 20, *cheerfullish* L. II. 121, *shabbyish* T. C. II. 120, *hollowish* M. V. 256, *safish* Cr. IV. 73, *deepish* L. P. 34, *drunkish* Fr. Gr. II. 86, *barish* II. 377, *vaguish* IV. 406, *sublimish* VI. 286, *stupidish* VI. 422, *idlish* IX. 153, *squattish* X. 17, *correctish* R. I. 141, *plumpish* R. II. 172, *usefullish* T. C. III. 421, *slightish* T. C. IV. 46, *richish* L. M. I. 153.

γ) -ly und -like.

Ne. -ly, entsprechend nhd. -lich, geht über me. -ly, -lich, unter Einfluss von anord. ligr (adj.) und liga (adv.) zurück auf ein ae. Suffix -līc (vgl. ae. līc „Körper"), das mit Subst. und Adjekt. verbunden wurde. Es drückte eigentlich Körper- oder Wesensgleichheit aus, wie z. B. in ae. cildlīc, ȝodlīc, doch nahm es frühe schon auch eine allgemeinere Bedeutung an, nämlich die der Beziehung und der Angehörigkeit, und diese wurde für das reduzierte -ly später die ausschliessliche Bedeutung, vgl. ne. fatherly, friendly, lovely, heavenly. In Verbindung mit Adjekt. drückt es die Annäherung an den Begriff des Stammes aus, teils als Abschwächung, teils als Neigung und Tendenz; vgl. ae. clēanlīc, dēadlīc, ne. cleanly, deadly, u. a.

Obgleich das Suffix im Ne. in vielen Ableitungen begegnet, mithin Analogiewirkung stark sein konnte, lässt sich aus Carlyle doch nur eine einzige Neubildung citieren: *burgherly* M. V. 235, wo die Annahme eines Einflusses von dtsch. „bürgerlich" möglich, aber nicht notwendig ist.

Die erwähnte Verallgemeinerung und Abschwächung des Sinnes dieser Endung -ly ist vermutlich der Anlass gewesen für die Bildung von Adject. mittelst des als Suffix gebrauchten Adjektivs like < ae. ȝelīc. Genauere Angaben über die Entwicklung dieses Gebrauchs werden in den einschlägigen Werken nicht gegeben; doch ist zu beachten, dass das Me. neben den häufigeren Bildungen auf -ly (Süden -lich) auch solche auf -lik im Mittellande und Norden kennt. Die ne. Adjektiva auf -like sind aber sehr wahrscheinlich der Mehrzahl nach jüngere Bildungen, und entstanden unter dem Wunsche, neue Adjektiva zu besitzen mit dem bestimmten Sinn „gleich, ähnlich" dem durch das Stammwort genannten Begriffe, eine Bedeutung, die das abgeschwächte -ly nicht mehr zu verleihen vermochte. — Ausdrücke solcher Prägung sind im Ne. nicht selten, so z. B. childlike, godlike, manlike, womanlike, saintlike, (mit welch letzterem Carlyle übrigens einmal, jedenfalls irrtümlich, das deutsche „scheinheilig" übersetzt[1]), mit denen man der Bedeutung nach childly, godly manly etc. vergleichen möge.

[1]) The Countess herself then decked Philina, who continued very neatly to support, by her looks and conduct, that *saint-like* [scheinheilige], guiltless charakter she had assumed at first. Tr. I. 123.

Carlyle verwendet -like gern zur Ableitung

1. von Subst. jeglicher Art, so *mummy-like* Tr. II. 241, *apelike* S. R. 243, *tailor-like* S. R. 278/9, *terrace-like* M. IV. 439, *song-like* M. IV. 444, *cage-like* L. I. 33, *village-like* L. II. 78, *quarry-like* L. II. 141, *weather-cock-like* T. C. I. 364, *undertaker-like* T. C. II. 314, *pig-like* Fr. Gr. IV. 103, *panter-like* Fr. Gr. VI. 146, *tortoise-like* Fr. Gr. IX. 211, *crag-like* C. E. I. 247, u. a., sogar *candle-extinguisher-like* T. C. IV. 283.

Auch mit Eigennamen verbindet er das Suffix:

Actaeon-like Fr. R. II. 311, *Noah-like* Fr. Gr. IV. 242, *Jove-like* Fr. Gr. VI. 388, *Alcides-like* Fr. Gr. IX. 47, *Ariel-like* R. I. 175, *Theresa-like* T. C. II. 168, *Medusa-like* T. C. IV. 124, *Orpheus-like* L. M. III. 194.

In einem Falle findet man -like geknüpft an

2. ein Adjektiv, in *spiritual-like* Tr. II. 241, wo im Deutschen zwei getrennte Wörter „geistigen ähnliche" stehen.

Es ist hervorzuheben, dass die meisten dieser Bildungen, namentlich die von Eigennamen genommenen, in Hinsicht auf das begleitende Substantiv nicht wie man erwarten sollte, in streng logischer Weise direkt einen getrennten Ausdruck von „like + Dativ des Stammworts" repräsentieren, sondern dass der Grundbegriff in indirekter Beziehung zu like steht, sodass eine Umschreibung lauten würde „like that of, like that in + Stammwort" oder ähnlich. So würde man etwa erwarten: a cage-like apartment, a tortoise-like reptile, an Actaeon-like hunter, an Alcides-like hero; man findet aber: a cage-like existence, d, h. an existence like that in a cage; a tortoise-like advance, d. h. an advance executed with a slowness like that of a tortoise, Alcides-like labours, d. h· labours like those performed by the Alcides, ja sogar a Noah-like weather, d. h. a weather like that of Noah's deluge, etc.

Es sei noch erwähnt, dass man in neuerer Zeit vielfach solchen Adjekt. auf -like begegnet, die von den verschiedensten Grundwörtern, und zwar z. T. mit nicht geringerer Freiheit der Beziehung als bei Carlyle, gebildet sind. Zum Vergleich seien ein paar aus W. Shaw: „Student's English Literature" London 1895, citiert, wo sie recht häufig sind: an *organlike* music of versification pag. 200. a solemn and *psalm-like* grandeur 208. *hermit-*

like repose 210, that *enamel-like* brilliancy of expression 212, *the billow-like* hexameter of Homer 289, *Rembrandt-like* or rather *Tintoretto-like* sketches 440, ja sogar *fetish-like* worship 327(!). Logisch richtig sind dagegen: a *lightning-like* spark 226, the *Diana-like* Muse of Mantua 236, the *insect-like* Lilliputians 302, u. a.

Der Umstand, dass bei Carlyle wie bei Shaw in fast allen Fällen -like vom Stammwort durch Hyphen getrennt ist, erregt fast den Anschein, als ob dem Sprachgefühl nach -like hier weniger als Suffix denn als selbständiges Adjektiv in Composition stände; dafür könnte auch *aurora-borealis like* C. E. I. 352, ohne Hyphen sprechen, falls nicht Druckfehler anzunehmen ist. Aber grammatisch und logisch steht -like hier doch überall in Suffixfunktion, ebenso wie in godlike, manlike etc. (oder auch ebenso wie -ful in ae. und ne. Adjektiven, denn es handelt sich in beiden Fällen um die nämliche Erscheinung, dass ein selbständiges Adjektiv zum Suffix wird).

δ) -some.

Das dem nhd. -sam entsprechende ne. Suffix -some geht über me. -som, -sum, auf ae. -sum zurück (vgl. got. sama „derselbe".) Es wird verwendet, um von Subst. und Adjekt. neue Adjekt. zu bilden, die den Besitz einer beträchtlichen Menge, das Erfülltsein von dem im Grundwort genannten Begriff, bezeichnen; vgl. ae. lanʒsum, wynsum, ne. longsome, winsome, ferner wearisome, gladsome, burthensome u. a. Infolge von Analogiewirkung hat man -some auch an roman. Wörter gehängt, so in laboursome, troublesome.

Carlyle hat mit diesem Formativ speciell nur *worksome* Fr. R. III. 341. geprägt.

ε) -ward.

Ueber Adjektivbildungen mit -ward konnten, wie über die auf -like, nur verstreute knappe Angaben gefunden werden, nichts Genaueres über die Entwicklung der Verwendung jenes Suffixes, noch über eine etwaige noch heute bestehende Produktivität desselben. — Adverbia dieser Art sind in älterer und neuerer Zeit häufig, aber auch Adjektiva finden sich nicht selten.

Sweet erwähnt pag. 467 -ward als Adj.-Endung, aber nur mit folgenden kurzen Worten: „-weard, -ward, von einem mit

weorþan = lat. vertere verwandten veralteten Adjektiv, bildet Adjektiva von Subst., Adjekt. und Adverbien.“ Er führt als Beispiele an: hāmweard, middeweard, inneweard. Genannt seien noch: andweard, forweard, tōweard, norþweard, westeweard, wiþerweard. Da -weard ursprünglich ein Adjektiv ist, sind jedenfalls auch die Adjekt. auf -weard die ursprünglichen, und die gleichartigen Adverbia erst weitere Entwicklungen. Beispiele für das Ne. sind, z. T. mit Erweiterung des anfänglichen Sinnes: backward, inward, toward, upward, windward u. a. Carlyle hatte demnach, wenn auch in beschränkter Anzahl, doch immerhin Vorbilder von Adjekt. auf -ward im gegebenen Sprachbestande. Indessen dürfte sich kaum eine Tendenz zur Bildung solcher neuer Formen nachweisen lassen; und selbst wenn dies in gewisser Weise der Fall sein sollte, so wird sie doch nicht zu solchen Freiheiten führen, wie Carlyle sie sich gelegentlich erlaubt.[1]) Auch des Autors ganzer Sprachgebrauch lässt nicht auf eine derartige allgemeine Tendenz schliessen, denn bei ihm treten Sonderformen von Adjekt. auf -ward nur zu bestimmten Zeiten, besonders in Fr. Gr. auf, und dann infolge von Analogie zu den zahlreichen Adverbien auf -ward (q. v.)

Die hierhergehörigen Sonderbeispiele sind:

riverward Cr. I. 26, *Franceward* Fr. Gr. III. 221, *lakeward* III. 284, *townward* III. 286, *countryward* IV. 217, *Queissward* VI. 149, *Elbeward* VI. 162, *Strehlen-ward* IX. 225. *king-ward* X. 192. *rightward* L. W.[1] 178.

ζ) -y.

Das ne. Adjektiv-Suffix -y entspricht dem nhd. -ig, und geht über me. -y, -ye etc., auf ae. -ȝ zurück. Es wird im Ae. und in den späteren Sprachperioden sehr häufig gebraucht, um von Subst., einzeln auch von Verben, Adjekt. zu bilden, wobei die Bedeutung ist: „versehen, oder bedeckt mit etwas.“ Man vgl. ae. ȝyltiȝ, hefiȝ, īsiȝ, mōdiȝ, spēdiȝ; ne. guilty, heavy, icy, moody, speedy u. a. Auch an roman. Wörter ist das Formativ getreten: balmy, flowery.

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[1]) Sogar „the *Reichward* Passes“ wagt er einmal, Fr. Gr. IX. 4.

Carlyles Werke, besonders die späteren, bieten eine ganze Reihe von Adjektiven auf -y, jedoch ist nur der geringere Teil von ihnen direkt von Subst. genommen, so *ribbony* Fr. Gr. II. 428, *goitry* Fr. Gr. IX. 111, *goosey* R. I. 128, *blousy* R. II. 227.

Im allgemeinen herrscht bei ihm die Neigung vor, Verba als Stammwörter zu verwenden, wo dann das Adjekt. auf -y ein weniger prägnantes Particip auf -ing oder -ed vertritt. Meist existiert freilich neben dem Verb ein gleichlantendes Substantiv, indessen ist bei den folgenden Formen doch wohl eher das Verb als das Subst. als Grundwort anzusehen: *purfly* M. IV. 95, *flary* M. IV. 207, *raspy* M. V. 307, *croaky* L. St. 160, *sputtery* Fr. Gr. I. 238, *bantery* Fr. Gr. IV. 77, *skrieky* IV. 103, *babbly* IV. 251, *flustery* V. 298/9, *hawky* R. I. 130, *giggly* R. II. 87, *sashy* R. II. 157, *rumbly* R. II. 192.

Ein Verb liegt notwendig zu Grunde in: *jumbly* Fr. Gr. VI. 97, *haggly* R. I. 30, *cheepy* T. C. IV. 280.

2. Adjektiv-Suffixe roman. Ursprungs.

a) -al.

Das ne. Adjekt.-Sufflix -al geht über frz. -el auf lat. -alem zurück, das „gehörend zu, von der Gattung von" bedeutet. Die ersten aus dem Frz. ins Engl. eingedrungenen Adjekt. hatten regelmässig die frz. Form -el, z. B. mortel, doch wurden sie später nach dem lat. -alem zu -al rückgebildet. In grosser Zahl sind solche Wörter auf -al aus dem Lat. oder Frz. übernommen, und unter ihrem Einfluss hat sich der Gebrauch des Formativs so erweitert, dass man es an jedes beliebige lat. Subst. hängen kann; man vgl. documental, marginal, national, providential, Bildungen, zu denen entsprechende Formen im Lat. noch nicht existieren. Nach lat. Vorbilde (vgl. borealis) kann -al auch an griech. Subst. geknüpft werden, so in baptismal, colossal, patriarchal.

Schon im Lat. wurden nicht nur von Subst., wie in den vorhergehenden Fällen, sondern auch von Adjekt. neue Ableitungen mit dieser Endung geprägt, zumal, wenn die primären Adjekt. auch als Subst. gebraucht wurden. Dieser Process ist in den modernen Sprachen sehr erweitert, besonders auch im Engl., wo -al an die verschiedensten Adjekt. lat. Ursprungs

gehängt werden kann, um ihnen eine deutlicher adjektivische Gestalt zu geben. Dieser Brauch ist insonderheit auch auf dem Griech. entstammende Adjekt. auf -ac, -ic, ausgedehnt, wo oft beide Formen neben einander existieren, wie z. B. comic, comical, historic, -ical, tragic, -ical. Weitere Beispiele s. bei Krüger: Schwierigkeiten des Englischen. Dresden, Koch. 1897. II. § 127 f.

Carlyle hat mit diesem Suffix gebildet:

1. von Substantiven: *vestural* S. R. 4, *translatorial* C. G. 233, *scriptorial* T. C. II. 156, *pandemonial* M. V. 203, *accipitral* M. VI. 60, *abortional* Fr. Gr. VI. 33; erwähnt seien auch die dem Franz. nachgebildeten nonce-words *Buddal, Floweral, Meadowal* Fr. R. III. 230.

2. von Adjektiven: *threnetical* M. II. 207, *dyspeptical* S. R. 119, *posterial* S. R. 269.

Die zusammengesetzten Suffixe -acal, -ical sind direkt verwendet, ohne dass ein primäres Adjekt. auf -ac, -ic, vorlag, in *dandiacal* S. R. 263, *drudgical* S. R. 274, *Dryasdustical* T. C. III. 108, (doch findet sich *Dryasdustic* später, Fr. Gr, V. 214).

β) -an.

Die ne. Endung -an, die lat. -anus repräsentiert, hat eine ähnliche lautliche Entwicklung gehabt, wie -al. Im Afrz. wurde -anus zu -ain, oder, nach i, zu -en, wurde auch im Me. ursprünglich so aufgenommen, später aber nach dem Lat. zu -an umgebildet, und ist dann nur in dieser Form gebraucht worden. — Schon im Lat. wurde diese Endung oft an andere angehängt, an -i-us, -e-us so häufig, dass -ian, -ean jetzt nur euphonische Varianten von -an sind.

Das Suffix wird hauptsächlich an Eigennamen angehängt, in der Bedeutung „gehörend zu einem Platze“, wie in American, Russian, oder „folgend einem Gründer, oder einem System“, so in Lutheran, Mohamedan; Anglican, Episcopalian, Presbyterian.

Im ganzen wird man es der Hauptsache nach nur bei wichtigeren und allgemein bekannten Eigennamen verwendet finden, indessen begegnet man im Engl. auch häufig Gelegenheitsausdrücken dieser Bildung, ganz ähnlich den folgenden, die aus Carlyle beigebracht werden mögen: *Brummellean* M.

IV. 101, *Denisian* M. IV. 244, *Neckerean* Fr. R. I. 146, *Lecointrian* Fr. R. I. 332, *Thermidorian* Fr. R, III. 358, *Austinian* L. II. 155/6, *Circean* M. V. 55.

Man wird in den Werken des Autors noch mehrere derartiger Adjektiva finden können, die gegebenen werden aber genügend die Freiheit darthun, mit der er sich dieses Suffixes bedient.

Zu erwähnen ist noch *Pandemonian* S. R. 68, wo das Suffix -an die Herkunft aus einem Orte bezeichnet, und das somit fein unterschieden ist vom genannten *Pandemonial* M. V. 203, wo -al seinerseits wiederum richtig nach dem Sprachgebrauch die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gattung ausdrückt.

γ) -ar.

Auch ne. -ar, < frz. -er, < lat. -arem, hat die frz. Form -er, in der es ursprünglich aufgenommen war, (vgl. me. scoler < afrz. escoler < lat. scholarem), nach dem Lat. rückgebildet. Es bedeutet, wie -al, mit dem es verwandt ist, „von der Art von, gehörend zu", und wird statt dieser Endung überall da gebraucht, wo ein l vorhergeht; vgl. lunar, regular, similar. Sonst gelten für das Suffix im ganzen die für -al gegebenen Bemerkungen.

Besonders zu nennen ist hier nur *atrabiliar* Tr. III. 149, wo die Subst.-Funktion des Wortes wohl der Grund war zur Rückbildung aus dem gebräuchlichen atrabiliary. S. R. 59 wird jene Form dann auch direkt adjektivisch verwendet.

δ) -ary.

Das Subst.- und Adjekt.-Suffix ne. -ary geht über das Frz. auf lat. -arius zurück. Dieses hätte lautgesetzlich afrz. -air ergeben müssen, erscheint aber in volkstümlichen Wörtern aus speciellen Gründen stets als -ier, und nur in späteren gelehrten Formen als -air. Diese Endung ist dann durch das Anglonorm. im Me. als -arie aufgenommen, das ne. -ary gegeben hat, die gewöhnliche Form, in der jetzt neue Wörter nach lat. -arius gebildet werden.

Bei Adjekt. ist der Sinn der Endung „verbunden mit, gehörend zu", wie in arbitrary, contrary, necessary u. a. Eine entsprechende Bedeutung hat das Suffix bei Carlyle in *pamphletary* Cr. IV. 12, und *legationary* Fr. Gr. II. 469.

ε) -ble.

Das ne. Suffix -ble geht über frz. -ble auf lat. -bilem zurück, das von Verben Adjekt. bildete mit der Bedeutung „geneigt zu, geeignet, geschickt zu.“ An konsonantisch auslautende Stämme trat es in der Form -bilem, z. B. vendibilem; nach Stämmen endigend auf a, e, i, o, u, steht -abilem, -ebilem etc. Bei weitem die grösste Verbreitung hat -abilem, > frz. -able, in den modernen Sprachen gefunden, das im Frz. auf Verba aller Konjugationen übertragen wurde, insofern dort alle partic. praes. auf -ant, das aber die allgemeine Form für die partic. aller Konjugationen geworden war, ein Adjekt. auf -able entstehen lassen konnten; man vergleiche frz. périssable, recevable, mouvable. Im Engl. beschränkte -able sich bald nicht nur auf dem Frz. entlehnte Wörter, wie perishable, receivable, movable, sondern es wurde durch Analogiewirkung dann auch an Verba german. Herkunft gefügt, wie bearable, eatable, speakable, wearable u. a.

Diese Anwendung scheint in weitem Umfange einer Formassociation mit dem Adjektiv able zuzuschreiben zu sein, sodass eatable z. B. genommen ist als eat + able = able to be eaten, etc. — Die Adjektiva auf -ble waren ursprünglich aktiv wie passiv. Manche der ersteren existieren noch im Engl., so capable, comfortable, durable, in den meisten Fällen aber ist nur die passive Kraft erhalten geblieben, und das ist auch der einzige Gebrauch von -able als lebendem Suffix, vgl. bearable, eatable, saleable.

Ganz in Uebereinstimmung mit obigen Ausführungen steht die überaus weitgehende Freiheit, mit der Carlyle -able zu zahlreichen Neubildungen verwendet, bei denen stets ein passiver Sinn vorliegt. Er gebraucht es unterschiedslos bei Verben roman. wie german. Ursprungs. Die folgenden Belege mögen genügen:

a) roman. Verba: *furnishable* S. R. 191, *denounceable* Fr. R. II. 92, *undemolishable* Fr. R. II. 319, *arrangeable* (< frz. < dtsch.) L. I. 390, *addressable* M. IV. 126, *studiable* Fr. Gr. III. 361, *displayable* IV. 373, *renounceable* V. 369, *abridgeable* VI. 292, *devotable* T. C. III. 108, *soundable* T. C. III. 266, ja sogar *exclaimable against* C. E. II. 170, mit dem sich in gewisser Hin-

sicht nonce-words wie get-at-able, come-at-able vergleichen lassen.

Zu nennen sind hier auch noch *habilable* S. R. 36, das direkt unter Zugrundelegung von frz. habiller — das Engl. kennt nur habiliment — gebildet zu sein scheint, sowie *decapitable* P. Pr. 205, nach dem vlt. decapitare, da engl. decapitate aus euphonischen Gründen zur Ableitung ungeeignet war.

b) german. Verba: *forgettable* Tr. III. 267, *showable* M. IV. 285, *unrideable* L. I. 295, *awakenable* M. V. 350, *skippable* Fr. Gr. IV. 141, *hoistable* Fr. Gr. V. 219, *bridgeable* Fr. Gr. VII. 193, *shapeable* R. I. 14, *witnessable* T. C. IV. 372, *liftable* L. M. III. 194.

Nach dem Zusammenhange würde man T. C. II. 306 statt *frightable* eigentlich „frightenable“ erwarten, doch liess vermutlich der infolge der Verstummung des „e“ der Endung eintretende ungünstige Zusammenstoss dreier Consonanten das weniger übliche „to fright“ zur Ableitung geeigneter erscheinen.

Die Form -ible tritt im Vergleich zu -able bedeutend seltener, im Frz. z. B. nur in gelehrten Wörtern auf, die noch dazu nicht mit einem lebenden frz. Verb direkt verknüpft sind; z. B. horrible, possible, visible. Wo ein Verb im Frz. existierte, hat, wie gesagt, -able stets die Stelle eines früheren -ible eingenommen. Im Engl. herrscht indessen eine starke Neigung, -ible überall da zu behalten, wo ein lat. -ibilem war oder gewesen sein könnte, während -able bei Wörtern von deutlich frz. oder engl. Herkunft gebraucht wird.

Diese Tendenz gewahrt man auch bei Carlyle in: *assertible* Fr. R. I. 354, *protectible* Fr. Gr. III. 127, *introducible* Fr. Gr. VI. 208, die sich schon durch ihre äussere Form als gelehrte Wörter erweisen. Höchst gelehrt ist auch *leasible* L. W.[1] 236, unmittelbar vom lat. Partic. laesus (Inf. laedere), zu dem das Englische überhaupt keine verwandte Form kennt. Auch im Lat. findet sich ein Typus *laesibilis nicht. — Zu erwähnen ist auch noch die Form *conversible* R. I. 166/7, die wie das Oxf. Dict bemerkt, irrtümlich statt des üblichen „convers*a*ble“ steht. Ein Druckfehler liegt nicht vor, denn einerseits haben die Ausgaben von Froude und Norton die gleiche Form, und andererseits findet sich diese noch einmal bei Carlyle, nämlich

L. M. III. 26. Hier liegt ein Versehen des Autors vor, das seine Erklärung in der undeutlichen Aussprache des unbetonten Suffixes findet.

ζ) -ant, -ent.

Die ne. Suffixe -ant, -ent repräsentieren lat. -antem, -entem, die lautlich eine analoge Entwicklung durchgemacht haben, wie die entsprechenden Substantivendungen -antia, -entia. -antem und -entem ergaben im Afrz. in volkstümlichen Wörtern gleichmässig den Laut ã, graphisch -ant, das demnach die Endung aller afrz. Participien wurde. In späteren gelehrten Bildungen aber unterschied man wie in der Neuzeit a und e nach Massgabe des Lat. Das Engl. hat die älteren frz. Wörter in ihrer gegebenen Form -ant aufgenommen, in jüngeren Entlehnungen aber auch -ant und -ent getrennt, wie noch jetzt bei Neuprägungen der Fall ist.

Infolge der bezeichneten früheren Entwicklung geht nun ein Teil der ne. Adj. auf -ant, ausnahmslos alte, dem Frz. entnommene Wörter, auf lat. Formen mit e zurück, so pleasant, valiant; ein anderer Teil, ältere oder jüngere Bildungen, auf lat. a-Participien, so observant, triumphant; die ne. Adjekt. auf -ent, wie innocent, latent, dagegen sind durchweg spätere gelehrte Bildungen oder Rückbildungen.

Wie bei den Subst. auf -ance, -ence, und aus dem gleichen Grunde, findet sich auch hier bisweilen doppelte Schreibung bei etymologisch identischen Wörtern, zumal wenn ein solches Adjekt. substantivische Bedeutung neben seiner eigentlichen angenommen hat, so dependant, dependent, ascendant, -ent, u. a.

Die von Carlyle geprägten Sonderformen, entsprechen, wie die neueren Bildungen überhaupt, den lat. Typen; so haben richtig -ant: *irrecognisant* Cr. III. 195, und *somnambulant* Fr. Gr. VI. 227.

-ent: *fingent* Fr. R. I. 7, *fremescent* Fr. R. I. 234, *languescent* Fr. R. II. 39, *absolvent* Fr. R. II. 354, *stupent* M. V. 35. Dagegen ist, wie das Cent. Dict. mit Recht bemerkt, nicht korrekt *tremulent* Fr. R. I. 206, wo man tremulant erwarten muss. Ein Druckfehler ist hier kaum anzunehmen, sondern es wird hier wohl ein Versehen Carlyles vorliegen, das vielleicht durch die oben erwähnte Unsicherheit in der Schreibung mancher derartiger Formen mit herbeigeführt ist.

η) -ese.

Die ne. Endung -ese, < afrz. -eis (nfrz. -ais, -ois), < roman. -ēsem giebt das lat. Sufffx -ensem wieder, das „gehörend zu, stammend aus" bedeutete. -ese ist im Engl. das gewöhnliche Mittel, um Adjekt. von Ländernamen (hauptsächlich nach roman. Typus) abzuleiten, so Chinese, Portuguese; desgleichen von Namen fremder, nie englischer, Städte, wie Cantonese, Milanese. Solche Adjekt. können gewöhnlich auch als Subst. gebraucht werden, doch nehmen sie heutzutage nicht mehr, wie früher, im Plural ein s an.

Von diesen Gesichtspunkten aus bieten *Versaillese* Fr. R. I. 333, *Nantese* Fr. R. III. 359, und *Weimarese* T. C. IV. 113, nichts weiter Auffälliges.

ϑ) esque.

Im Suffix -esque erscheint die german. Endung ne. -ish in romanisierter Gestalt. Mlt. -iscum, in dem German. entlehnten Wörtern, (vgl. ahd. -isc), ergab ital. -esco, das im Frz. als -esque aufgenommen wurde und von hier ins Engl. kam. Es findet sich demgemäss in manchen engl. Wörtern, die durch das Provz. aus dem Ital. stammen, so in arabesque, burlesque, Dantesque u. a., wo das Formativ die Bedeutung „ähnlich dem Stile, teilnehmend an dem Charakteristischen von" hat. Besonders zu nennen ist hier nur etwa *Raffaelesque* L. St. 53.

ι) -ic.

Die mit ne. -y verwandte Endung ne. -ic geht über frz. -ique, in gelehrten Wörtern, auf lat. -icus, griech. *-ικός* zurück, ein Suffix, das die Angehörigkeit, Zugehörigkeit zu einer Art bezeichnet. Es findet sich im Ne. sehr häufig, angefügt

1. an Sachnamen, wie in aulic, comic, historic, politic; auch an Eigennamen wie in Babylonic;

2. an Personennamen, so in bardic, Celtic.

Auch von diesem Formativ hat Carlyle zu Sonderprägungen gern Gebrauch gemacht; seltener freilich bei solchen von

1. Sachnamen, wofür nur *gymnasic* S. R. 112, *pasquillic* M. IV. 314, und *Babelic* L. II. 362 zu nennen sind.

Um so öfter hängt er es an

2. Personalbezeichnungen: *menadic* S. R. 267, *Grand-Cophtic* M. IV. 376, *Sansculottic* Fr. R. I. 20, und im Gegensatz dazu *Culottic* Fr R. II. 341, *sans-formulistic* Fr. R. III. 237, und *unformulistic* H. W. 247; auch *gigmanic* L. 385, und sogar ein Adverb *gigmanically* T. C. II. 233 fehlen nicht.

Hierher gehören vor allem noch die mit -ic von hauptsächlich fremdländischen Personeneigennamen abgeleiteten Adjektiva; so z. B. *Zinzendorfic* Tr. I. 332, *Gleichic* Tr. III. 116, [dtsch. „Gleichisch"], *Fixleinic* life Tr. III. 340 [dtsch. „Leben Fixleins"!], *Baphometic* S. R. 163, *Gottschedic* M. IV. 146, *Beppic* M. IV. 335, *Cagliostric* M. IV. 348, *Rohanic*, *Georgelic* M. V. 28, *Lamottic* M. V. 55, *Dryasdustic* Fr, Gr. V. 214.

Die Adjektiva dieser Art, die alle den Charakter von, meist humoristischen, nonce-words in hohem Grade an sich tragen, und bei denen eine Einwirkung etwaiger analoger deutscher Adjekt. auf -isch kaum zweifelhaft ist, bilden einen nicht unwesentlichen Zug in Carlyles Schreibweise.

κ) -ine.

Das ne. Suffix -ine, entsprechend frz. -in, -ine, < lat. -īnus, griech. -*ινος*, bezeichnet die Zugehörigkeit zu dem im Stamme enthaltenen Substantivbegriff, teils der Artung, teils dem Stoffe, teils der Abstammung nach. Nach gebräuchlichen Wörtern wie corvine, vulpine, elephantine, feminine, alpine, u. a. sind von Carlyle auch gebildet super-*hirundine* S. R. 96, und *Rhadamanthine* M. V. 143, das letztere vielleicht im Anklang an adamantine, jedenfalls wohl ohne Vorbild einer Anknüpfung an Personeneigennamen.

λ) -ive.

Ne. -ive geht über frz. -if, -ive auf das lat. Suffix -ivus zurück, das an Stämme von partic. praeter. trat, und Adjekt. bildete mit dem Sinn „habend die Eigenschaft, Gewohnheit oder Neigung", die durch das Verb bezeichnete Handlung auszuführen. Ne. Beispiele sind: active, destructive, diminutive, demonstrative, creative.

Bei Carlyle äussert sich eine Tendenz zu Neubildung vorwiegend bei Verben auf -ate, und zwar aus dem einfachen

Grunde, dass diese unter den nach roman. Stämmen neuabgeleiteten Verben die bei weitem zahlreichsten sind. So findet man bei ihm: *mensurative* S. R. 214, *adumbrative* Fr. R. II. 64, *gesticulative* Cr. II. 294, *assassinative* Cr. IV. 275, *liberative* Fr. Gr. II. 99, *exhilarative* Fr. Gr. VI. 311. Nur ein Fall lässt sich beibringen für Verwendung eines anderen Participialstammes: *subventive* L. M. I. 16, wo aber keine entsprechende engl. Verbform zu Grunde liegt, sondern direkt das lat. Particip subventum, mit Einwirkung des engl. Subst. subvention.

μ) -ory.

Ne. -ory repräsentiert anglon. -orie = frz. -oire, das entstanden ist aus lat. -orius, = -or + -ius, einem Suffix von Adjektiven, die mit lat. Participial-Subst. auf -or verknüpft sind. Es bezeichnet die Ausübung der im Grundverb genannten Thätigkeit als Eigenschaft. Beispiele im Ne. sind circulatory, compensatory, compulsory, rotatory, suasory.

Im Engl. ist bei den meisten derartigen Bildungen der Gedanke an ihre ursprüngliche Verknüpfung mit Subst. auf -or offenbar ganz zurückgetreten, und es sind nicht sowohl diese, als die entsprechenden nomina actionis auf -ion, die die Adjektiva haben entstehen lassen. Dies scheint auch fast durchgängig der Fall zu sein bei den folgenden Sonderprägungen Carlyles, wo, ähnlich wie bei den Adjekt. auf -ive, und aus dem gleichen Grunde, diesmal nur Fälle auf -at-ory zu notieren sind: *mystificatory* M. IV. 351, *negatory* Fr. R. III. 23, *venatory* Fr. R. III. 378, *imploratory* M. V. 47, *liberatory* P. Pr. 356, *vehiculatory* L. St. 67, *cunctatory* Fr. Gr. IV. 288, *testificatory* T. C. I. 417.

ν) -ous.

Ne. -ous geht über afrz. -os, -ous auf lat. -osus zurück, ein Adjektivsuffix, das an Subst. tritt und die Behaftung in einem hohen Grade, oder das Erfülltsein mit dem durch das Stammwort ausgedrückten Begriff bezeichnet, wie z. B. in fabulous, furious, luminous, monstrous. In Analogie zu solchen lat.-roman. Wörtern ist -ous auch an germ. Subst. getreten, z. B. in wondrous, murderous. Wegen der grossen Zahl derartiger Adjekt. im Engl., und ferner infolge der Uebereinstimmung in

der engl. Aussprache von engl. Suffix -ous und lat. Suffix -us, bzw. griech. *-ος*, ist -ous mehrfach die Form geworden, in der solche lat. und griech. Adjekt. direkt ins Engl. übernommen sind; so z. B. in conspicuous, contiguous, obvious, acephalous. Eine Bildung der letztbezeichneten Art liegt vor in *cryptophilous* L. II. 380, während in *roysterous* P. Pr. 140, und *cunctatious* Fr. Gr. V. 389, das einen stärkeren Inhalt hat, als das im vorhergehenden Abschnitt genannte cunctatory Fr. Gr. IV. 288, ein Subst. bzw. ein Substantivstamm mit -ous < -osus verknüpft ist; *majestious* Fr. Gr. VI. 201 ist nach frz. majestueux geformt. Mittelst dieses Suffixes hat Carlyle auch die zur Zeit der ersten Revolution in Frankreich gebrauchten Monatsnamen auf -aire, Vendémiaire etc., und auf -ose, Nivose etc., nachgebildet: *Vintagearious, Fogarious, Frostarious*; *Snowous, Rainous, Windous.* Fr. R. III. 230.

II. Anderweitig gebildete Adjektiva.

Die Fälle, wo neue Adjektiva auf andere Weise als durch Anfügung von Suffixen gebildet sind, sind noch seltener, als die entsprechenden Beispiele für Subst. Es sind ausschliesslich nonce-words, die hier zu erwähnen sind, und sie bieten, abgesehen von *pot-theistic* Fr. R. II. 138 (zu pot-theism), nur Beispiele für Verschmelzung von lat. oder griech. Elementen zu einem Begriff; so in *omnipatient* S. R. 111, nach omnipotent, *mixtiform* Fr. R. I. 341, wie multiform, *preternuptial* M. IV. 238, analog preternatural, *caco-gastric* M. IV. 277, *eleutheromaniac* Fr. R. I. 55, und *eupractic* M. IV. 267, nach eupeptic, statt einer wegen des Simplex practical zu erwartenden Form *eupractical.

C. Adverbia.

1. Adverbia auf „-like".

Die Verwendung des in Suffixfunktion gebrauchten Adverbs like, ae. ʒelīce, zur Bildung neuer Formen scheint in noch höherem Grade als die des gleichnamigen Adjektivs jüngeren Ursprungs zu sein. Eine derartige Erscheinung wird für die neuere Vulgär- und Dialektsprache in zwei Specialabhandlungen über diese Gebiete nachgewiesen. Zunächst sei hier genannt: W. Franz, „Die Dialektsprache bei Charles Dickens". Engl. Studien XII. p. 233 f. — Der Verfasser sagt dort: „Während die Dialekte sehr ökonomisch sind in dem Gebrauch der Ableitungssilbe ly, und, gleichsam um dieses zu sparen, dem Adjektiv die Funktionen des Adverbs aufbürden, verfahren sie höchst verschwenderisch in der Verwendung von like, das ausser Adverbien auch Adjektiven, Substantiven, und selbst ganzen Sätzen angehängt wird. In der Volkssprache ist es geradezu zu einem Schmarotzersuffix herabgesunken, dessen Bedeutung ganz verblasst ist und meist garnicht übersetzt werden kann. Wenn es überhaupt irgendwelchen Einfluss auf die Bedeutung des vorhergehenden Wortes ausübt, so ist dieser ein abschwächender, verallgemeinernder. In gleicher Weise wirkt es auf den Sinn ganzer Sätze; es generalisiert und mildert Aussagen und Behauptungen. Der übermässige Gebrauch dieses like giebt der Rede den Charakter der Unbestimmtheit, Unentschiedenheit und oft Zaghaftigkeit", etc. — Beispiele sind bei ihm u. a. „he says so kind and *soft-like*; it's made Mrs. William rather *quiet-like*; You know Saint Albans Sir? I thought you gave a start *like,* as if you did; Mr. Bucket almost clings to George *like* and seems to be really fond of him",

Einen gleichen Brauch stellt G. Höfer für die Londoner Vulgärsprache fest in seiner Dissertation: „Die Londoner Vulgärsprache“. Marburg 1896. § 56. p. 46/7. Er giebt u. a. folgende Belege: „I stopped quite *permiscus like*; I says *careless like*; it's all chance *like*; I tried it myself for fun *like*; I wanted gathering up, *like*.“

Entsprechende Bemerkungen hierüber findet man auch noch bei Krüger: „Schwierigkeiten des Englischen. Dresden 1897. II. § 142; sowie in Flügel's Englisch-Deutschem Wörterbuch, unter „like, c“, p. 751, col. 3, wo z. B. noch folgender Beleg gegeben ist: „she only waved him away *like* with her hand“.

Vergleicht man nun aber diese Ausdruckweise mit den Carlyleschen Bildungen, so wird man einen sehr wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen ihnen bemerken. In den soeben besprochenen Beispielen aus der Dialekt- und Vulgärsprache hat -like, auch wo es bei Subst. steht, stets einen stark abgeblassten Bedeutungsinhalt, höchstens etwa den von „gleichsam, sozusagen“, und scheint fast ein Vertreter des Adverbsuffixes -ly zu sein, weshalb es auch als „Schmarotzersuffix“ nicht nur an Nomina, sondern sogar an ganze Sätze gehängt werden kann. Bei Carlyle aber hat -like ausnahmslos die volle Kraft des selbständigen Wortes, die das adverbielle -ly, ebensowenig wie das adjektivische, nicht mehr verleihen konnte. Es begegnet bei ihm durchgehends in Verbindung mit Substantiven und bringt einen Vergleich mit dem Hauptbegriff zum Ausdruck, genau wie die Umschreibung „like a, oder like + Vergleichungswort“. Es ist hervorzuheben, dass hier, im Gegensatz zu vielen Adjektiven auf -like, die Beziehung stets eine direkte ist. —

Bei einer so weitgehenden Verschiedenheit zwischen den beiden besprochenen Adverbgruppen wird man kaum einen engeren inneren Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen annehmen dürfen. Für einen solchen Connex würde freilich sprechen, dass Carlyle in Verfolgung seiner Zwecke oft und gern aus dem reichen Phrasenschatze der Familiär- und selbst der Vulgärsprache schöpft (vgl. Krummachers Sammlungen), sowie besonders, dass er in einem ähnlichen Falle (vgl. Kap. 4 dieses Abschnitts) zweifellos eine adverbiale Konstruktionsart aus der Volkssprache übernommen hat. Indessen kann doch

eine solche Erwägung nicht über die inhaltliche Differenz zwischen den beregten Redewendungen hinwegtäuschen, zumal konstatiert werden muss, dass sich in Carlyle's Werken nirgends ein Beispiel findet für die von Franz und Höfer nachgewiesenen echten Vulgarismen. Insofern ist freilich eine gewisse äussere Verwandtschaft zuzugeben als die Existenz der letzteren zeigt, dass die bei Carlyle auftretende Erscheinung des suffixalen Gebrauchs von like durchaus im Geiste der englischen Sprache begründet und daher berechtigt ist, eine Erwägung, die sich ja auch schon aus der analogen Ableitung von Adjektiven entnehmen lässt. Sonst aber hat es den Anschein als ob Carlyle, wohl unter Anlehnung an vereinzelte Vorbilder[1]) und unter dem Druck seiner bekannten Tendenz, zusammengehörige Begriffe zu einem einzigen Wort zusammenzufassen, den beim Adjektiv wohlbekannten Brauch der suffixalen Verwendung von like in weiter Ausdehnung auf das Gebiet des Adverbs übertragen habe.

Bezüglich der Formen selbst ist zu sagen, dass die den Vergleichungsbegriff darstellenden Stammwörter sehr mannigfaltiger Natur sein können; Sachnamen, wie in *whirl-wind-like* Fr. R. I. 8; Tiernamen, wie in *cur-like* Fr. R. I. 107; Personalbezeichnungen, wie in *hunter-like* S. R. 207; oder auch — besonders beliebt — Personeneigennamen, wie *Antaeus-like* M. I. 228/9. — Weitere Beispiele brauchen hier wie bei den folgenden Abteilungen nicht gegeben zu werden, da schon früher, bei Citierung der ausführlicheren Belege die Adverbia auf -like etc. für sich zusammengestellt sind — In *pilâtre-like* Fr. R. I. 63, hat Carlyle das engl. Adverb mit einem frz. Subst. kombiniert, in *indulgent-like* Fr. R. I. 149, liegt nur scheinbar

[1]) Als solche Beispiele mögen die beiden völlig analogen Fälle namhaft gemacht werden, die sich in L. Sterne's „Tristram Shandy" (Ausgabe von 1760 ff.) finden: „he would some time insist upon it, that the horse was as good as the rider deserved; — that they were, *centaur-like*, — both of a piece". Vol. I. p. 39. (cap. X), und: „These, though *hussar-like*, they skirmish lightly and out of all order, are still auxiliaries on the side of virtue". VI. 54. (cap. XI) — Aus Dichtungen seien angeführt: „Not I; unless the breath of heart-sick groans, *Mist-like*, infold me from the search of eyes". Shakspere, Rom. a. Jul. III. 3 (Delius, pag. 87) sowie: „Say, why are beauties ... angels call'd and *angel-like* ador'd". Pope, Rape of the Lock, V. 12.

Verbindung mit einem Adjektiv vor, da dieses hier in substantivischer Funktion steht.

2. Adverbia auf „-wise“.

Englische Adverbbildungen mittelst des als Suffix gebrauchten Subst. wise, ae. wīse, sind erst neueren Ursprungs. Das Ae. kannte wīse nur als Subst., das in Adverbialsätzen mit einer Präposition gebraucht wurde, z. B. on ōþre wīsan. Hieraus haben sich mit der Zeit unter Wegfall der Präposition und Zusammenschluss der beiden bleibenden selbständigen Begriffe direkte Adverbia entwickelt, wie in ne. anywise, likewise, nowise, otherwise u. a., neben der alten Konstruktion „in any wise“ etc.[1])

Zu den Formen dieser Art, in denen der erste Bestandteil ein Adjekt. oder Pronomen ist, stellen sich bei Carlyle die folgenden: *reversewise* M. IV. 219, *conversewise* M. IV. 377, *rearwise* Fr. Gr. IX. 301, *opposite wise* T. C. II. 284 (wo Fehlen des Hyphen wohl nur Druckfehler ist) und auch *left-wise* Fr. Gr. VI. 194. —

Neben solchen Bildungen weist das Ne. noch andere auf, in denen wise mit einem andern Subst. verbunden ist, so coastwise, cornerwise, endwise, lengthwise, sidewise.[2]) Formen dieser Art sind vermutlich gekürzt aus Adverbialphrasen, bestehend aus einer Präposition + einem Substantiv-Kompositum, etwa „in length-wise“ u. a., wie man sie auch noch bei Carlyle findet in den folgenden beiden Redewendungen: *in village-wise* Tr. III. 302, *in Constantinople wise* Fr. R. II. 23.

Die Adverbia dieser Klasse stellen bei weitem das grösste Kontingent unter den Carlyleschen Sonderformen. Man findet

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[1]) Bemerkt sei, das man neben „in no wise“ und „nowise“, u. a., bei Carlyle häufig einer auch sonst gefundenen Kontamination jener beiden Ausdrucksweisen begegnet; so *in nowise* M. IV. 70, Fr. R. I. 239. *in anywise* L. P. 95 u. ö.

[2]) Vgl. auch folgende den Carlyleschen Ausdrücken sehr nahe stehende Bildungen L. Sterne's: „. . . said my uncle Toby, slipping his right hand down to the middle of his cane, and holding it afterwards *truncheon-wise*, with his forefinger extended“. Tristram Shandy VI. 137 (cap. 34), und: „the good abbess and Margarita laid their hands *saint-wise* upon their breasts“. ib. VII. 73 (cap. 21).

-wise gefügt nicht nur an Sachnamen aller Art, wie z. B. *idyl-wise* M. II. 371, *roof-wise* S. R. 15, sondern auch an Namen von Tieren, wie in *sheep-wise* Tr. III. 284, *mole-wise* M. IV. 265, von Personen, z. B. *angler-wise* Tr. III. 316, *soldier-wise* Fr. R. II. 70, ja einzeln sogar an Eigennamen, wie bei *Sardanapalus-wise* M. V. 25, *Werter-wise* M. V. 31.

In den bisherigen Beispielen kommt überall die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von -wise, „in der Art und Weise von", zum Ausdruck. Dagegen hat es in den Bezeichnungen *left-wise* Fr. Gr. VI. 194, VII. 178, und *Kreczor-wise* Fr. Gr. VII. 223, die eigentümliche Funktion, die Richtung nach einer Seite, oder einem Punkte hin anzugeben, steht also gleichsam in Vertretung von -ward(s). So auffällig indessen, und jeder Analogie entbehrend, wie diese Konstruktion auf den ersten Blick erscheinen könnte, ist sie doch nicht. Auch in den oben genannten coastwise, lengthwise, sidewise, drückt das Suffix in gewisser Hinsicht, wenn auch nicht so offen, eine Richtung aus. Dazu kommt noch, dass das Subst. wise in dem abstrakten Sinne von „Weg" ganz geläufig ist, wie denn auch, zumal in der Sprache des niederen Volks, vielfach gleichbedeutende Ausdrücke mit -ways begegnen, das seinerseits in abstrakter Bedeutnng auch die Art und Weise bezeichnet. Beispiele sind endways, lengthways, noways.[1])

Der engl. Sprachgebrauch weist also ähnliche Vorbilder, wenigstens zunächst für *left-wise,* auf, das den soeben genannten Bildungen in seiner Art ziemlich nahe kommt. Hatte aber -wise hier erst einmal so deutlich den Sinn „in der Richtung" angenommen, so war zur Prägung des seltsamen *Kreczor-wise* schliesslich doch nur ein weiterer Schritt auf demselben Wege, zu dem Carl. der Wunsch, bei den gerade damals recht häufig verwendeten Adverbien auf -ward(s) hier und da mit dem Ausdruck zu wechseln, unschwer bestimmen konnte.

3. Adverbia auf „-ward".

Das ne. Adverbsuffix -ward (-wards) geht zurück auf ae. -weard (oder, im adverbiellen Genetiv, -weardes), das an Adverbien oder Präpositionen gehängt wurde, um die Richtung

[1]) W. Franz, Die Dialektsprache bei Charles Dickens, Engl. Stud. XII, p. 232, citiert noch anyways, elseways, likeways, otherways, u. u.

nach einem Punkte hin zu bezeichnen, wie in æfterweard und æfterweardes, hiðerweard(es), ūpweard(es), tōweard(es) u. a.; desgl. im Ne.: afterward und afterwards, upward(s), toward(s) u. a. Auch mit Subst. findet es sich zum gleichen Zwecke verbunden, so in homeward (ae. hāmweard), heavenward, windward u. a. — Wenngleich indessen solche Beispiele im Ne., besonders in der familiären Rede, nicht selten sind, so wird sich doch, wie bei den gleichartigen Adjekt., in der guten Prosa kaum die Neigung nachweisen lassen, diesen Gebrauch von -ward auf alle möglichen Subst. zu übertragen,[1]) wie Carlyle es in weitester Ausdehnung und in höchst charakteristischer Weise besonders im Fr. Gr., so gern thut. Man findet bei ihm -ward in bunter Mannigfaltigkeit gehängt an Sachnamen, wie in *court-wards* M. IV. 265, *sunwards* S. R. 148, an Namen von Städten, englischen, z. B. *St. Abbs-ward,* Cr. III. 34, wie ausserenglischen, z. B. *Glatz-ward* Fr. Gr. IV. 300, *Versailles-ward* Fr. R. I. 209; von Ländern: *Spain-ward* L. St. 37, *Hanover-wards* Fr. Gr. I. 51; ja sogar an abstrakte Begriffe: *ruin-ward* Fr. Gr. IV. 266, und an Personaleigennamen: *Dorn-ward* Fr. Gr. VI. 43, *Browne-wards* VII. 106.

Diese letzteren stellen sich rücksichtlich des persönlichen Stammbegriffs zu den Ausdrücken *to us-ward* Fr. Gr. VI. 243, und L. I. 301, und *to me ward* C. E. I. 202, über die zu sagen ist, dass sie Beispiele sind eines älteren Brauches, nach welchem die beiden Begriffe, die in towards verschmolzen sind, noch selbständigere Geltung hatten die sich auch in der Worstellung

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[1]) H. Höne: Die Sprache des neueren englischen Romans und der Tagespresse. 1888. Programm Nr. 312, belegt auf p. 6: „Clifford Marsden meantime spent *London-wards*“, aus „By Woman's Wit“ by Mrs. Alexander. — Er sagt dazu: „Solcher Zusammensetzungen liessen sich leicht aus den besten Schriftstellern eine ganze Reihe anführen, ob aber London und andere Städtenamen dieser Zusammenstellung fähig sind, darüber lässt sich streiten“. Fähig einer solchen Zusammenstellung sind sie zweifellos, ebensogut wie heaven, home, und andere Ortsbezeichnungen; es liegt hier nur eine freie Erweiterung der üblichen Konstruktion vor, die in der konventionellen Schriftsprache noch beschränkt geblieben ist. Aehnlich freie Konstruktionen belegt Flügel p. 1731, col. 2; nämlich townward, Scott, Lady of the Lake; bridgeward und Londonward, Miss Braddon, Only a Clod. Beachtenswert ist, das l. l. Wendungen wie Paris-ward, parkward, pittieward, schon aus Shakspere beigebracht werden.

to + Pron. oder Subst. + weard (wards) wiederspiegelt. So citiert Mätzner aus Chaucer: to Thebes ward, to Troies wardes u. a., das Cent. Dict. to us-ward, to thee-ward u. a. aus der Bibel. Flügel, p. 1577, col. 2, to their spring ward, Fairfax, unto Paris-ward, Shakspere; und p. 1731, col. 2, to Thedford-ward, Cromwell (bei Carlyle).[1] In manchen Wendungen scheint diese Ausdrucksweise auch heute noch gebräuchlich zu sein, wie etwa in *to eastward, to northward, to southward* u. a., die sich auch bei Carlyle finden, z. B. Fr. Gr. V. 126, 176, VI. 82, VII. 85 u. ö., auch *to landward* Fr. Gr. V. 271.

Die beiden oben genannten Fälle sind aber wohl als Reminiscenzen an die Bibelsprache zu betrachten.

4. Adverbia auf „-way".

Die adverbielle Verwendung des ne. Substantivs way, das in gleichsam suffixaler Funktion mit Ortsnamen verbunden wird, um wie „-ward(s)", die Richtung anzugeben, ist eine der Volkssprache angehörige Erscheinung. Flügel belegt p. 1743, col. 1 u. 2, eine ganze Reihe von solchen Wendungen, so z. B.: „I go in the airy [i. e. area] way", H. Kingsley, Hilly; „saw your trap Tottenham Court Road way", Thackeray, Philip; „I live over Maiden Lane way ... out Holloway direction", Dickens, Mutual Friend; „they're thickest about Tottenham-court Road and Euston Square way". Miss Braddon, El. Vict.; „the coal-miners round about Newcastle way", Mrs. Gaskell, Sylv. Lov. u. a. Auch für engere Verbindung durch Hyphen werden Beispiele gegeben, so: „his first impulse was to turn steerage-way", Mrs. Marsh, Aubrey; „none of his folk Newcastel-way but believed him dead", Mrs. Gaskell, Sylv. Lov.; „him and his aunt come from Carlisle-way", ibid. — Diese Ausdrücke, in denen, wie man sieht, zum adverbialen Objektskasus bisweilen zum Zwecke genauerer Bestimmung eine Präposition hinzutritt, unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich der Bedeutung im allgemeinen nicht von den Adverbien auf „-ward(s)", nur hin

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[1]) Vgl. auch: Spies, Studien zur Geschichte des englischen Pronomens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Halle 1897, p. 124 ff., wo zahlreiche Belege für diese Konstruktion aus den genannten Jahrhunderten, wie auch schon aus dem Ae., beigebracht werden.

und wieder tritt die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des zweiten Kompositionsgliedes etwas deutlicher ins Bewusstsein. —

Mit kühner, und man darf wohl sagen, auch mit glücklicher Hand hat Carlyle, bestimmt durch den Wunsch, im zweiten Teile von Fr. Gr. die häufigen Adverbien auf „-wards" mit anderen, aequivalenten, abwechseln lassen zu können, die besprochenen Konstruktionen aus dem Phrasenreichtum des Volks herausgegriffen und in ausgedehntem Masse verwendet. Freilich ist der Gebrauch von „way" nicht ein so mannigfaltiger wie der von „-ward(s)"; es finden sich keine Beispiele, wo es an Namen von Flüssen oder Personen gehängt wäre. Wohl aber wird es mit allen möglichen Städtenamen kombiniert, so *Sterbohol way* Fr. Gr. VII. 165, *Schweidnitz-way* IX. 187, mit einem Ländernamen in *Schlesien way* VII. 56, einmal auch mit einem ursprünglich abstrakten Begriffe, in *opposition way* X. 114, das sich in dieser Hinsicht zu *ruinward* IV. 266, stellt. Die Erscheinung, dass Carlyle „way" im Anfang stets ohne, später meist mit dem Hyphen setzt, lässt erkennen, dass in seinem Empfinden das Wort infolge der häufigen Verwendung mit der Zeit mehr und mehr seine Selbständigkeit verloren und den Charakter eines Suffixes, wie etwa „-ward(s)" angenommen hat.

D. Verba.

I. Von Repräsentanten anderer Wortklassen direkt abgeleitete Verba.

Am Schlusse des die Substantiva behandelnden Kapitels war bei Besprechung der einzelnen Fälle, wo Infinitive direkt als Subst. gebraucht waren, schon darauf hingewiesen, dass das Engl. in der Vertauschung der Redeteile eine grosse Freiheit besitzt.[1]) Dies gilt ganz besonders und in weitester Ausdehnung vom Verbum, das mit Leichtigkeit aus andern Wortklassen hervorgeht und, im Gegensatz zu Subst. und Adjekt., diese Art Neubildung der durch Suffixe vorzuziehen scheint.

1. Vor allem können Subst. leicht als Verba verwendet werden. Das Ae. bediente sich bei solchen Bildungen gewöhnlich des ableitenden Vokals i, wie z. B. in endian, ebbian, landian, wundrian; in späterer Zeit aber begnügte man sich, infolge der lautlichen Entwicklung der Infinitive, schon früh mit dem blossen Stamm: to end, to ebb, to land, to wonder; analog dann auch bei Subst. roman. Herkunft: to bargain, to experiment u. a. Nach dem Vorbilde solcher Formen hat man darauf zahlreiche neue Verba direkt von Subst. abgeleitet; so to mill, to witness, to worship; to humour, to matter, to nurture. Selbst Eigennamen dienen als Verbum, z. B. to hector; to out-herod Herod bei Shakspere; you look as if you were Don Diegno'd citiert Mätzner aus dem Tatler.

[1]) Vgl. auch Sweet in „A New Engl. Gram.", wo diese „conversion" § 105 ff. besprochen wird. § 106: „The test of conversion is that the converted word adopts all the formal characteristics (inflection, etc.) of the part of speech it has been made into".

2. Auch von Adjektiven leiten sich neue Verba ab. Das Ae. verwendete auch hier oft den Ableitungsvokal i; so in īdlian, openian, wearmian, wo das Ne. wieder dieselbe Form bietet wie beim Adjektiv: to idle, to open, to warm. Analog solchen ist dann der Verbalbegriff direkt auf Adjekt. übertragen; z. B. in to black, to english, to mature; doch findet daneben öfters auch eine Erweiterung durch -en statt, die einem in me. Zeit, durch Anlehnung an aus dem Anord. eingebürgerte Verbbildungen mit dem Suffix -na, entstandenen Typus entspricht. Auch ae. Verben wie fæstnian konnten derartige Vorbilder abgeben. Daher ne. to gladden, to redden etc.

3. Seltener findet sich der bezeichnete Brauch bei Pronominibus, wie in to thou;

4. etwas häufiger bei Partikeln: to hence, to atone, to out; öfters werden auch Interjektionen zu Verben: to holla, to huzza, to hush.

Bei Carlyle findet man diese direkte Verwendung von Ausdrücken anderer Wortklassen als Verben so überaus häufig und mit so weitgehender Freiheit, vor allem bei

1. Substantiven, dass für ihn wenigstens die von Saintsbury an der oben citierten Stelle seiner „History of English Literature“ als übertrieben bezeichnete Ansicht, dass jedes Subst zu einem Verb, und jedes Verb zu einem Subst. gemacht werden könne, in ihrem ersten Teile doch Geltung zu haben scheint.[1]) Kein Subst., engl. oder roman. Ursprungs, ist ihm, zumal in der späteren Zeit, zu ungewöhnlich, dass er es nicht als Verb verwendete. Man vergleiche z. B. noch einmal die folgenden Ausdrücke, bei denen, um allgemeine Gleichartigkeit durchzuführen, stets die Infinitivform angegeben ist, auch wenn

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[1]) Eine gleiche Neigung zu solchen Licenzen hat sich auch schon zu Elisabeths Zeit in der englischen Sprache kundgegeben; cf. Abbot, „A Shakespearian Grammar“, § 290: „it may be said that any noun or adjective could be converted into a verb by the Elizabethan authors, generally in an active signification“. § 292: „The licence in the formation of verbs arose partly from the desire of brevity and force. Had it continued, it would have added many useful and expressive words to the language“. — Zum Vergleich des Vorgehens Carlyle's mit dem Shakspere's seien einige der von Abbot aus den Werken des Dichters beigebrachten Belege hier angeführt: „to disaster, to furnace, to gentle, to god, to lesson, to property (= to treat as a tool), to tongue, to violent“.

bei Carlyle, wie es sehr häufig der Fall ist, nur das part. praes. oder praet. vorkommt: *to my-lord* S. R. 232, zu dem sich stellt *to sir* Fr. R. III. 15; *to clangour* Fr. R. III. 32, *to dishero* M. V. 224, mit dem man vergleichen mag *to diswhip* Fr. R. II. 7, und *to disgig* M. V. 36; *to theoreme, to diagram* H. W. 30, *to corn-law* P. Pr. 37, *to chivalry* P. Pr. 363, *to psalmody* L. P. 14, *to quintessence* L. P. 344, *to parricide* Fr. Gr. I. 154, *to broadside* II. 54, *to embassy* IV. 48, *to laggard* VI. 57, *to melody* VI. 249, *to hussar* VIII. 115, *to biography* M. VI. 242, *to threnody* T. C. IV. 419, *to lawyer* L. M. II. 374.

Obgleich Carlyle die gebräuchlichen Formen to asphyxiate und to subsidise kennt und anwendet, bildet er sich daneben von den entsprechenden Subst. *to asphyxy* P. Pr. 41, sogar auch *to asphyxia* L. P. 212, sowie *to subsidy* Fr. Gr. II. 214; neben *to coalise* Fr. R. III. 97, das er dem Frz. entlehnt hat, findet man bei ihm auch *to coalition* L. P. 12.

Aeusserst charakteristisch für sein Streben nach möglichster Prägnanz des Ausdrucks sind *to ungoddes* Fr. R. III. 284, und mehr noch *to governess* Fr. Gr. I. 394, bei denen Personalbezeichnungen in der Femininform verwendet sind.

Von Eigennamen sind genommen die nonce-words *to-un-Peter* M. V. 143,[1]) und *to out-Blackwood Blackwood* T. C. II. 89, nach dem Shakspereschen to out-herod Herod, das sich bei Carl. Fr. R. III. 8 findet.

Sogar direkt frz. Wörter scheut er sich nicht, in der gleichen Weise zu behandeln: *to monsieur, to citoyen,* nach *to sir*, Fr.

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[1]) Aehnliche Beispiele für derartige freie Behandlung eines Eigennamens werden Carlyle im „Tristram Shandy" aufgefallen sein: „And how many, he would add, are there who might have done exceeding well in the world, had not their characters and spirits been totally depress'd and *Nicodemus'd* into nothing". Tr. Sh. I. pag. 116 (cap. XIX). „Slop to be crucifix'd, — myself to be *tristram'd.*" III. p. 185 (cap. XXXVIII). Das Gleiche gilt für *ça-ira-ing*; ein Vorbild dafür, dass -ing an einen fremdsprachlichen Ausdruck gehängt wird, ist: „A year and a half in learning to write his own name. Seven long years and more *τυπτω-ing* it, at Greek and Latin. V. 140 (XLII); dafür, dass ein Liedername zum Verb gemacht wird: „My father managed his affliction otherwise ... for he neither wept it away ... nor did he curse it, or damn it, or excommunicate it, or rhyme it, or *lillabullero* it. V. 23/4 (III). „Lillabullero" ist die Bezeichnung der von Tristram's Onkel Toby in Augenblicken der Erregung geflöteten Melodie. Vgl. Tr. Sh. III. 35 (X) und IV. 194 (XXIX).

R. III. 15; auch das vom Refrain oder Titel ça-ira geprägte *ça-ira-ing* (ptc.) Fr. R. II. 55 sei hier genannt.

Mit Zuhilfenahme von Präpositionen sind ausser dem genannten to out-Blackwood Blackwood noch geformt: *to contexture* S. R. 64, *to emparchment* H. W. 157, *to enregiment* T. C. II. 206.

Häufig sind auch die Fälle, wo unter der Einwirkung gebräuchlicher Subst.-Composita einerseits und gebräuchlicher Simplicia von Verben andererseits entsprechende aus Subst. (oder Adjekt.) + Verb gebildete Ausdrücke verwendet sind; so *to fire-baptise* S. R. 164 (aus fire-baptism und to baptize), *to nose-ring* Fr. R. I. 157, *to thumbscrew* Fr. R. II. 294, *to constitution-build* Fr. R. III. 392 (von constitution-builder, unter Einfluss von to build), *to day-drudge* P. Pr. 394, (vielleicht auch *to day-dream* Cr. IV. 30, vgl. dort unter „Substantiva", p. 87) *to warwhoop* M. VI. 71, *to animal-magnetise* L. P. 65, *to white-lie* Fr. Gr. III. 343, *to extreme-unction* Fr. Gr. IV. 280, *to case-shot* VIII. 80, *to foot-shackle* L. W.[2] 43/4, *to sea-bathe* C. E. II. 258, *to water-cure* C. E. II. 205, *to play-act* T. C. IV. 385.

Es ist freilich zu bemerken, dass die meisten dieser letzten Formen nur im partic. praes. begegnen, und vielleicht nicht ohne Analogie zu gebräuchlichen Compositionen mit dem betreffenden Verbalsubst. gebildet sind, indessen haben jene Participia doch eine völlig verbale Natur, in derselben Weise wie die ihnen entsprechenden Infinitive.

2. Für Ableitung eines Verbs von einem Adjektiv lässt sich aus Carlyle ein sicherer Beleg kaum beibringen. Genannt seien hier die folgenden beiden zweifelhaften Fälle: zunächst *purblinded* S. R. 214, bezüglich dessen Entstehung die folgenden beiden Annahmen möglich sind: entweder ist direkt to purblind, als verbal behandeltes Adjekt. anzusetzen, oder auch eine Verbindung von pur- (< pure) mit dem einfachen Verb to blind, unter der Einwirkung eben jenes Adjektivs; — und dann *to inarticulate* L. W.[1] 101, wo man verbalen Gebrauch des Adjekt. inarticulate, oder negierte Form des Verbs to articulate annehmen kann.

3. Hierfür findet sich bei Carlyle kein Sonderfall.

4. Als von Partikeln, Interjektionen etc. geprägt sind folgende Ausdrücke zu nennen: *to deuce* (und *to devil*) Tr. III. 412, *to namby-pamby* M. V. 36/7; *to hoo* T. C. II. 213, nach to ha;

to hip-hip-hurrah T. C IV. 174; ferner *to sacre* M. II. 203, und *to sackerment* Fr. R. III. 67, denen frz., bzw. dtsch.-frz. Interjectionen zu Grunde liegen. —

In *to fugle* Fr. R. III. 300, ist das erste Glied des dem dtsch. „Flügelmann“ nachgeformten untrennbaren Compositums fugleman doch losgelöst und auch zur Ableitung eines Verbs benutzt worden.

Eine specielle Eigentümlichkeit Carlyles ist noch die, dass er, ähnlich wie bei dem neben to ha auch sonst wohl belegten Verb to haha (das bei ihm z. B. Fr. R. II. 81 u. ö. steht), zu Zwecken der Lautmalerei die Infinitivform schallnachahmender und ähnlicher Verben doppelt setzt, so in *to tick-tick* T. C. I. 244, *to clank-clank* Fr. R. II. 221, *to tramp-tramp* Fr. Gr. VII. 184, *to clink-clink* R. I. 86, *to march-march* C. E. II. 11, *to dabble-dabble* T. C. III. 270, *to plod-plod* L. M. I. 141, *to clatter-clatter* L. W.[1] 186. Genannt seien hier auch gleich mit die in derselben Weise gebildeten Verbalsubstantiva: *hurra-hurraing* Fr. Gr. IX. 283, *quack-quack-ing* T. C. II. 78, *scribble-scribbling* T. C. II. 296. — Auch *to niddy-noddy* R. II. 208, in welchem -noddy wohl als Ableitung von „to nod“, und niddy- als junge Ablautsform dazu zu betrachten ist, dient onomatopöetischen Zwecken.

Zu bemerken ist noch, dass in T. C. das Hyphen einzeln zwischen den beiden Gliedern fehlt, doch kann es nach Massgabe der andern Belege, besonders derer, die sich in Werken der Library Edition finden, mit Sicherheit als Druck- oder Flüchtigkeitsfehler angesehen und demzufolge ergänzt werden, wie hier geschehen ist. —

Im Vorhergehenden waren Fälle behandelt, wo Carlyle Repräsentanten bestimmter anderer Wortklassen unmittelbar als rechte Verben ganz mit verbaler Funktion gebrauchte. Es sind nun noch zwei Gruppen ähnlicher Formen zu besprechen, die aber ihren verbalen Charakter z. T. verloren, bzw. mit einem nominalen vermischt haben: gemeint sind die Verbalsubstantiva auf ne. -ing, und die Verbaladjektiva auf -ed.

Das dem dtsch. -ung entsprechende ne. Suffix -ing geht über me. -ing, -inge, -ynge, zurück auf ae. -unȝ, seltener -inȝ, das vornehmlich zur Bildung abstrakter Subst. aus Verbalstämmen diente; so ae. blētsunȝ, endunȝ. Ebenso im Ne., wo

es fast an jeden Verbalstamm, german. oder roman. Ursprungs gehängt werden kann: vgl. fighting, wandering, acting, performing u. a. Ihrer Bedeutung nach bezeichnen die Verbalsubst., wie in den genannten Beispielen, im allgemeinen die Bethätigung oder den Zustand des durch den Stammbegriff ausgedrückten Thuns. Einzelne Formen haben jedoch einen mehr oder weniger konkreten Sinn angenommen und bezeichnen das Ergebnis der Thätigkeit, wie z. B. building, gilding, lading; oder einen Kollektivbegriff, der einen die Thätigkeit vermittelnden Gegenstand bedeutet, so covering, clothing, flooring, paling. — Bisweilen können solche Verbalsubst. auch unmittelbar aus Subst. hergeleitet sein, wie z. B. taverning = a feasting at taverns.

Gerade dieser letztgenannte Brauch erscheint bei Carlyle wieder in weiter Ausdehnung verwertet. Mit ganz derselben Freiheit und Häufigkeit, mit der er Subst. und andere Ausdrücke zu echten Verben macht, bildet er von ihnen auch neue Verbalsubstantiva, die sich dann insofern zu den oben besprochenen wirklichen Veıben stellen, als ihnen nach dem Sprachgefühl eben ein rechter Infinitiv zu Grunde zu liegen scheint, als ob demnach die Funktion des Stammworts in diesem Falle eine verbale wäre.

Die Bedeutung der Neubildungen bei Carlyle ist, da sie ja noch keine Entwicklung durchgemacht haben, ganz natürlicher Weise durchgehends die ursprüngliche, das heisst, die der Bethätigung oder des Zustands in der durch den Grundbegriff ausgedrückten Handlung. In den meisten Fällen sind es wieder Substantiva, die das Stammwort bilden. Hierher gehören z. B.:

stair-*pedaling* Tr. III. 391, *musketeering* Fr. R. I. 82, *petarding* Fr. R. I. 138, *artillerying* Fr. R. III. 295, *steamengineing* M. V. 400, *twenty-millioning* P. Pr. 343, *committeeing* Cr. III. 111, *major-generaling* Cr. IV. 145, *eloquencing* L. P. 284, *heroning* Fr. Gr. II. 302, *privy-councilling, war-councilling* Fr. Gr. IV. 138, *bob-major-ing* V. 190, *industrying* VII. 258, *gold-nuggeting* IX. 341, *Pandouring* X. 181, *Comte-Philosophying* M. VI. 362, *radicalling* R. I. 182, *gigging* L. II. 21, *literaturing* L. W.[1] 236; auch das bizzare nonce-word *ten-per-centing* Cr. IV. 277, und *brooling* Fr. R. II. 205, zum onomatopöetischen Subst. brool, seien noch einmal genannt.

Für *correspondencing* Fr. Gr. VII. 297, und *dinner-invitationing* C. E. I. 330 hätten die gebräuchlichen Formen corresponding bzw. inviting zur Verfügung gestanden; die erstere erschien aber Carlyle jedenfalls nicht ausdrucksvoll genug, die zweite kam deshalb für ihn nicht in Betracht, weil er eben das Suffix -ing nach seiner Manier direkt an dinner-invitation fügte, das ihm im Geiste vorschwebte.

Frz. Wörter, adoptiert oder nicht, liegen zu Grunde in *noyading* Fr. R. III. 275, *ça-ira-ing* Fr. R. III. 295, *musketading* Fr. Gr. IX. 320; ein lat. Begriff in *Te-deum-ing* Fr. Gr. IV. 293.

Auch zusammengesetzte Subst., deren zweiter Bestandteil allein als Verb wohl üblich ist, haben neue Verbalsubst. ergeben; so *Ernulphus-cursing* S. R. 164 (vom Subst. Ernulphus-curse, unter Einwirkung vom Verb to curse; (vgl. dazu „Tristram Shandy“ III. p. 31—56 [cap. X. u. XI.] und auch den Beleg L. I. 299 auf p. 74 dieser Abhandlung), *grapeshotting* Fr. R. III. 274, *kettle-drumming* Fr. Gr. V. 220, *schoolmastering* Fr. Gr. VI. 252; wohl auch *horse-charging* Fr. Gr. V. 115.

Adjektiva finden sich zur Ableitung von Verbalsubst. nicht verwendet; Interjektionen haben das Grundwort abgegeben in *tweedledeeing* Fr. R. III. 171, und auch in *sacre-dieu-ing* Fr. Gr. VII. 346.[1]) —

Das ne. Adjekt.-Suffix -ed ist nach Mätzner, der als ae. Form -ed, od, angiebt, nichts als die Endung des partic. praet. der schwachen Verben, die auch an Stämme tritt, von denen keine anderweitigen Verbalformen gebildet sind. Das Oxf. Dict., dessen Angaben auf neueren Forschungen beruhen, trennt jedoch dies Suffix von der Participialendung, und führt es auf eine ae. Form -ede, entsprechend as. -ōdi, aus einem urgerm. Typus -ōđjo, zurück. — Wie dem auch sein mag, soviel geht aus beiden Werken hervor, dass derartige neuere Formen auf

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[1]) *Sacre-dieu* wird wiederum schon von L. Sterne in völlig verbaler Funktion verwendet: „The worst fault which divines and the doctors of the Sorbonne can allege against it, is, that if there is but a cap full of wind in or about Paris, 'tis more blasphemously *sacre Dieu'd* there than in any other aperture of the whole city“. A Sentimental Journey.[2] II. pag. 134. London 1768. Ein ähnliches Beispiel aus demselben Werke ist: „Monsieur Dessein had *diabled* the key above fifty times before he found out he had come with a wrong one in his hand“. ibid. I. 42.

-ed nach Charakter und Bedeutung für das Sprachgefühl wirklichen Participialformen sehr nahe stehen, und dass oft im Ne. die Sprache kein Mittel an die Hand giebt, um beide reinlich von einander zu scheiden. — Wegen dieses also immerhin halbwegs verbalen Charakters solcher Ausdrücke sind sie im ersten Hauptteil auch, ähnlich wie die Verbalsubst., mit unter die eigentlichen Verbbildungen aufgenommen. —

Das Formativ -ed verleiht den Sinn „versehen mit, charakterisiert durch“, wie schon in den ae. Fällen hringede, hōcede, hyrnede; ne. ringed, hooked, horned, sworded.

In der neueren Zeit kann das Suffix ohne Einschränkung an jedes Subst. gehängt werden; so booted, diseased, moneyed, toothed etc.; auch parasynthetische Ableitungen wie dark-eyed, seven-hilled, leather-aproned sind nicht selten.

Erwähnt sei noch die interessante Notiz des Oxf. Dict., dass Johnson in „Gray, Works“, 1779, gegen derartige Prägungen, speciell gegen „the cultured plain“, „the honied spring“ und Coleridge in „Table Talk“, 1832, gegen talented“ (das bekanntlich auch Sterling in S. R. tadelt) „unbegründete Vorwürfe“ erhoben haben.

Bei Carlyle begegnen an Sonderbildungen dieser Art die folgenden: *pillowed* Tr. III. 35, quick-*scented* Tr. III. 255, russet-*jerkined* S. R. 54, keen-*visioned* M. IV. 57, thirty-*staired* Fr. R. Fr. R. II. 80, red-*pustuled* Fr. R. III. 167, many-*engined* H. W. 190, *unfirmamented* P. Pr. 219, supple-*wristed* L. St. 49, *canalled* Fr. Gr. X. 134, *trowsered* T. C. II. 429.

Auch an zusammengesetzte Subst. findet sich -ed gefügt: bei *top-booted* S. R. 96, red-*nightcapped* Fr. R. III. 98, *shovel-hatted* T. C. II. 200, sind die einfachen Formen üblich, nicht so bei *gold-nuggeted* L. W.[2] 43/4. Zu nennen ist auch noch *open-aired* L. W.[1] 272, wo die beiden Stammbegriffe gleichfalls eng zusammengehören.

II. Mit Suffixen abgeleitete Verba.

Die allgemeine Tendenz des Sprachgebrauchs bei Carlyle geht, wie man gesehen hat, dahin, neue Verben direkt von Wörtern anderer Klassen durch „conversion“ abzuleiten, und zwar sowohl von Ausdrücken german. wie roman. Herkunft,

Daneben finden sich aber bei ihm auch noch Sonderbeispiele für Gruppen von Verben, die mittelst bestimmter Endungen gebildet sind; sie treten jedoch rücksichtlich der Häufigkeit beträchtlich hinter den andern zurück.

α) -ate.

Das im Engl. zur Ableitung von Verben verwendete Suffix -ate repräsentiert die lat. Endung -atum des Supins oder partic. praet. der lat. I. schwachen Conjugation auf -are. Für diese auffällige Verwendung des Formativs zu Verbalbildungen im Engl., wofür weder das Lat. noch auch das Frz. einen direkten Anhalt gewährte, giebt das Oxf. Dict. folgende zutreffende Erklärung:

Im 15. Jahrh. hatten zahlreiche von Adjekt. abgeleitete Verba im Engl. infolge ihrer lautlichen Entwicklung dieselbe Form angenommen, wie die entsprechenden Adjekt; nämlich:

1. von Adjekt. abgeleitete Verba engl. Ursprungs; so war z. B. das ae. Verb wearmian durch Verlust der Endung wie das Adjekt. wearm zu warm geworden; und so viele andre.

2. von Adjekt. abgeleitete Verba lat.-frz. Herkunft; so waren clear, humble, confuse die gemeinsame Form für Adjekt. und Verba geworden, entsprechend frz. clair und clairier, etc.

In Analogie zu diesen begannen engl. von lat. partic. praet. genommene Adjekt. im 16. Jahrhundert allgemein Verben der gleichen Form hervorzubringen, z. B. to direct, to separate, to aggravate u. a.

Diese unmittelbar von bereits existierenden engl. Participialadjekt gebildeten Verben entsprachen in der Form den partic. praet. von lat. Verben derselben Bedeutung, und so war es ganz natürlich, dass man sie direkt mit diesen lat. Formen in Beziehung brachte und sie als ihre regelrechten Repräsentanten im Engl. ansah.

Infolgedessen wurde dann dies die allgemeine Methode, ein lat. Verb ins Engl. zu übertragen: man nahm einfach den Stamm des partic. praet. des lat. Verbs direkt als Stamm des neuen engl. Verbs, auch ohne dass ein entsprechendes lat.-engl. Participialadjekt. vorlag. So sind später im Engl. alle Verba dieser Art gebildet worden; z. B. to asseverate, concatenate u. a.

Unter den Verben dieser Ableitung nehmen die auf -ate, wegen der zahlreichen späteren Neubildungen nach lat. Verben auf -are und frz. auf -er hinsichtlich der Menge bei weitem die erste Stelle ein. Daher konnte dann auch gerade bei den Verben dieser Klasse das Engl. infolge von Analogiewirkung mit der Zeit soweit gehen, dass es Formen auf -ate sogar überall da prägte, wo nur immer ein lat. Verb auf -are von andern Wörtern hätte gebildet werden können, auch wenn dies nicht der Fall gewesen war. So hätten z. B. lat. differentia, felicitas, etwaige Verba *differentiare, *felicitare geben können, haben es aber nicht gethan, gleichwohl sind die engl. Verben differentiate, felicitate, capacitate, substantiate u. a. entstanden.

Bei Carlyle sind von derartigen Verbableitungen nur solche auf -ate zu erwähnen, bei denen aus dem oben erwähnten Grunde die Analogie am stärksten zur Neubildung reizen musste. Hierher gehören: *to intensate* M. IV. 262, *to dubitate* Fr. R. I. 150, *to somnambulate* M. V. 25, *to pendulate* M. V. 88, *to vehiculate* P. Pr. 59.

Selbst to *pacificate* S. R. 286, und to *deprivate* M. IV. 12, hat der Autor in Anlehnung an die entsprechenden Subst. auf -ation gewagt, obgleich ihm die durchaus üblichen Formen to pacify und to deprive zur Verfügung standen.

β) -fy.

Die älteren engl. Verba auf -fy sind frz. Formen auf -fier entlehnt, die ihrerseits entweder auf lat. Verben auf-ficare zurückgehen, oder solchen analog gebildet sind. Ursprünglich sind die Verba anf -ficare Ableitungen von einem Adjekt. auf -ficus, später aber konnte das Verbalsuffix verwendet werden, ohne dass eine entsprechende Adjektivform existierte. Diese Verba können nach den drei Klassen der Adjekt. auf -ficus in drei Gruppen geteilt werden, die sämtlich im Engl. durch Lehnwörter repräsentiert werden:

1. Verba von Subst., mit dem Sinn „machen, hervorbringen“, so pacify, edify.

2. von Adjekt., bedeutend „in einem gewissen Zustand versetzen“, so magnify, sanctify.

3. von Verbalstämmen, mit kausativem Sinne, z. B. horrify, terrify.

In den meisten Fällen geht, wie bei Klasse 2, dem Suffix ein i vorher, das entweder Stammvokal, oder Substitut dafür ist; daher ist -ify jetzt die geläufige Form des Suffixes geworden. Es wird nicht allein bei neuen aus dem Lat. entlehnten, oder nach lat. Typen gebildeten Wörtern verwendet, sondern auch frei an engl. Adjekt. und Subst. gefügt, meist mit etwas trivialem Sinn, so speechify, Frenchify, countrify, und auch nicht selten bei noch auffälligeren nonce-words gebraucht, so fishify, hindrify, truthify.

Bei Carlyle findet man das Formativ nur in beschränktem Masse verwendet, zu Sonderableitungen von lat. Adjekt. (Gruppe 2) *lucidify* Cr. IV. 300, und *illustrify* T. C. III. 116.

γ) -ize.

Das ne. Verbalsuffix -ize, (auch -ise geschrieben, und so meist bei Carlyle) geht über frz. -iser, mlt. -izare zurück auf griech. *-ίζειν*. Es wird an Subst. oder Adjekt. gefügt und bedeutet „sein, oder thun, das im Stammwort bezeichnete Ding". Ursprünglich fand es sich nur in Wörtern griech. Ursprungs, ist dann aber später, nach dem Vorbilde des Frz., wo es eine weite Ausdehnung gewann, zu mannigfachen Neuprägungen auch von andern Stämmen benutzt worden.

1. In intransitiven Verben, die übrigens z. T. auch transitiv werden, bezeichnet das Suffix die Bethätigung im Sinne oder nach Massgabe des im Grundwort genannten Begriffes; so criticize, fraternize, moralize.

2. Transitive Verba haben meist eine faktitive Bedeutung „machen zu etwas"; z. B. civilize, generalize, naturalize.

3. In Verbindung mit Personennamen bezeichnet -ize das Handeln nach einer bestimmten Methode; so Macadamize „eine Strasse nach der von Mc. Adam erfundenen Methode bauen."

Von den Neubildungen bei Carlyle gehört zu

1. nur *logicise* H. W. 258.

2. *chrysalise* Tr. III. 372, *visualise* S. R. 51, *tailorise* S. R. 55, *dragonise* M. III. 163, *automatise* M. V. 4.

3. Von einem persönlichen Eigennamen ist abgeleitet das humoristische nonce-word *Emersonize* E. E. I. 217, „nach

Emersons Manier behandeln, beschreiben"; l. c. bedeutet *Emersonized* wohl direkt „von Emerson beschrieben".

Nicht hierher gehört *coalise* Fr. R. III. 97, die Form, in der Carlyle das frz. Verb coaliser (Ableitung vom Subst. coalition, < coalitum, part. praes. zu coalescere) ins Engl. übernommen hat.

III. Verba gebildet mit dem Präfix be-.

Das ne. Präfix be- geht zurück auf ae. be-, bi-, die tonlose Form von ae. bī, ne. by, Präposition und Adverb. Die betonte Form wurde verwendet, wenn das Wort für sich allein, oder in Composition mit einem Nomen stand, die tonlose abgeschwächte Form bei Verbindung besonders mit Verben.

Die Zahl der mit be- zusammengesetzten Verben ist schon im Ae. ziemlich gross; Beispiele sind: belēogan, bewēpan, beþencean, bisēcan, bismerian, besprecan, beȝyrdan u. a. Das Ne. weist, wenngleich manche ae. Composita verloren gegangen sind, infolge vielfacher Neubildungen eine recht bedeutende Menge von solchen Formen auf (Beispiele vgl. später), und auch vor roman. Verba ist die Partikel infolge von Analogiewirkung getreten; so to betray, besiege, bepurple u. a.

1. Die Urbedeutung des Wörtchens war „umher", „herum", die von manchen Verben in verschiedenen Nüancierungen ziemlich genau beibehalten ist; so: to bebind, begird, beset.

2. In Verben wie bedaub, bespatter, bestir, bestrew, verstärkt der Begriff „ringsherum" natürlicherweise den Inhalt des Worts, infolgedessen wird be- mehr und mehr ein einfaches Intensivum, wie in becrowd, begrudge, bemuddle.

3. In anderen Fällen geht die Kraft von be- auf ein Objekt über, und macht ein intransitives Verb transitiv; so in bespeak, belie, bemoan, bewail.

4. Infolge davon wird es weiter gebraucht, um transitive Verba von Subst. und Adjekt. zu bilden, mit dem Sinne „machen zu dem, was der Stammbegriff bezeichnet"; z. B. to bedim, befool.

5. In ähnlicher Weise leitet man von Subst. mit be- auch solche Verben ab, in denen das Subst. in einem instrumentalen oder anderen obliquen Verhältnis steht, so to benight = „mit Nacht überziehen."

Hier sind zwei verschiedene Grundideen zu unterscheiden:

a) „bedecken, umgeben mit“, so: to becloud, bedew;

b) „afficieren in irgend einer Weise mit“, so: to benight, to befriend, to beguile.

6. Endlich wird be- noch häufig vor adjektivische part. praet. gesetzt, wie in bejewelled, bedaughtered, in gewisser Weise auch hier mit der Kraft eines Intensivums.

Da be- noch heute ein lebendes Element ist, namentlich als Intensivum (2), bei der Bildung transitiver Verba von Subst. (5 b), sowie bei der Prägung von Participialadjektiven (6), fähig, überall wo der Sinn es erfordert, präfigiert zu werden, so sind die Ableitungen, in welche es eingeht, praktisch unbeschränkt in der Zahl. —

Ein deutliches und instruktives Bild von der Freiheit und Mannigfaltigkeit in der Verwendung dieses Präfixes erhält man aufs neue durch den Sprachgebrauch Carlyles, dessen Sonderbildungen[1]) sich auf die oben angeführten Gruppen etwa in folgender Weise verteilen:

1. *to bechain* Tr. III. 300, *to begrate* Tr. III. 300, *to besmutch* M. IV. 16, *to betar* M. IV. 342, *to bedrift* Fr. R. III. 161, *to bescour* Fr. R. III. 285, *to begirdle* Fr. R. III. 368, *to bestorm* Fr. R. III. 380, *to becrimson* Fr. R. III. 390, *to betassel* Fr. Gr. II. 234, *to bespin* Fr. Gr. V. 132, *to besweep* Fr. Gr. VII. 392.

2. *to befume* M. I. 204, *to bedupe* M. IV. 341, *to betrample* Fr. R. III. 282, *to bemuzzle* M. V. 136, *to bespout* M. V. 218, *to beslap* Fr. Gr. II. 42.

3. *to betravel, beride, betread* E. L. II. 281, *to bedrum* Tr. III. 19, *to becymbal*[2]) Tr. III. 19, *to beshout* M. I. 242, *to bethunder* Fr. R. II. 159, *to bemurmur* Fr. R. II. 230, *to begroan* Fr. R. II. 340, *to bevomit* Fr. R. III. 166, *to bewhistle* Fr. R. III. 183,

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[1]) Der Charakteristik halber seien auch hier einige Formen mit aufgenommen, die in früher Zeit vereinzelt belegt sind.

[2]) *to becymbal.* Das Oxf. Dict. bringt dies Verb in Gruppe 7 (entspr. hier 6) unter, und zwar fälschlich, denn seine Bedeutang, sowohl in dem von O. D. allein angeführten Belege Fr. R. I. 286, wie auch besonders Tr. III. 19, weisen es unbedingt zu Gruppe 4 in O. D. (hier Gruppe 3), zumal ein intransitives *to cymbal* = „to play on cymbals“, sich Cursor Mundi und Carlyle, Fr. Gr. II. 301, belegen lässt.

to bepilgrim M. V. 263, *to bewelter* Fr. Gr. VI. 108, *to begrunt* K. N. 51.

5 a. *to bespray* Tr. II. 252, *to behorn* M. III. 162.

b. *to betrumpet* M. I. 242, *to befetter* Fr. R. II. 64, *to begift* Fr. R. II. 103, *to bedinner* Fr. R. II. 311, *to beveto* Fr. R. II. 319, *to bespy* Fr. R. III. 191, *to betocsin* Fr. R. III. 380, *to bespeech* M. V. 218, *to besoul* P. Pr. 355, *to betitle* Fr. Gr. II. 234, *to be-tailor, to be-blacksmith* Fr. Gr. VI. 269, *to becopper* Fr. Gr. VIII. 142, *to be-pension* Fr. Gr. IX. 139, *to bequack* L. II. 342, *to bephysic(k)* T. C. I. 235, *to bedrug* T. C. I. 235;

6. *bestrapped* S. R. 20, *bebooted* S. R. 20, *beribanded* S. R. 96, *bespectacled* Fr. R. II. 13, *bespaded* Fr. R. II. 70, *bediademed, becoronetted, bemitred* Fr. R. III. 253, *befilleted* R. I. 33, *be-aproned* T. C. II. 90.

Die grosse Zahl von Sonderbildungen lässt freilich eine allgemeine Vorliebe Carlyle's für Verben der besprochenen Art recht deutlich hervortreten, sodass man nur mit Einschränkung auf fremden Einfluss wird hinweisen dürfen. Indessen wird sich der deutsche Leser bei Formen wie to betread, to betravel, to beride, to befume, to besmutch, to besoul, to beweep, to besing, schwerlich dem Eindruck entziehen können, dass das Vorbild entsprechender deutscher Bezeichnungen zu ihrer Anwendung geführt hat, besonders in den Fällen, wo der Autor aus dem Deutschen übersetzt, oder nach deutschen Quellen arbeitet. —

Wie frei Carlyle sonst auch mit dem Präfix geschaltet hat, und wie seltsam auch manche Formen den Betrachter anmuten müssen, — einige Autoren dieses Jahrhunderts, in dem sich, wie ein Blick auf die Sammlungen des Oxf. Dict. zeigt, überhaupt eine starke Tendenz zur Verwendung dieses Präfixes bemerkbar macht, haben ihn in der Erfindung bizarrer nonce-words doch noch weit übertrumpft. Man vergleiche nur die folgenden Beispiele[1]):

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[1]) Man vergleiche auch: „the souls of connoisseurs themselves, by long friction and incumbition, have the happiness, at length, to get all *be-virtu'd, — be-pictur'd, — be-butterflied, —* and *be-fiddled*". Tristram Shandy II. 19/20 (cap. III).

be-schoolmastered, be-tutored, be-lectured, 1810, Coleridge; be-belzebubbed, Coleridge 1814; be-nightmared, Keats 1820; be-Frenchman'd, becockney'd, W. Irving 1850;

be-Legion-of-Honoured, All Year round 1860; becupolaed, Russel in Times 1861; be-lady-loved, Grosart 1863; be-teapotted, Reader 1866; becupided, Vernon Lee 1883, bemissionaried Pall Mall Gaz. 1884.

Dem allem gegenüber fällt aber bei Carlyle, wie schon einmal betont ist, ganz besonders ins Gewicht, dass es bei ihm fast durchgängig Werke philosophisch- oder wissenschaftlich-ernsten Grundcharakters, und nicht etwa leichte, humoristische, nur für die Augenblickslektüre bestimmte Schriften sind, die derartige Prägungen aufweisen.

E. Negativausdrücke.

1. Formen gebildet mit dem Präfix un-.

a) Das ne. Negationspräfix un-[1], vor Subst. und Adjekt., geht über me. un- auf ae. un- zurück, das dem ahd. nhd. un-, lat. in-, griech. ἀν- entspricht, und „nicht“ bedeutet. Im Ae. wurde es nur vor Subst. und besonders Adjekt. gesetzt, nicht vor Verben (*untrumian* und ähnliche sind Denominativa).

α) In Verbindung mit Adjekt. (inclusive Partic. und Adverbien) drückt un- schlechthin die Verneinung des Stammbegriffs aus. Schon im Ae. sind Beispiele sehr häufig: uncūð, unȝearu, unhold, unnyt, untǣle und viele andere. Im Ne. hat sich seine Verwendung in dem Masse erweitert, dass es vor jedes beliebige Adjekt. oder Partic., engl. oder fremden Ursprungs gesetzt werden kann; so unhandsome, unearthly, unbearable; unending, unedifying, unyielding; untold, unexhausted, unlimited etc. Aus diesem Grunde verzichtet auch das Cent. Dict. auf eine unthunliche Aufzählung aller möglichen derartigen Formen, und giebt nur eine Auswahl der gebräuchlichsten. Es würde demnach ebensowenig möglich sein, noch Zweck haben, wollte man hier eine längere Liste von ihnen aus Carlyle anführen, mit dem Anspruch neue Bildungen beizubringen.

Es mögen nur kurz einige wenige wiederholt werden, die vielleicht minder häufig vorkommen und irgendwie charakteristisch sind. Im übrigen werden die recht ausgiebig citierten ausführlichen Belege in Hauptteil I. gewisse Freiheiten und Eigenheiten in Carlyles Sprachgebrauch nach dieser Seite hin zur Genüge erkennen lassen.

unterrific S. R. 116, *undelightful* Fr. R. II. 61, *ungorgeous* Fr. R. II. 231, *unredoubtable* Fr. R. III. 73, *unvaliant* H. W. 235, *unserious* P. Pr. 211, *unarchitectural* P. Pr. 246, *unexpress* L. St. 36, *unimpressible* Fr. Gr. I. 88, *unbusinesslike* R. I. 337.

unslumbering S. R. 51, *unmarching* Fr. R. II. 293, *unshrieking* Fr. R. III. 337, *uncommunicating* M. V. 20, *unadmiring* Fr. Gr. I. 171, *unattacking* Fr. Gr. VI. 166, *unhoping* R. I. 100.

undisarmed M. II. 377, *unguillotined* Fr. R. I. 178, *unbattered* Fr. R. III. 71, *unastonished* H. W. 228, *unasphyxied* P. Pr. 282, *unindexed* Fr. Gr. II. 441.

Erwähnt mögen noch werden *unbound up* S. R. 74, *unintruded on* M. V. 40, wo mit Präpositionen verbundene Participia negiert sind, sowie *too unacknowledged* L. M. I. 40, wofür man wohl eher too little acknowledged erwarten sollte.

β) Im Ae. ist un-[1] auch vor Subst. durchaus üblich. Es drückt da das Gegenteil, oder auch die Abwesenheit oder Unvollständigkeit des Hauptbegriffs aus.

Beispiele sind: uncræft, unfrið, unhǣlo, unrǣd, untīma, untrēowð u. a.

Im Ne. ist aber die Zahl der mit un-[1] zusammengesetzten Subst. sehr zusammengeschmolzen, und kaum in einigen german. Nachbildungen erhalten: untruth, unfriend (veraltet und dialektisch), unrest, unbelief, unwisdom.

Carlyle hat jedoch un-[1] des öfteren auch vor Subst. gesetzt, zumal wenn die positive Form der negativen gegenüberstand, und hier kann man mit Recht von einer auffallenden Freiheit in seiner Sprache reden.

Man vergleiche z. B. die folgenden Formen:

Unchristian Tr. III. 405, *unphilosopher* M. II. 274, *Un-German* M. III. 95, *unthinker* Fr. R. I. 146, *unveracity* H. W. 47, *unworker* P. Pr. 8, *un-law* P. Pr. 27, *unheroism* Cr. I. 84, *Unsaint* L. P. 367, *Ungermanism* Fr. Gr. II. 254, *unvalour* M. VI. 186, *unembarrassment* R. II. 236.

b) Von diesem Präfix etymologisch verschieden ist dasjenige, welches man mit Verben, die aus dem Ae. herübergekommen sind, verbunden findet. Dies un-[2] geht über me. un- (seltener on-) auf ae. on-, an-, un-, zurück, das ahd. int-, nhd. ent-, entspricht. Es bedeutet im Ae. oft „rück-, zurück-",

und bringt die Umkehrung oder Annullierung der Handlung des einfachen Verbs zum Ausdruck.

Ae. Verba dieser Art sind onbindan, onlēosan, onlūcan, untȳȝean; ne. unbind, unloose, unlock, untie; unwind etc.

Auch vor roman. Formen ist un-[2] durch Analogie später gesetzt worden: to unarm, unbutton, unchain.

Im Ne. lassen sich wegen mannigfaltiger Berührungspunkte in der Bedeutungsentwicklung, z. B. bei den Participien, die beiden un- (d. h. un-[1] und un-[2]) bei Neubildungen nicht immer genau scheiden.

Einige interessante Formen begegnen auch hier wieder bei Carlyle. Dem Sinne nach ist un-[2] anzunehmen in:

to unpucker S. R. 25, *to unrepent* M. IV. 386, *to unconfirm* P. Pr. 108, *to unassert* M. VI. 19, *to uncurtain* Fr. Gr. III. 219, *to unbottle* Fr. Gr. IV. 211, *to unplug* Fr. Gr. VIII. 41, *to unforce* C. E. I. 101; auch in *to ungoddess* Fr. R. III. 284, und *to un-Peter* M. V. 143, die in Teil I D genannt sind.

2. Formen gebildet mit dem Präfix in-.

Das Negationspräfix in- ist die lat.-roman. Entsprechung von german. un-[1], und bedeutet wie dieses „nicht, ohne". Es findet sich im Engl. kaum weniger häufig als un-[1], ist aber hauptsächlich auf Wörter roman. Herkunft beschränkt, und nur selten auch auf german. Ausdrücke ausgedehnt. Häufig ist bei naturalisierten roman., seltener latein. Wörtern un-[1] neben in- getreten, so incertain (veraltet), uncertain; inapt, unapt; incautious, uncautious (veraltet), doch wird in der Regel nur in- gebraucht, wo der Zusammenhang mit dem Lat. noch deutlich fühlbar ist, und bei Neubildungen nach lat. Typen.

Die Partikel steht vor

1. Subst.: inexertion, inequality, ingratitude, injustice.
2. Adjekt.: inanimate, incredulous, inopulent.
3. Verben: to incapacitate, to inexist, to inquiet (die beiden letzten jetzt veraltet).

Ueber Besonderheiten an solchen Kompositis bei Carlyle lässt sich noch weit weniger sagen, als hinsichtlich derer mit un-[1].

An Subst. sind nur zu nennen *insomnolency* Tr. III. 100, dessen deutsche Nachbildung ein Ausdruck wie „Unschläfrigkeit"

sein würde, und *incloquence* P. Pr. 120; an Adjekt. höchstens etwa *insalvable* L. P. 82, das vom Cent. Dict. als „rare“ bei Middleton belegt wird, und *irrecognisant.* Cr. III. 195. Auffällig aber ist das Verb *to inarticulate* L. W.[1] 101, das man jedoch wohl weniger als Negativform zum Verb to articulate, denn als verbal gebrauchtes negatives Adjekt. inarticulate, aufzufassen hat.

3. Formen gebildet mit dem Präfix non-.

Der Gebrauch von lat. non „nicht“ als Negationspräfix im Engl. ist aus dem Frz. übernommen, wo er häufig ist, während das Lat. selbst nur wenige Komposita dieser Art aufweist. Das Engl. verwendet es noch öfter als das Frz., trotzdem es doch sonst keinen Mangel an privativen Partikeln hat.

Von un- unterscheidet sich non- hinsichtlich der Bedeutung insofern, als es die blosse Verneinung oder Abwesenheit des Hauptbegriffs bezeichnet, während un- oft das Gegenteil desselben zum Ausdruck bringt.

Die engl. Zusammensetzungen (fast ausschliesslich Subst. und Adjekt.), beschränken sich nicht auf roman. Wörter, wie z. B. non-entity, non-execution, non-appearance, non-joinder; non-essential, non-conforming, non-contagious etc., sondern erstrecken sich auch auf german., so non-fulfiment, non-sparing, zumal im leichten Tone der Umgangssprache: non-smokers, non-talkers, u. ä.

Im Ganzen ist der Gebrauch von non- im Engl. vielfach willkürlich, und richtet sich nach den Umständen; dies ist auch der Fall bei Carlyle, der die Partikel besonders gern bei Gegenüberstellung eines negativen und eines positiven Ausdrucks verwendet.

Als Beispiele mögen dienen:

1. Subst.: *non-defeat* Fr. R. I. 56, *Non-Admiral* Fr. R. I. 60, *non-steerage* Fr. R. III. 393, *non-greatness* M. V. 227, *non-flunky* P. Pr. 44, *non-veracity* L. P. 193, *non-treaty* Fr. Gr. V. 298, *non-surprisal* VIII. 385.

2. Adjekt. *non-electing* Fr. R. II. 46, *non-extant* Fr. R. III. 173, *non-notarial* M. V. 113, *non-constabulary* M. VI. 60, *non-haranguing* Fr. Gr. IV. 43, *non-spiritual* Fr. Gr. IV. 264.

4. Formen gebildet mit no-.

Die Verwendung des ne. Pronomens „no", ae. nān, „kein", zur Prägung von Negativausdrücken der bei Carlyle belegten Art begegnet im Neuenglischen hier und da in „nonce-use". Als schriftgemässe Analoga könnte man Formen wie nobody, nothing, nowhere, nowhither, anführen, in denen das früher meist noch getrennt geschriebene Pronomen mit der Zeit dem Hauptbegriff angewachsen ist. Doch scheinen die gleich zu erwähnenden ne. Neubildungen wohl kaum in Anlehnung an diese entstanden zu sein. Belege für solche giebt Flügel in seinem Wörterbuch, unter „no", p. 866, col. 1. Genannt seien z. B. die folgenden: „we are not to leave our duties for *no duties*", Milton, Iconocl.[1]) „this nominally *no tax* in reality comprehends all taxes", Burke; „the court dress of George the Second's reign, with its *no collar,* large sleeves", Scott, Waverley; „though he had no eyes ... appeared ... to open and shut his *no eyes*", Dickens, Mut. Friend; „a satire on British „*no-art*", Fras. Mag. 1850; „a ... white-hatted, *no-coated* cabman", Dickens, Sketches; „such is the strange and fatal *no-logic* of speculation", Reade, It is never etc.; „shut up alone with their own *no-minds*", Reade, l. c.; „to establish a *no-protectorate,* instead of a joint protectorate", Bentley's Misc. 1854.

Von solchen Bildungen hat nun Carlyle einen mit der Zeit immer ausgedehnteren Gebrauch gemacht, sodass sie später ein wesentliches Charakteristicum seiner Sprache geworden sind. Im Anfang erhält man bei fast jedem einzelnen Falle den Eindruck, als ob der Autor sich der Ungewöhnlichkeit seiner Ausdrucksweise bewusst sei und sie absichtlich gewählt habe zur Erzielung besonderer Nachdrücklichkeit, verbunden mit einem gewissen komischen Nebeneffekt. Nach und nach aber tritt, je häufiger die bezeichneten Wendungen auftauchen, jene Empfindung immer mehr zurück. Ein specieller Charakter-

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[1]) Ein anderes Beispiel aus dem 17. Jahrhundert ist:

> They fight for no espoused Cause ...
> Nor for the Church, nor for Church-lands
> To get them in their own *no-hands.*

Sam. Butler, Hudibras, Canto I, p. 33 (Ausgabe Chiswick, 1818).

zug an ihnen ist, dass der Autor sich ihrer vorzugsweise bedient, um einen Gegensatz zu markieren; von ca. 62 notierten Fällen liegt nur in etwa 13 keine direkte Gegenüberstellung des positiven und des negativen Begriffes vor, und der grössere Teil von ihnen findet sich in den späteren Schriften, wo die Verwendung solcher Formen Carlyle zur Gewohnheit geworden war.

Die Vorsilbe selbst hat bei ihm in ziemlich hohem Grade ihre ursprüngliche Selbständigkeit verloren. In den aus anderen Werken citierten Beispielen war „no" bald durch Hyphen mit dem Hauptbegriff verbunden, bald nicht, je nachdem im Zusammenhange des Satzgefüges der Charakter als Pronomen für das Empfinden des Schreibenden stärker oder schwächer zum Ausdruck kam. Carlyle setzt das Hyphen ausnahmslos und deutet damit an, dass er „no" schon als untrennbare Partikel, also gleichsam als Präfix, auffasst. Andererseits sei indessen darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass eine Konstruktion wie *„no-love at all"* H. W. 52, einmal recht klar auf Ueberwiegen der alten pronominalen Natur hinweist.

Bezüglich der Kraft dieses Kompositionselementes ist zu sagen, dass es in der Bedeutung von etwa deutsch „Un-, Nicht-" meist eine starke Verneinung des Grundbegriffs zum Ausdruck bringt, die aber bisweilen merklich zur einer schwächeren Bedeutung, etwa „schlecht, gering", hinneigt und dann im Ganzen nur ziemlich unbestimmt wirkt. Im allgemeinen wird man dem Grundinhalt solcher Formen am nächsten kommen, wenn man sie auflöst, und zwar in einer Weise, bei der die ursprüngliche pronominale Natur des Präfixes zur Geltung kommt; etwa: „in that *no-fashion*" S. R. 60 = „in dieser Art und Weise, die im Grunde überhaupt gar keine Art und Weise ist". Dass eine solche Auflösung vorzunehmen ist, wird auch angedeutet durch die schon genannte Konstruktion *„no-love at all"* H. W. 52, = „a love that is no love at all". —

Entsprechend seiner eigentlichen Funktion als Pronomen tritt no- auch bei Carlyle fast ausschliesslich vor Subst., und zwar, gerade wie ein Pronomen sonst, vor Subst. jeglicher Art, german. wie roman., vor solche, die Dinge, wie vor solche, die Personen bezeichnen. Man vergleiche: *no-meaning* M. I. 63,

no-world S. R. 161, *no-fashion* S. R. 60, *no-practice* M. IV. 172, *no-man* S. R. 101, *no-worker* P. Pr. 348, *no-chief* P. Pr. 320, *no-general* Fr. Gr. VII. 285 etc. etc.

Auf einige Fälle besonders freien Gebrauchs von Ausdrücken mit no- ist schon früher hingewiesen worden. Speciell erinnert sei noch einmal an die interessanten Wendungen *Ludwig No-Skin* Fr. Gr. I. 224 = dtsch. „Ludwig ohne Haut“, und *No-Maid of Dishonour* Fr. Gr. I. 450, als Gegensatz zu Maid of Honour, wo die Negation nachdrücklich zweimal zum Ausdruck kommt, und wo man eigentlich, da doch Maid of Honour ein Begriff ist, No-Maid of Honour erwarten sollte. — Eine von den anderen verschiedene Konstruktion liegt vor in „this *No-god* hypothesis“ P. Pr. 172, in die Carlyle die Phrase „this hypothesis, saying that there is no God“ zusammengezogen hat.

In einem einzigen Beispiel hat er no- auch vor ein Adjekt. gesetzt, in *no-godlike,* M. V. 423, als Gegensatz zu godlike; hier bezieht sich no- in der That auf den ganzen Begriff godlike und betrifft nicht etwa das erste Kompositionsglied god- allein.

5. Formen gebildet mit not-.

Auch für Negativbildungen dieser Art bringt Flügel in seinem Wörterbuch, unter „not II“ einige Belege, unter ihnen aber nur einen einzigen aus der neuesten Zeit. Es sind die folgenden: he'll answer nobody; he professes notanswering. Shakspere, Troil. a. Cr. [Delius, p. 79, schreibt not answering, bemerkt aber dazu: „not answ. ist ein Begriff: das Nichtantworten ist sein Beruf“]; she was often cited by them, but appear'd not: and ... for not-appearance ... she was divorc'd. Shaksp. Henry VIII. [Delius, p. 91]; you shall hear The legion, now in Gallia, sooner landed In our not-fearing Britain, than have tidings Of any penny tribute paid. Shaksp. Cymb., [Delius, p. 50]; Excuse my not-attendance upon you. Cromwell (bei Carlyle); if their heroism is to consist in their being not-men. Kingsley, Yeast.

Die Formen entsprechen in der Bedeutung genau den mit dem lat.-frz. „non-“ gebildeten Kompositis, die in Abschnitt 3 dieses Kapitels besprochen sind. Wie die genannten Beispiele zeigen, wird „not-“ nicht nur vor german., sondern auch vor

roman. Stammwörter gesetzt, ist also insofern z. T. ein Vertreter von „non-", dessen aus dem Frz. übernommene häufige Verwendung auch wohl der Grund ist, weshalb das erstgenannte Wort so selten in der gleichen Funktion erscheint.

In drei von den vier bei Carlyle zu nennenden Fällen, nämlich in *not-free* L. P. 49, *not-right* Fr. Gr. III. 94, und *not-dead* Fr. Gr. V. 341, ist „not-" mit einem Subst., bzw. Adjekt. germanischer Herkunft verbunden, wo nach dem Sprachgebrauch „non-" nicht recht am Platze gewesen wäre. Motiv für den engen Zusammenschluss der Kompositionsglieder ist, dass die negative Form hier jedesmal in Gegenüberstellung zur positiven sich befindet, ein Umstand, der einen einheitlichen Gesamtbegriff erforderte (vgl. auch p. 212, die Bemerkung zu *„not that"*, L. P. 164). Beide Punkte fallen aber fort bei dem ganz vereinzelt schon in früher Zeit auftauchenden *not-inconsiderable* S. R. 266, wo gegen die Vermutung, dass ein Druckfehler vorliege, nur die attributive Stellung des Worts zwischen Artikel und Substantiv als Grund für die Setzung des Hyphens sich eventuell geltend machen liesse.

6. Formen gebildet mit dem Präfix dis-.

Das ne. Negationspräfix dis- geht über das Frz. auf lat. dis- zurück. Diese Partikel ergab im Afrz. in volkstümlichen Wörtern lautgesetzlich des-, und hat sich nach Verstummen des -s- zu nfrz. dé- entwickelt. In gelehrten Formen aber wurde dis- im Afrz. gewöhnlich beibehalten, und unter dem Einfluss solcher Fälle wurde dann dis- auch mehrfach wieder für des- in volkstümlichen Wörtern substituiert oder neben ihm gebraucht. Auch die frühme. aus dem Frz. entlehnten Formen weisen entsprechend des- und dis- auf, aber noch vor Schluss der me. Periode wurde dis-, dys- gleichmässig durchgeführt, während des- veraltete, oder nur in wenigen Fällen, in denen seine Natur nicht mehr genau erkannt wurde, wie descant, blieb.

In der Verwendung von dis- als etymologischem Element, wie als lebendigem Präfix, lassen sich mannigfache Bedeutungen unterscheiden. Hier werden nur die von dis- als produktivem Formativ mit privativer Kraft anzuführen sein.

1. dis- bildet Verbalkomposita (mit ihren Ableitungen, Subst., Adjekt. etc.) in dem Sinne, dass es die Handlung oder

Wirkung des Simplex aufhebt oder umkehrt; z. B. to disaffect, disaffirm, disestablish, disown.

2. Mit Subst. bildet es Verben (mit ihren Partic., Adjekt. etc.) in den Bedeutungen

a) frei machen von einer Sache (die durch das betreffende Subst. bezeichnet wird); so to discloud, dispeople.

b) des Ranges, des Titels, etc., berauben: to disbishop, disman.

c) treiben, verdrängen von einem Aufenthaltsort: to disbar, disbosom.

3. Mit Adjekt. bildet es Verben, die ausdrücken, dass die durch das Adjekt. genannte Eigenschaft umgekehrt wird: to disable.

4. Mit einem Subst. prägt es ein neues Subst., das das Gegenteil oder das Fehlen des genannten Dinges bezeichnet: disease, dishonour.

5. Durch Präfigierung vor ein Adjekt. bildet es mit negativer Kraft neue Adjekt.: dishonest.

Bei Carlyle finden sich nur für die Gruppen 1, 2, 5 Sonderfälle, die sich folgendermassen verteilen:

1. *to disindenture* M. IV. 256, *dislegitimate* Fr. Gr. VI. 207, *disattaint* Fr. Gr. IX. 209.

2 a) *to disblossom* Tr. III. 351, *disapron* S. R. 103, *disroof diswindow* Fr. R. III. 303, *dispowder* Fr. Gr. III. 189.

Auch die schon unter D genannten Verba *to dishwip* Fr. R. II. 7, *disfrock* Fr. R. II. 26, gehören hierher.

b) *to dishero* M. V. 224;

c) *to disgig* M. V. 36, beide gleichfalls schon früher genannt.

5. *discorporate* M. IV. 242, *disorganic* Cr. IV. 147.

7. Formen gebildet mit dem Präfix mis-.

Das ne. Negationspräfix mis- stammt aus zwei verschiedenen Quellen.

a) In alten aus dem Ae. herübergekommenen Wörtern geht mis-[1] auf ae. mis-, entsprechend got. missa-, ahd. missa-, missi-, nhd. miss-, zurück, das „verkehrt, irrig" bedeutet. Es wird im Ae. wie im Ne. vor Subst. und Verba gesetzt, z. B. misdǣd, misrǣd, misdōn, mislǣdan; misdeed, misdo, wiswrite, etc.

b) In alten aus dem Frz. übernommenen Ausdrücken geht das Präfix (mis-²) über me. mes-, mis-, und afrz. mes- (nfrz. mé-) auf lat. minus „weniger", das im Roman. als Pejorativ- oder Negationspräfix verwendet wurde, zurück; so in miscount, mischance, mischief etc.

Aber schon im Me. ist das romanische mes- in vielen Fällen mit dem englischen mis-¹ vertauscht und allmählich ganz von ihm verdrängt worden, sodass in allen neueren Bildungen, auch in den von roman. Wörtern, nur noch mis-¹ vorkommt; so misguide, misemploy, misdirect, misconjecture etc.

Dasselbe ist demnach auch der Fall mit den Sonderbildungen, die aus Carlyle zu notieren sind, so von

1. Subst.: *miseducation* S. R. 116, *mistone* M. III. 18, *misbirth* M. IV. 336, *misattainment* M. V. 291, *misendeavour* M. V. 387, *mispursuit, misresult* L. St. 69, *misgovernor* Fr. Gr. IV. 266, *mis-title* VI. 242, *misprinter* VII. 246, u. a.

Von den Ausdrücken zeigen mistone und misbirth grosse Aehnlichkeit mit deutschen Wörtern; misventure E. L. I. 21, neben dem Carlyle übrigens auch das richtige misadventure hat, ist insofern fälschlich gebildet, als die Partikel ad- untrennbar zum Wort gehört, und nicht etwa in dem Sinne von „wohl, gut" steht.

2. Verba: *to miscultivate* M. III. 97, *misedit* Cr. I. 6, *mistreaty* Cr. III. 97, *misaddress* Cr. IV. 162, *mistill* L. P. 54, *miscopy* L. P. 299, *mismelt* L. P. 349, *misdeliver* Fr. Gr. II. 209.

8. Formen gebildet mit dem Suffix -less.

Das dem dtsch. -los entsprechende ne. Negationssuffix -less geht über me. -lĕs zurück auf ae. -lēas, das, ursprünglich ein selbständiges Adjekt., im Ae. auch schon als Suffix gebraucht wird. Es wird fast ausschliesslich an Subst. gehängt und bildet Adjekt. mit privativer Bedeutung; z. B. ae. endelēas, līflēas; ne. endless, lifeless. In späteren Perioden sind viele Neubildungen entstanden, durch Analogiewirkung auch von roman. Subst., und im Ne. kann es an jedes Subst. gehängt werden, von dem ein Fehlen oder Mangeln behauptet werden soll; so bootless, windless, artless, labourless etc.

Bei Carlyle sind kaum viel Sonderbildungen zu nennen; ausser den auffälligeren nonce-words *gig-less* L. II. 56, *Goody-*

less T. C. II. 184, *gibbetless* C. E. II. 26, seien noch erwähnt *signless* S. R. 248, *taskless* M. V. 422, *indexless* Fr. Gr. II. 471, *provisionless* Fr. Gr. V. 112, *invoiceless* C. E. I. 264.

Die vorhergehende Untersuchung der Formen nach der grammatischen Seite hin hat ergeben, dass Carlyle bei ihrer Bildung im grossen und ganzen in Uebereinstimmung mit den durch den Sprachbestand gegebenen Normen verfahren ist. Indessen fehlt es nicht an, manchmal recht auffälligen, Abweichungen, die sich jedoch zumeist durch bestimmt nachweisbare Motive haben erklären lassen. Abgesehen vom Verbum, bei dem die direkte Wortableitung („conversion“) bevorzugt wird, sind Präfixe und besonders Suffixe das Hauptmittel zur Wortbildung, ohne dass dabei jedoch an Beispielen Mangel wäre, wo andere Faktoren wirksam gewesen sind. — Bei der bekannten hohen Zugänglichkeit Carlyle's für Analogiewirkungen kann es nicht befremden, dass auch andere Sprachen nicht selten seinem Stil ihr charakteristisches Gepräge aufgedrückt haben. Das gilt ganz besonders vom Deutschen. Hier wirkten zusammen einmal seine Verwandtschaft mit dem Englischen, dann des Autors persönliche Vorliebe für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, und endlich in besonders hohem Grade auch der Umstand, dass Carlyle sich mit ihnen gerade in seiner Jugendzeit schon beschäftigte, wo er für fremde Eindrücke besonders empfänglich sein musste. So macht sich denn deutscher Einfluss auf dem behandelten Gebiete seiner Schreibart geltend nicht nur durch direkte Uebersetzungen wie *dwarfdom* Tr. II. 300, *forgettable* Tr. III. 267, *to chrysalise one's self* Tr. III. 372, *sheepwise* Tr. III. 284, *Unchristian* Tr. III. 405, u. a., — durch frappante Anklänge an deutsche Ausdrücke, wie *mistone* M. III. 18, *misbirth* M. IV. 336, *pair-wise* M. III. 160, *to fantasy* M. V. 298, *to misluck* M. VI. 262, — sondern ganze Klassen von Wörtern erweisen sich als Germanismen, so besonders die Personalsubstantiva auf *-ess,* die Diminutiva auf *-kin* und *-ling,* z. T. auch die Adjektiva auf *-ic, -ish,* und verschiedene der Verbbildungen mit *be-,* wie z. B. *besouled* P. Pr. 355.[1])

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[1]) Auf solche Fälle der Wortbildung allein ist natürlich der Einfluss des Deutschen nicht beschränkt; er tritt vielmehr auf anderen Gebieten

Die Spuren französischen Einflusses sind weit weniger zahlreich als die vorhergehenden, aber doch immerhin noch wahrnehmbar genug. Sie äussern sich z. B. in der besprochenen Schreibung von *parlement* und seinen Ableitungen, in der Adaptierung französischer Ausdrücke, wie bei *recipiendary* M. IV. 352, *Patrollotism* Fr. R. I. 297, *Septemberers* Fr. R. III. 55, *majestious* Fr. Gr. VI. 202, *to coalise* Fr. R. III. 93, *to dispowder* Fr. Gr. III. 189, und auch in der Verwendung lat.-romanischer Stämme zu Neubildungen, z. B. *fremescence* Fr. R. I. 217, *fingent* Fr. R. I. 7, *fremescent* Fr. R. I. 234, *languescent* Fr. R. II. 69, *absolvent* Fr. R. II. 354 u. a. Eine weitergehende Beeinflussung hat aber auf diesem Gebiete nicht stattgefunden.[1])

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womöglich noch deutlicher zu Tage als hier, und zwar nicht nur in den Uebersetzungen, sondern zu allen Zeiten und in allen Schriften, ein Zeugnis dafür, in wie hohem Grade Carlyles ganze Denk- und Schreibweise vielfach deutschen Charakter angenommen hatte. Am auffälligsten äussert sich dies auf dem Gebiete der Wortzusammensetzung, sowie in dem Charakter gewisser längerer Phrasen. Beispiele der erstgenannten Klasse sind u. a.: *bosom friend* [Busenfreund] Tr. II. 24, *smart-money* [Schmerzensgeld] Tr. III. 261, *help-needing* [hülfsbedürftige] persons Tr. II. 174, *brainweb* M. V. 10, Fr. Gr. II. 232 [vgl. „Hirngespinst"], *Land's-Prince, Land's-father* Fr. Gr. V. 104. — Charakteristische Fälle für Nachbildung deutscher Phrasen sind: every one would take us *for what we gave ourselves out to be* [wofür wir uns ausgaben] Tr. I. 22, the pure sky *looked out* [sah aus] like an open paradise Tr. III. 163, disastrous indeed *does it look with* those same „realised ideas" Fr. R. I. 12, At Caen *it is most animated* Fr. R. III. 207, With home affairs, again, *it goes not so well* Cr. III. 220, He draws out his *Full-power* Fr. Gr. I. 230, at supper, Mamma and the Princesses ... *tore up* his poor Bride at such a rate Fr. Gr. III. 183 („aufziehen" = „hänseln"!), Friedrich Wilhelm interceded *what he could* Fr. Gr. II. 205, The noise *lays itself* again Fr. Gr. IV. 118, a year must come *when he will have no resource more* Fr. Gr. IX. 180, u. a.

[1]) Auch sonst weist Carlyle's Phraseologie nur verhältnismässig wenig Besonderheiten auf, die auf französische Einwirkung zurückzuführen wären. Es sind vornehmlich zwei Erscheinungen, die da genannt werden können, einmal eine bemerkenswerte Vorliebe für reflexivische Konstruktion anstatt der passivischen, wie z. B.: So then, our grand Royalist Plot ... *has executed itself* Fr. R. II. 229, Proclamations still *publishing themselves* by sound of trumpet Fr. R. II. 236, Hence England *illuminated itself* Cr. I. 50, Stralsund ... *illuminated itself* Fr. Gr. I. 436, the hopes *realised themselves* Fr. Gr. IV. 24, Pinchbeck's dagger *brandishes itself* in vain M. VI. 221, — und dann ist auch wohl Carlyle's ausgeprägte und höchst auffällige Neigung, das Verb *to fall* in der Bedeutung von etwa

Bildungen wie *dorsoflexions* T. C. I. 192, *soniped* L. I. 287, *leasible* L. W.[1] 236, *subventive* L. M. I. 16, *bibliopoesy* T. C. II. 310 *eleutheromania* Fr. R. I. 101, *alleleu* Fr. R. I. 346, *heroarchy* H. W. 15, *cryptophilous* L. II. 380, zeigen deutlich, dass Carlyle bei seinen Prägungen gelegentlich auch in den Wortschatz des Lateinischen und Griechischen hineingriff, um Entlehnungen für seine Zwecke zu verwerten, doch sind die Fälle noch seltener als die Entleihungen aus dem Französischen. —

Es sei nicht unterlassen, am Schluss dieses Teiles nachdrücklich an einen englischen Autor zu erinnern, der Carlyle sehr wohl als ursprüngliches Vorbild bei seinen Wortprägungen gedient haben kann: Lawrence Sterne. Im Laufe dieser Abhandlung hat sich mehrfach Gelegenheit gefunden, auf Aehnlichkeiten zwischen Ausdrücken Carlyle's und Sterne's hinzuweisen. Man findet ebenso in Carlyle's Schriften, ganz besonders in den frühesten seiner Briefe, vielfache Anklänge und Anspielungen an jenen Autor, der ja der Lieblingsschriftsteller des jungen Carlyle war. Nun bringen aber die „Sentimental Journey" und zumal der „Tristram Shandy", ebenso wie Carlyle's Schriften, eine grosse Zahl von Wortneubildungen, die ausnahmslos auf humoristischen Effekt berechnet sind und demzufolge nachdrücklich auffallen müssen. Es ist höchst wahrscheinlich, dass Carlyle hier den ersten Anstoss gefunden hat, seine eigene Geschicklichkeit zu versuchen, wie die Beispiele aus seinen ersten Briefen beweisen, gleichfalls zu komischer Wirkung, und dass damit eine Mine angeschlagen wurde, die im Laufe der Zeit eine so reiche Menge wertvollen echten Metalls, wenn auch nicht ganz frei von unbrauchbaren Schlacken, liefern sollte.

„to become" in allen möglichen Verbindungen zu verwenden, zu erklären als Analogie zum Ausdruck *to fall sick* (z. B. Cr. III. 29, C. E. II. 253) = „tomber malade". Beispiele für jenen Gebrauch von „to fall" sind u. a.: *fallen wretched* P. Pr. 35, like diseased corpulent bodies *fallen idiotic* P. Pr. 73, he *fell melancholy, fell imbecile, blind* Fr. Gr. I. 236, *to fall heirless* Fr. Gr. II. 105, to have *fallen impossible* P. K. 245. —

Anhang.

Die reichen und ausführlichen Citate des Oxf. Dict., z. T. auch Angaben des Cent. Dict. ermöglichen es, den in der vorliegenden Abhandlung besprochenen Teil von Carlyles Wortschatz noch in der Weise zu beleuchten, dass nach Massgabe jener Werke an kurzen Beispielen gezeigt wird, wie die ungewöhnlichen Wortbildungen des Autors mannigfache Beziehungen haben, sowohl zu früheren Perioden des Englischen, wie auch ganz besonders zu der Sprache jüngerer Autoren. Freilich lässt sich nur ganz annäherungs- und teilweise ein solches Bild geben, da ja das Oxf. Dict. erst zum kleineren Teile fertiggestellt ist und das Cent. Dict. nicht gerade viel Belege bringt. Indessen auch so wird man schon einige interessante Züge mit ziemlicher Deutlichkeit wahrnehmen können.

Was zunächst die bereits vor Carlyle belegten Formen betrifft, so können hier natürlich nur solche in Frage kommen, die ganz vereinzelt citiert sind, und die dann nach langer Zeit bei ihm zuerst wieder auftauchen. Eine Gruppierung erfolgt wohl am besten nach den einzelnen Jahrhunderten; eine Anordnung nach Unterabteilungen innerhalb bestimmter Wortklassen ist unthunlich, da sich die betreffenden Fälle in nur wenigen zusammengehörigen Beispielen auf eine grosse Anzahl jener Unterabteilungen verbreiten würden. Es ist daher in der folgenden kurzen Statistik im ganzen die im ersten Hauptteil beobachtete Reihenfolge beibehalten.

XIII., XIV., XV. Jahrhundert.

lucency Fr. R. III. 54: C. D. belegt vorher einmal lucense in Digby Myst.

kinghood M. V. 112: C. D. citiert nur Will. of Palerne.

Archbishophood Cr. I. 73: 1449, Pecock.

caitiffhood L. P. 371: caitifhede in Cursor Mundi zweimal belegt.

buyable Fr. R. II. 12/13: 1483, Cath. Angl. Dann l. c., dann 1848, Tait's Mag.

doable P. Pr. 31: 1449, Pecock. 1611, Cotgrave. Dann l. c., dann 1883, Stevenson.

hearsaying Fr. R. III. 348/9: 1340, Ayenbite 117.

cymballing Fr. Gr. II. 301: 1340, Cursor Mundi, vor Fr. Gr. schon 1847, Tennyson „the cymbal'd Miriam", andre Nüance.

envoying Fr. Gr. V. 253: 1481, Caxton. 1508, Barclay, andrer Sinn = to write as an „envoy".

to beride E. L. II. 281: 1000, Thorpe's Laws, 1205, Laȝamon, = to ride around, to beset with horsemen. — 1690, D'Urfey, = to ride by the side of. Beidemal andre Bedeutung als l. c.

to betread E. L. II. 281: 1398, I. Trevisa.

to begift Fr. R. II. 311: 1400, Octonian, = to entrust. 1590, Hazlitt in E. P. P. IV., Bedeutung wie l. c.

XVI. Jahrhundert.

brokeress Tr. III. 13: 1583, Stanyhurst, Poems.

eatall Fr. R. I. 26: 1598, Florio, „an eate-all", als Uebersetzung von „Pamphago", Name eines Hundes. 1884, C. Power in Gentl. Mag. „do-nothing and eat-alls", gleiche Verbindung wie l. c.!

Archbishopship Fr. R. I. 135: 1556, Chron. of the Grey Friers.

arrestable Fr. R. III. 239: 1555, Fardle Facions. Dann l. c., dann 1883, Autobiogr. Sir A. Alison.

contentable Fr. Gr. V. 36: 1576, Fleming. 1633, I. Done, aber = satisfactory.

unappointable C. E. I. 103: appointable nur 1563, Foxe.

to deprivate M. IV. 12: vgl. deprivate, adjekt.: 1560, Rolland.

befume M. I. 204: 1598, Sylvester, Du Bartas.

behorn M. III. 162: 1577, Hellowes, „an oxe ... so behorned“; 1630, J. Taylor, „she did behorne his hed“; also beide Male andre Bedeutung.
betrample Fr. R. III. 282: 1565, Golding; 1624, F. White; 1866, Felton.
bewelter Fr. Gr. 108: 1565, Golding.
distenanted M. II. 214: 1594, Nashe.
disshapen M. IV. 381: 1583, Harsnet, Serm. Ezek.

XVII. Jahrhundert.

gardeneress Tr. III. 318/9: 1647, W. Browne; dann l. c., dann 1893, Star; 1896, Dail. Tel.
environment S. R. 4: 1603, Holland, Plutarch's Mor., aber mit Sinnesnüance, = „the action of environment“, orig. „*περιελεύσεις*“. Dann Carl. häufig; dann 1855, H. Spencer; 1862, Shirley; 1867, Froude; 1870, M. Conway; und öfter in verschiedenen Bedeutungen; heute ganz üblich, wie Verwendung im Oxf. Dict. selbst zeigt. Vgl. Artikel „Chaos“, sub 5 = „element, *environment,* space“. Sogar *environmental* ist weitergebildet: 1887, Athenaeum.
cheatee M. III. 279: 1614, Tomkis, Albumazar; 1872, M. Collins.
generaless Fr. R. I. 319: 1646, Cromwell, in Carlyle; aber = the wife of a gen.; ebenso 1888 Univ. Rev.; 1883, Harper's Mag., wie l. c. = female gen.
babblement Fr. R. II. 175: Milton, aber Educat. Works. Dann l. c.; dann 1850, Blackie; 1860, Tyndall.
countessship M. V. 38: 1612, Chapman, aber andre Bedeutung, wie „his Lordship, her Ladyship.“; 1874, Trollope, wie l. c.
ambitionist M. V. 230: 1655 u. 1657, Trapp.
doggery P. Pr. 335: 1611, Cotgrave; aber andre Nüance, „to speake doggerie!“ Dann l. c., dann 1844, W. M. Macmillan, und 1886, T. Hardy = dog-like behaviour.
Feoffeeship Cr. V. 178: 1652, Gaule, Magastrom.
dog-hood M. VI. 342: 1647, Trapp, wie l. c.; 1876, Geo. Eliot, aber kollektiv.
brideship Fr. Gr. III. 71: 1652, Brome, Novella; aber andre Bedeutung, wie „her Ladyship“.
cashierment Fr. Gr. X. 202: 1656, Dugard. Gate Lat. Unl. § 766.

Cromwellism Fr. Gr. VII. 196: 1685, South. Serm.; 1881, Parnell in Daily News. Cromwellists: 1649, u. Cromwellize, 1648.
auroral M. I. 64: 1552, Lyndesay; dann Carlyle; dann 1851/9, Sir J. Herschel; 1863, Longfellow u. ö.
eupractic M. IV. 267: eupraxy schon 1675, Baxter.
unaidably M. IV. 349: aidable 1594, Carew, aber = helpful.
falconish M. IV. 351: 1587, Holinshed.
frondent Fr. R. I. 324: 1677, T. Harvey, 1727 Bailey, dann l. c., dann 1863, Reader.
absolvent Fr. R. II. 354: 1651, Hobbes, Leviathan, aber als Subst.
extinctive Fr. R. III. 214: 1600, Swinburne; 1633, T. Adams. (Adverb.) Dann l. c., dann 1871, Contemp. Rev.; 1883, Athenaeum.
deputable M. VI. 28: 1621, W. Sclater.
unchoosable Fr. Gr. I. 415: choosable 1681, einmal belegt. choosableness 1856, Ruskin.
correctable C. E. II. 80: 1661, Fuller, Worthies.
catchable R. I. 116/7: 1695, Ld. Halifax; 1870, Law. Rep.
literaturing L. W.[1] 236: vgl. literatured, 1600, Shakspere, Henry V.
flagitating Fr. Gr. V. 127: 1626 Cockeram, 1656 Blount. (flagitation: 1658 Phillipps, 1727 Bailey, aber in Wörterbüchern.)
messaging Fr. Gr. VIII. 179: Stanihurst, Aeneid.
controversying Fr. Gr. VII. 385: 1593, Bilson; 1696, T. Whetenhall.
betoil Fr. R. I. 163: 1622, Rowlands; 1683, Evelyn.
misworship H. W. 6: 1640, Bp. Hall. (als Subst., Verb; auch misworshipper).
mistitle (Subst.) Fr. Gr. VI. 242: vgl. to mistitle, 1670, Milton, Hist. Engl.
discorporate M. IV. 242: 1682, Eng. Elect. Sheriffs; 1688, Lond. Gaz.; beidemal andre Bedeutung = „disincorporated".

XVIII., XIX. Jahrhundert.

dyslogy M. V. 182: dyslogistic schon 1802/12, Bentham.
peregrinity L. St. 196: Boswell, Johnson; aber in anderer Bedeutung, = foreignness.
crackery Fr. Gr. VIII. 101: 1824, Miss Mitford, Village Serm., aber andrer Sinn, kollektiv!

bedazzlement C. E. II. 273: 1806, Knox & Jebb, Corr.; 1877, V. Hugo's Misérables.
exculpatory M. V. 47: 1779/81, Johnson.
blistery P. Pr. 45: 1743, Lond. & Country Brew. Dann l. c., dann 1845, Newbold, Irnl. Asiat. Soc. Bengal.
undivinable Fr. Gr. II. 229: vgl. divinable: 1818, J. Scott, Vis. Paris.
conversible R. I. 166/7: 1713, Guardian, gleicher Sinn wie l. c.
constitutioning (partic.) Cr. IV. 127; vgl. dazu: constitutioned = having a const.: 1711, Addison; 1775, Adair. constitutioning, Vblsubst.: 1820, Byron in Moore, Life.
coalitioning L. P. 12: vgl. coalitioner: 1820, Byron, Letter in Moore, Life.
editioning C. E. II. 339: 1716, M. Davies.

Aus dieser Uebersicht geht hervor, dass Sonderformen, die bei Carlyle begegnen, hier und da schon in ziemlich früher Zeit vereinzelt aufgetaucht, dann aber wieder verschwunden sind. Besonders die Zahl der in dieser Beziehung aus dem XVII. Jahrh. nachweisbaren Ausdrücke ist nicht unerheblich, während sich für das XVIII. Jahrh. verhältnismässig wenig Bemerkungen machen lassen. Dies steht auch durchaus im Einklang zu den in jenen Zeiträumen in der englischen Sprache wahrnehmbaren grösseren bzw. geringeren sprachschöpferischen Tendenzen.

Im allgemeinen tragen Carlyles Bildungen viel zu sehr den Stempel der Entstehung aus den Forderungen des Augenblicks heraus, als dass man hier von einer Beeinflussung seines Stiles in weiterem Umfange bestimmt reden dürfte; und wenn auch die Namen einiger Autoren wohl mehrfach begegnen, so soll doch daraus nach dieser immerhin nur unvollständigen Statistik kein Schluss irgend welcher Art gezogen werden. Bei manchen Formen, besonders aus Schriften des XVII. Jahrh., liegt ja freilich die Vermutung sehr nahe, dass Carlyle sie gekannt und bei Gelegenheit verwendet und so aufs neue in den Wortschatz seiner Muttersprache eingeführt habe. Indessen bei einem Autor, der eine so übergrosse Fülle von zweifellosen Neuprägungen aufweist, wie Carlyle, wird man zu einer derartigen Annahme nur mit doppelter Vorsicht

schreiten dürfen und erst nach eingehender specieller Untersuchung zu einem sicheren Ergebnis gelangen können. — Soviel aber wird man aus den obigen Citaten entnehmen können, dass Carlyle mit gar mancher seiner auffallenden Wortformen nicht allein dasteht, sondern dass sich vielfach eine Tendenz zu gleicher Ausdrucksweise, sei es mit demselben, sei es, wie auch manchmal beobachtet werden konnte, mit einer gewissen Nüancierung des Sinnes, schon in den verschiedenen früheren Sprachperioden zu erkennen giebt.

Bereits bei den im vorhergehenden Abschnitt besprochenen Formen hat sich bisweilen gezeigt, wie Wörter, die nach langer Zeit bei Carlyle zuerst wieder auftauchen, nach ihm des öfteren weitergebraucht sind. Diese letztere Erscheinung macht sich nun noch weit häufiger geltend bei den Prägungen, die als sein Eigentum anzusehen sind. Auch hierfür sei im Folgenden, soweit es die zu Rate gezogenen Wörterbücher ermöglichen, eine Anzahl von Beispielen gegeben. — Wenngleich die betreffenden Fälle zahlreicher sind, so ist doch die in der vorigen Abteilung beobachtete Anordnung aus dem gleichen Grunde wie dort innegehalten worden.

dwarfdom Fr. II. 300: 1830, Coleridge, aber andere Bedeutung: = state of a dwarf.
dispiritment M. I. 263: 1866, Lowell, Lessing. Pr. Works.
duncedom M. II. 206: 1865, Pall Mall Gaz. Andere Nüance = state of a dunce.
writeress M. II. 368: Flügel: Scherzbildung Thackeray's, um den Ausdruck authoress zu verspotten.
visitress M. II. 400: 1849, Charl. Brontë, Shirley.
descendentalism S. R. 63: descendentalists und transcendentalist: 1882, Whipple in Harper's Mag.
auscultatorship S. R. 122: 1884, Sat. Rev.
assessorship S. R. 122: 1883, A. B. Hope.
detestability S. R. 125: 1868, Browning.
cordwainery S. R. 203: 1834, Mag. of Art., andre Bedeutung, „shoemaker's work".
brotherkin S. R. 237: 1856, H. Morley.

disheartenment M. III. 39: 1876, Farrar; 1886, Mrs. A. Hunt.
confessoress M. III. 66: 1863, B. Taylor.
gigman M. IV. 35: 1840, Hood, Up the Rhine; 1884, R. Buchanan in Harper's Mag.: The gigman ... spells God with a little „g".
Whiskerando M. IV. 93: Southey, The Doctor. Thackeray, Philip.
Rascaldom M. IV. 248: Kingsley, Hypatia.
commandantship Fr. R. I. 128: 1881, Shadwell, Life Ld. Clyde.
brool Fr. R. I. 205: 1879 u. 1884, Spectator.
bakeress Fr. R. 358: 1872, Vagab. Jack!
cobwebbery Fr. R. II. 13: 1879, C. Geikie, Christ.
theatricality Fr. R. II. 57: Kingsley, Alton Locke.
dishevelment Fr. R. II. 72: 1880, Miss Broughton. Sec. Th.
demolitionist Fr. R. II. 162: 1852, Fras. Mag.
beasthood Fr. R. III. 54: 1851, Mayhew, 1868, Browning.
jesuitry Fr. R. III. 129: Miss Braddon, H. Dunbar.
divisiveness Fr. R. III. 147: 1887, Pall Mall Gaz.
bedizenment Fr. R. III. 228, 1859, Kingsley.
fugle-motion Fr. R. III. 279: vgl. fugle-word: 1842, Miall, Nonconf.; vgl. *to fugle* Fr. R. III. 300/1. Dies angenommen in etwas nüancierter Bedeutung: De Morgan, From Matter to Spirit, „the case ... fugles admirably for a very large class of the philosophical principles". Dann auch transitiv: 1868, Pall Mall Gaz. = to give an example (of something) to ... „a few thousand good men to fugle all the public and domestic virtues to the benighted millions of Roman Catholics". Dann *fugling* Verbalsubst. (Fr. Gr. I. 84 u. ö.): 1863, Reader.
despicability Fr. R. III. 293: 1873, Wagner.
attorneyism ib. 378: 1884, Sat. Rev.
commendatorship M. V. 20: 1861, Sat. Rev.
expansivity ib. 138: 1838, Blackw. Mag.
burgherhood ib. 191: 1885, Harp. Mag.
presidentess ib. 202: 1846, Mad. d'Arblay, H. Crabb Robinson.
bumbarge ib. 394: 1885, Pall Mall Gaz.
discoverability H. W. 7: 1867, Sabbath on Rock.
formulism ib. 158: 1851, Ruskin; 1881, Encycl. Brit.
wiggery P. Pr. 164: Trollope, Last Chron. of the Barset.

millocracy P. Pr. 175: vgl. millocrate, millocratism bei Bulwer, Caxtons.
donothingism ib. 188: 1891, Sat. Rev.
fakeerism ib. 288: 1856, Kingsley; 1883, Goldw. Smith.
cousinry Cr. I. 29: 1873, Dixon.
pageship Fr. Gr. II. 430: your pageship, als Titel, Charlotte M. Yonge, The Lances of Lynwood, p. 122, Tauchn. Edit., Ser. for Children, Vol. 20.
floodage Fr. Gr. IV. 233: 1870, Low. Rep.
generalcy Fr. Gr. V. 385: 1868, Morn. Star.
benchlet ib. X. 192: 1884, A. Putnam.
equestrianism C. E. II. 303: 1872, Globe; 1881, Morn. Post; auch equestrianize = reiten, 1886 u. 87.
dollhood T. C. II. 296: 1876, W. Bayliss.
forgettable Tr. III. 267: 1868, M. Pattison.
atrabiliar S. R. 59: 1877, Morley.
Baphometic S. R. 163: 1855, Milman.
dandiacal S. R. 263: 1886, Sala, Illustr. Lond. News.
dupeable M. IV. 386: 1835, Southey, The Doctor.
fremescent Fr. R. I. 234: 1881, Scotsman.
adumbrative ib. II. 64: 1858, Kitto, Bible Illustr.
undemolishable ib. II. 319: vgl. demolishable: 1856, Ruskin.
Rhadamanthine M. V. 143: J. F. Clarke, Self-Culture.
adoptable P. Pr. 162: 1862, R. H. Patterson.
accipitral M. VI. 60: 1881, Lowell in Harp. Mag.
hawkish M. VI. 60: 1859, Kingsley.
croaky L. St. 160: 1854, Dickens.
exhilarative Fr. Gr. VI. 311: 1873, St. Paul's Mag.; 1875, H. C. Wood.
crossable ib. VII. 329: 1889, Pall Mall Gaz.
capturable ib. IX. 52: 1876, Tinsley's Mag.
brickish R. II. 90: vgl. Conan Doyle, Mem. of Sherlock Holmes. Tauchn. Edit. No. 2896, pag. 122 „brickish red“.
courtwards M. IV. 265: 1850, L. Hunt, Autobiography.
to chrysalise Tr. III. 372: 1837, Blackw. Mag.
visualise S. R. 51: F. Galton, Inquiries into Hum. Faculty. Tyndall, Radiation. Auch *visualiser* hat man weitergebildet.
dragonise M. III. 163: 1866, Mrs. Gaskell.; 1875, G. Macdonald; aber beidemal = „to watch as a dragon“!

dubitating Fr. R. I. 150: 1879, Maundsley.
fanfaronade Fr. R. II. 54: 1878, Bayne.
to citoyen (*citizen* were suitabler) Fr. R. III. 15: to citizen: 1871, Daily News.
clangouring Fr. R. III. 32: 1877, Mrs. Hamilton King.
coalising ib. III. 97: 1837, Thackeray, Carlyle's French Rev.; 1859, Sat. Rev.; indessen schon 1794: coaliser bei Ld. Sheffield.
diagramed H. W. 30: 1880, New Engl. Irnl. Educ.; 1884, Health Exhib. Catal.; 1884, F. V. Irish.
asphyxied P. Pr. 41: 1881, Tyndall.
committeeings Cr. II. 111: 1889, Home Missionary. (N. Y.)
privy-councilling Fr. Gr. IV. 138: 1870, Bryant, Iliad. „all our councillings".
to holiday L. M, II. 310/11: ca. 1890, The Critic V. 165.
to enregiment T. C. II. 206: 1835, Fras. Mag.; 1874, T. G. Bowles.
to bemurmur Fr. R. II. 230: 1875, Lowell.
bemitred Fr. R. III. 253: 1842, Miall in Nonconf.
becrimsoned Fr. R. III. 390: 1883, Cent. Mag.
besouled P. Pr. 355: 1862, Simon.
beribboned Fr. Gr. II. 290: 1863, W. Thornbury; 1863, A. B. Grosart.
misventure E. L. I. 21: vgl. misventurous, The Century XXIV.
insomnolency Tr. III. 100: 1834, Southey, The Doctor.
disfrocked Fr. R. II. 26: 1856, Froude; 1879, H. James.
disroofed Fr. R. III. 303: 1871, J. C. Jeaffreson.
disgigged M. V. 36: 1889, Daily News.
unlaw P. Pr. 27: 1867 ff., Freeman, Norm. Conquest.
to miscopy L. P. 299: ca. 1890, Westminster Rev. 128.

Es ist, wie man sieht, eine ganz stattliche Reihe von Formen, die sich schon bei einer derartigen knappen Zusammenstellung als nach dem bezeichneten Gesichtspunkt hierhergehörig ergiebt. Bei manchen Sonderausdrücken wird es ausser allem Zweifel sein, dass hier in der That eine Carlylesche Prägung weiter verwertet ist, zumal eine Einwirkung seiner Sprache auf die jüngerer Autoren in um so höherem Grade statthaben konnte, als seine Werke so allgemein und eifrig gelesen wurden. Indessen wird man eine

solche Annahme noch lange nicht auf jeden einzelnen der genannten Fälle ausdehnen dürfen. Selbst wo man die Namen gewisser Schriftsteller wieder mehrfach vertreten findet, darf daraus noch kein weiterer allgemeiner Schluss gezogen werden, da ja eine ausreichende und abschliessende Darstellung, zu der überhaupt auch noch ein Studium des Stiles jener Autoren selbst erforderlich sein würde, nicht gegeben ist. Nur die folgende Beobachtung lässt wohl eine charakteristische Folgerung zu, und sei deshalb hervorgehoben, dass ein grosser Teil jener später wieder begegnenden Bildungen aus Zeitschriften sich belegt findet. Und zugleich wird die Betrachtung der obigen Statistik lehren, dass — wenn auch bei weitem die Mehrzahl, besonders der excentrischsten Formen, übergenug um Carlyle für alle Zeiten eine Ausnahmestellung auf sprachlichem Gebiete zu sichern, sein Sondereigentum ist und bleiben wird, charakteristisch für die Gestalt, die seine Gedanken bisweilen anzunehmen vermochten — dass sich gleichwohl in mancher Beziehung auf dem Gebiete der neuenglischen Literatur eine ähnliche Freiheit der Redeweise kundgiebt, wie er sie für sich in so weiter Ausdehnung in Anspruch genommen, und mit so grosser Meisterschaft zu verwerten gewusst hat.

Sachregister.

(Die Zahlen bezeichnen die Seiten der Abhandlung.)

Wortregister.

Präfix-Bildungen.

be-.

non-.

not-.

un-.

Einzelne Bildungen.

Suffix-Bildungen.

-able.

-an (-ean, -ian).

-ance.

-ancy.

-ant.

-ar.

-ary.

-ate.

-ation.

-cracy.

-cy (-sy).

-dom.

-ery (-ry).

-ese.

-esque.

-ess.

-ful.

-fy.

-hood.

-ible.

-ic.

-ine.

-ing.

-ish.

-ism.

-ist.

-ity.

-ive.

-ize (-ise).

-kin.

-less.

-let.

-like (adjekt.).

-like (adverb.)

-ling.

-ly.

-ment.

-ness.

-y-

Andere Bildungen.

Durch direkte Ableitung („conversion").

Substantiva.

Verba.

Adjektiva.

Verba.

Onomatopöetische Bildungen.

Hybrids.

Sonstiges.

Verbesserungen.

Trotz mehrfacher Durchsicht der Korrekturbogen sind leider recht viel Druckfehler und auch einige Irrtümer stehen geblieben, die man nach folgendem Verzeichnis zu berichtigen bittet:

S. 3, Z. 4 u. lies: „in course". — 11, 4 o.: New Eng*land* Edito*rs*'. — 12, 13 u.: O'Connel*l*. — 16, 17 o.: étroit statt adroit. — 25, 6 o.: *be* st. bee und *too* st. to; so auch folgende Zeile. — 25, 9 u.: rhythm. — 33, 7 o.: ist have zu streichen. — 47, 13/2 u.: spre*ad-ing*. — 56, 15 o.: *A*part. — 57, 2 u.: Io-peans st. Jo-peans. — 64, 1 u.: D'Aig*u*illon. — 69, 15 u.: Frostari*o*us. — 69, 7 u.: *Grand Monarque-isms.* — 73, 1 o.: 359. II. 151. 160 st. 334. — 73, 8 o.: Un*d*erstand. — 74, 14 o.: *off-put* ist wohl nur schottisch. — 76, 11 u.: „Mirabeau" st. Mirabeau. — 77, 12 o.: *preferability* ist zu streichen und dafür vor 78, 8 u. einzuschieben: His [Mignet's] two volumes contain far more meditation . . . their degree of *preferability*, therefore, is very high. M. V. 189. — 83, 11/10 u.: dastar*d-ism*. — 84, 17 o.: Beleg von *Principalship* ist zu streichen. — 88: *soft sawder* ist Americanismus. — 96, 6 o.: *eupepticity* ist zu streichen und statt dessen vor 101, 17 u. einzuschieben: no man has been in such adventures, has swum through such seas of transcendent *eupepticity* determined to have its fill. Fr. Gr. V. 110 u. ö. — 96, 9/10 o. sind *Newcastleisms*, *Cromwellisms* zu streichen und dafür nach 103, 12 o. einzuschieben: No, my friend, *Newcastleisms*, impious Poltrooneries, in a Nation, do not die: — neither (thank God) do *Cromwellisms* and pious Heroisms. Fr. Gr. VII. 196. — 97, 14 o. und 263, 10 o.: *welter* ist wohl schottisch. — 106, 2 u.: spiritualism, nicht kursiv. — 110, 8 o.: No-Government st. No Government. — 131, 6 u.: streiche Beleg zu *rapee*. — 142, 13 o.: slightis*h*. — 146, 8 u.: aërona*u*t. — 148, 16 u.: mo*u*ntain. — 154, 9 o.: mo*u*ntains. — 169, 1 o.: streiche Beleg zu *muling*. — 171, 8 o.: ça-ira-ing. — 178, 15 o.: ballo*t*-boxed. — 179, 7 o.: st. „wie gesagt" lies „indessen". — 180, 2 u.: kennt Carlyle natürlich. — 180, 3 u.: *II*. 54. *I*V. 391. 397. — 184, 10 o.: Pfeil unter gardenings, cottagings kursiv. — 189, 7/6 u.: streiche Beleg zu *besprinkled*. — 193, 3 u.: setze Komma hinter „in fact". — 201, 10/9 u.: streiche Beleg zu *undeterred*. — 209, 6 o.: *t*imes. — 219, 14 u.: Mo*n*sieur. — 221, 1 u. perfo*r*mance. — 222, 12 u.: streiche Beleg zu *unacknowledged* und auch die dazugehörige Bemerkung 305, 13 o. — 224, 3 o.: f*r*om. — 225, 15/16 o.: streiche Beleg zu *unreality*.

— 225, 18 u.: streiche Beleg zu *mispronunciation*. — 230, 4 u.: Orleansdom Fr. R. III. *1*84. — 232, 16 u.: < ae. -nes (st. nes). — 235, 11 u.: -aticum (st. aticum). — 241, 7 o.: ϑ) -ery (-ry). — 241, 12 o.: (< -ía (st. < ía). 243, 7 u.: ta*g*raggery. — 248, 1 o.: *s*einem. — 255, 12 o.: streiche *ideologist*. — 256, 1 o.: führ*t*. — 260, 17 o.: schiebe nach „workman“ ein: *gigman* M. IV. 35. — 260, 1 u. füge an: Mit einem griech. Element ist ein engl. Wort verschmolzen in dem nach Chrysostom geprägten *Pinchbeckostom* M. IV. 364. — 265, 5 u.: Der Beleg zu *old-maidish* ist: Susan's mild love for poor Hunt, sparkling through her *old-maidish*, cold, still, exterior, was sometimes amusingly noticeable. L. M. I. 16. — 272, 15 o.: bei *posterial* S. R. 269, liegt der Stamm von posterior zu Grunde. — 287, 1 o.: w*a*rd. — 291: bei *broadside* 7 o., *coalition* 16 o., *governess* 8 u. ist statt der Infinitivform die der Verbalsubst. zu setzen. — 291, 18 o.: ungoddes*s*. — 292, 15 u.: Ableit*u*ng. — 295, 11 u.: *sacre-dieu-ing* ist als ptc. anzusehen. 298, 12 u.: -ficare (st. ficare). — 299, 1 u.: *C*. E. — 301, 5 u.: Bedeut*u*ng. — 305, 1 ff. sind die in Hauptteil I. nachher gestrichenen Formen undelightful, unslumbering, uncommunicating, unadmiring, unbattered, versehentlich stehen geblieben. — 315, 6 u.: Proclamatio*n*s.

Druck von Ehrhardt Karras, Halle a. S.



STUDIEN

ZUR

ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

LORENZ MORSBACH,

O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN.

Heft VI.

L. W. CUSHMAN:

THE DEVIL AND THE VICE IN THE ENGLISH DRAMATIC LITERATURE BEFORE SHAKESPEARE

HALLE A. S.

MAX NIEMEYER.

1900.

THE DEVIL AND THE VICE

IN THE

ENGLISH DRAMATIC LITERATURE

BEFORE SHAKESPEARE

BY

L. W. CUSHMAN,

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
NEVADA STATE UNIVERSITY.

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To my Father

and to the memory of my Mother



Preface.

An investigation of the devil and the Vice as dramatic figures in their historical relations has, so far as I know, never been made. Much has been written here and there on the subject, but all notions of the limitations as to when, where and how these figures appear or of the differentiation of their functions, are vague in the extreme. The prevailing opinion of the critics, historians and teachers of literature is quite uniform; it is, in substance, as follows: the devil enjoyed, both on the stage and elsewhere, a great and ever increasing popularity; the figure of the Vice was developed from that of the devil, or the Vice was simply the devil as buffoon and, as such, became the forerunner of the clown: he is also the forerunner of the villain, and of Punch.

A study of these figures at first hand has led to a new view of this subject; it is, in brief, as follows: the appearance of the devil in the non-dramatic as well as in the dramatic literature is limited to a definite range; as a dramatic figure the devil falls more and more into the back-ground, the Vice is distinct in origin and function from the devil and from the clown. It is not denied that these characters in the domain of the comical, on the one hand, and of egoism, on the other, encroach upon each other, but from this it does not follow that they are identical, or that the one is derived from the other. The devil, Vice, clown, fool and villain are parallel figures of quite independent origin and function.

The serious dramas of the period treated form the basis of this study. The writer has been fortunate in gaining access to the literature required, thanks to Professor Brandl for his

recent *„Ergänzung“* to *Dodsley's Old Plays,* also for the permission to use his manuscript copies of some other, not yet reprinted, plays. Much of the material is, therefore, quite new.

In the quotations in the following pages, the orthography of the original has not always been retained, indeed, the accessible editions of many of the plays offer only a normalized text. Wherever, in the editions used, the lines are numbered, the references are accordingly to the lines, otherwise, to the pages only. The references to the three manuscript copies in the possession of Professor Brandl — *All for Money, Mary Magdalene,* and *The Tide tarrieth for no Man* — are in accordance with the paging of the old prints, thus: Ai, Aii, Aiii, etc., Bi, etc. This is not very satisfactory, but must suffice until these plays shall have been reprinted.

This study has been made under the encouragement of Professor Lorenz Morsbach of Göttingen, who has helped me not only with his advice but also in finding the widely scattered literature; he has, furthermore, authorized its publication in his *Studien zur englischen Philologie* and has kindly undertaken the correction of the proof-sheets. For these many favors, I take this occasion to express my warmest thanks.

My thanks are also due to my friend and enthusiastic co-worker, Mr. M. F. Libby of Toronto, Canada, for a first reading of the proofs, and to Professor Alois Brandl of Berlin, for the use of the proof-sheets of his *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas vor Shakespeare* some months before the book appeared, also for the use of the manuscript copies of several of the later Moralities.

Göttingen, July 19, 1899.

L. W. Cushman.

Contents.

Abbreviations of the titles of the plays.

A. V. = Appius and Virginia. (Dodsley IV.)
C. P. = The Castle of Perseverance.
Confl. = The Conflict of Conscience. (Dodsley VI.)
D. C. = The Disobedient Child. (Dodsley II.)
F. El. = The Four Elements. (Dodsley I.)
H. = Hickscorner. (Dodsley I.)
J. J. = Jack Juggler. (Dodsley II.)
K. C. = King Cambyses. (Dodsley IV.)
K. D. = King Darius. (Brandl. Quellen.)
K. J. = King John (Bale's). (Camden Soc.)
L. J. = Lusty Juventus. (Dodsley II.)
L. W. L. = Like Will to Like. (Dodsley III.)
Man. = Mankind. (Brandl. Quellen.)
M. W. Sc. = The Marriage of Wit and Science. (Dodsley II.)
Money or M. = All for Money.
M. M.[1] = Maria Magdalene (1580—90). (Digby Play.)
M. M.[2] = Maria Magdalene (1567), (by Wager).
Nat. = The Interlude of Nature. (Brandl. Quellen.)
N. W. = Nice Wanton. (Dodsley II.)
O. = Horestes. (Brandl. Quellen.)
Tide = The Tide tarrieth for no Man.
T. T. = The Trial of Treasure. (Dodsley III).
W. = Wisdom. (Digby Play.)
W. C. = The World and the Child. (Dodsley I.)
W. Sc. = The Moral Play of Wit and Science. (Sh. Soc.)
W. W. = The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. (Sh. Soc.)
Y. = The Interlude of Youth. (Dodsley II.)



Part I. The Devil.

I. Introductory. The devil in the earlier, chiefly non-dramatic literature.

The devil as a dramatic figure presupposes a personal character having certain corporal attributes and having certain things to do; under the corporal attributes may be understood the outward appearance and name of the figure, under things to do, his actions and words. Appearance, action and words constitute the dramatic persona proper, consequently, references to the abstract principles of evil or to the dualism in nature, morals or religion, likewise, the mere mention of the devil as the agent of evil, but where he is not thought of as bodily present, are not taken into consideration; this study is concerned primarily with the representations of the devil as a figure on the stage.

The representations of the devil on the stage, it is reasonable to suppose, are largely traditional, hence the earlier non-dramatic literature may be regarded as the source of many details of the figure of the devil; from this great source the writers of the old plays probably derived many characteristic traits of the devil's figure, although, in this case, the possibility is by no means excluded, that the dramatic literature and the theological are but two quite independent streams flowing from a common source. That the Mystery-cycles, however, were not uninfluenced, especially by the *Cursor Mundi,* has been pointed out by Professor ten Brink. An examination, at the outset of this investigation, of the earlier non-dramatic English literature, and a collection of some typical examples will help, therefore, to determine, in a measure, what the prevailing

notions in the Middle Ages concerning the figure in question were.

Sources. — The non-dramatic literature, in which the devil is especially to be found, is almost entirely theological: Homilies, Legends of the Saints, biblical Histories and didactic treatises. In the matter of introducing the figures of devils, the writers in the Middle Ages were not as free as is sometimes believed. In the Legends, as elsewhere, tradition plays an important part, thus checking a tendency, inherent in the very nature of these stories, to become with time more and more extravagant. As a rule, the appearance of the devil is confined to certain Legends; in many, the figure is wanting in all the versions.

In the Homilies, Histories and didactic tracts the observation is here to be recorded; first, that devils appear with remarkable regularity only in certain great scenes: the *Fall of Lucifer*, the *Fall of Adam and Eve*, the *Temptation of Christ*, the *Harrowing of Hell* and *Doomsday*; second, that they do not appear, except in rare instances, in certain other great scenes: The *Murder of Abel*, the *Flood*, in the story of Pharaoh, of Herod and the like. Furthermore, in the stories of the childhood and education of the Virgin Mary and of the childhood of Jesus, the devil plays no conspicuous part. Thus it is evident that the devil is a traditional figure, and that the ultimate source of this tradition is the Bible, including the Apocrypha, as understood and interpreted by the early Church Fathers. This observation holds good also, as will be seen later, in the Mysteries. In the mediaeval religious literature, the dramatic as well as the non-dramatic, with the exception of the Legends and of the later Miracles (see below), the occurrence of the figure of the devil is confined to biblical precedents.

The treatment of the devil in the abstract. — It is customary, particulary in didactic literature, to refer to the devil in a general way, as the source or principle of evil. Expressions of general reference are exemplified in phrases, such as: „deofles wise", *Blickling Hom.*, p. 55, „fram deofles anweald", *Aelfric,* I, 120, „þurhh deofell", *Orrm,* 11416, etc. etc. Physical evil, especially if mysterious, is also ascribable to the

devil; thus Richard Rolle of Hampole explains in *De Natura Apis* how honey in the hives breeds worms: „þe deuile turnes it to wormes“, 25.

In *Beowulf* the identification of physical evil with a spirit, like Grendel, as well as the propitiation of the „gast bona“, 177, and the assigning of Grendel finally to the company of fiends: „deofla ʒedræg“, 757, „on feonda ʒeweald“, 809, were undoubtedly in the heathen original; the explanation, that the worship of the „gast bona“ is devil-worship, and that evil spirits and monsters are the offspring of Cain, is due to the clerical revisers of the poem. Grendel is especially designated as „feond on helle“, 101, as „ellor gast“, 808, as „goddes ansaca“, 1683, and as a descendant of Cain:

> . . . „þanon onwoc fela
> ʒeosceaft gasta: wæs þæra Grendel sum“, 1267.

This is an interesting instance of an early contact of heathen and Christian demonology.

A satirical use is made of the devil's name by Aelfric in his sermon on the *Assumptio Sce. Mariae Virginis;* idle words, anger, songs, stories, and the like, are called the „devil's seed“, II, 163. In his sermon on the *Prophet Jeremiah* still stronger expressions are used: „þe ʒeolewe claþ is þe deofles helfter“ (halter), foolish women are called the „devil's mouse-trap“ and „blanchet“ (white powder) is the „devil's soap“, I, 53.

Abstractions, however, may be personified, and of personifications dramatic characters may be made. The World, the Flesh and the Devil, and the Seven Deadly Sins are often treated in the old clerical writings. The World, the Flesh and the Devil are called our three foes: cf. *þe wohunge of ure Lauerd,* p. 277, the Old English Homily, *Induite vos armatura die,* I, 243, *Cursor Mundi* 10104, 23746, 25730, etc. etc. The Seven Deadly Sins are referred, in their origin, to the seven spirits which were cast out of Mary Magdalene: „þe seven full gostes þat ich nu embe was, waren þe difles giltes, þat ure drihten drof ut of seint Marie Magdaleine“, Old English Homily, *In media quadrogessima,* II, 87. A common classification of these powers is the following, as given by Wyclif:

„Pride, envy and wrath ben synnes of þo fende; wrath, slauth and avarice ben synnes of þo world, avarice and glottenye and þo synne of lechorye ben synnes of þo flesche“, Works, III, 119. cf. Chaucer, *The Tale of Melibeus,* 2610 „the three enemies of mankind, that is to seyn the flessh, the feend and the world“. The personification is complete in Langland's *Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins*; they are all masculine, excepting Pride, and each is described by some characteristic trait. In this particular instance, they are much affected by the sermon of Reason and repent their sins: Superbia will don a hair shirt, Luxuria will „drink but with the duck“, Invidia confesses to „backbiting“, Ira, that he has incited many to quarrel; Avaritia thought that „rifling were restitution“, not understanding French, Gula promises „to fast“ and to eat no fish on Friday without leave of his aunt Abstinence, whom he has hitherto cordially hated, Accidia is a priest who „can rhymes of Robin Hood“ but not of our Lord or Lady.

Personifications like these, together with the real personal devil, figure prominently in the Moralities, but in the Mysteries no bad powers are personified, excepting Mors. The Coventry Plays have a number of figures of good powers like Pax, Contemplacio, etc., Chester has Thrones, Virtutes etc., Townley, Trinitas.

The treatment of the devil concretely. — The biblical Histories and the narrative portions in the Homilies, being more or less of an epic character, approach much nearer to the dramatic. The devil is treated here, as also in the Legends, as a real person in active relations to other persons and is thus made capable of furnishing motifs for dramatic action.

The Fall of Lucifer is always thought of realistically; the change in the appearance and name of the fallen angel is especially definite. This scene, with attendant circumstances, is fully described in the *Cursor Mundi*; Lucifer is represented speaking, he declares his intention to place his throne on the north side of heaven over against the seat of Most High; God shall have no more service from him. It is then related that Michael arose and fought against Lucifer and cast him out of heaven:

„þis is þe feind þat formast fell,
þoru his ouergart (pride) in to hell,
Fra þan his nam changed was
For now es he cald Sathanas“. 477—480.

(The Göttingen Ms. has „foule Sathanas“, the Trinity, „From Lucifer to Sathanas“). *The Genesis and Exodus* likewise relates that Ligber, i. e. Lightbearer, took his flight and set his seat on the north side of heaven between heaven and hell and became, in consequence, a black drake:

„ðo wurð he drake ðat ear was knigt,
ðo wurð he mirc ðat ear was ligt“. 283—4.

The blackness of the devil is often referred to: „þe blake deofol“, *Soules Wearde,* 251, „swarttore þene euere ani blowʒ-man“. *Early South English Legends,* I, 245/165; likewise, his loathsomness: „þe laþe Sathanas and Belzebub þe elde“, *Poema Morale,* 285, „þe loþe gast“, *Orrm,* 11355.

In the Temptation of our first parents the form of the devil, here generally Satan, is already determined by the biblical account, namely, that of the serpent. Satan, seeing Adam in bliss is filled with envy because man has been created to take the place in heaven that he himself has lost. In the *Genesis and Exodus* it is thus tersely related that Satan „wente into a wirme and told Eve a tale“, 321. The serpent here is not the devil himself but an assumed form; thus according to *Cursor Mundi*:

„þat wili warlau him heild on drei
And ganid noʒt cum him to nei,
Nameli in his auen schap . . .
for-þi a messager he send . . .
To þis he ches a littel best,
þe quilk es noʒt vnwiliest,
þe nedder þat es of a scaft,
þat mast can bath on crok and craft . . .
þis nedder forth þat he ne blan
Bot in hijs slught (skin) was self Satan“, 731—745.

The Temptation of Christ is in all accounts told with utmost fidelity to the biblical story. The only liberties the writers allow themselves being the use of certain epithets;

Aelfric designates the tempter as bloodthirsty (wælræw), I, 192, the *Cursor Mundi,* as „þe warlau wili", 12930; The outward appearance of Satan in this scene is not described.

The story of Job afforded, ready at hand, a good devil-scene, but this plot seems not to have attracted much attention. *Aelfric,* however, gives a full account of the story in almost the exact words of the Bible. He designates the devil as „manfulla" and as the „ealda", who goes from the presence of God and destroyes in one day all of Job's possessions, II, 450.

Judas. — The devil is spoken of as actually entering Judas, as is recorded in the *New Testament*; thus in *Aelfric*: „Huæt se deofol into Judan bestap", II, 242. According to the *Cursor Mundi* the Savior gave Judas a morsel of bread and with that morsel „crep in him Sathanas", 15388, and after Judas had hanged himself, the fiend hurled him into hell, 16528. The carrying off of the souls of evil doers to hell, as in the case of Judas, is a function of the devil especially developed in the Mysteries and in some of the Legends.

With other persons, as has already been intimated, the devil has but little to do. Cain was according to the scribes of the *Beowulf,* the ancestor of the evil monsters, according to the *Cursor Mundi* he was the „devil's food", but, strange to relate, the temptation of Cain to kill his brother was without the special instigation of the devil, 1056. Pharaoh appears to be regarded by *Aelfric* as an incarnate devil: „Pharao getacnode þone ðywan deofol", II, 200.

The *Doomsday* does not possess the interest that the other great devil-scenes do, it is not so often described and, on the whole, lacks in definiteness. The devils take no very active part. The accusers of the guilty ones on that great day shall be God, our conscience, the world and the devil, *Cursor Mundi,* 26711; but accusers are hardly necessary, as the wicked, especially suicides, shall rise with a maimed body, while the righteous shall rise whole and without blemish, *Cursor Mundi,* 22836. As a matter of fact, Doomsday is the end of all things, for the devils as well as for men; thus in *Cursor Mundi* the signs of Doomsday are described, the eleventh sign being a rainbow which shall „dump the deuls þider in", that is, into hell, 22643.

The Harrowing of Hell. — The discussion of this subject has been reserved until the last of this series of devil-scenes, partly as a matter of convenience, but chiefly because of its importance. The descent of Christ into hell, the release of the souls and the binding of Satan, are treated with unusual fullness and detail, and had undoubtedly taken a strong hold on the mediaeval imagination. *The Descensus Christi ad Inferos* is a work dating probably from the third century, it is also contained in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nichodemus.* The basis of the tradition appears to be the *24th Psalm*; the verses 7—10 being cast in an antiphonal form, possess of themselves a sort of dramatic interest: „Lift up your heads ye everlasting doors and the king of glory shall come in. Who is the king of glory?“ etc. These words, according to the old patristic exegesis, were made to refer to the journey of Christ into hell; Christ comes with the victorious banner of the cross in his hand and utters his challenge; hell demands who he is and what he intends. This is the principal scene about which cluster several subordinate ones: the joy of patriarchs in limbo, the consternation of the devils, the council of the devils, contest between Christ and Satan, the final binding of Satan by the Savior or by the Archangel Michael.

The *Dominica Pascha,* one of the Blickling Homilies, A. D. 971, describes the scene with minute detail, and is, in part, in dialogue-form. The spirits in great alarm ask: „Hwanon is þes þus strang & þus beorht & þus egesfull?“ Turning to Satan they ask, „gehyrstu ure aldor? þis is se ilca þe þu longe for his deaþe plegodest . . . ac hwæt wilt þu nu don?“ They tell Satan that, in compassing the crucifixion of Christ, he has overreached himself: „tohwon læddest þu þeosne freone & unscyldigne hider?“ Thereupon was heard the lamentation of the hosts of hell („seo arelease helwarena stefn“), the iron bolts of the locks of hell were broken, and Christ felled the old fiend without delay and threw him bound into the abyss.

Aelfric treats this subject briefly, giving, as a reason for Christ's harrowing hell, the fact that the devil had, in instigating the crucifixion, forfeited all claim to the souls in limbo; like a greedy fish he had snapped at a baited

hook. The devil did not understand that Christ was divine, I, 216.

The account given in the *Cursor Mundi,* 17980, seq., is both full and vigorous. At the first approach of Christ the usual contention between Satan and Hell (here personified) takes place; Satan orders Hell to make ready to receive Him that boasted himself to be the son of God. Hell demurs and demands of Satan, who is here both prince and porter, why he would bring Christ into hell. Satan explains that he had caused the Iews to crucify Him and mingle vinegar with gall. Hell is afraid and forbids Satan to bring Christ in, maintains that Satan knew not what he was about and tells him that he is but a „faint fighter". Hell casts Satan out and bolts the doors, Christ without repeats angrily his demands, Hell seizes and sharply snubs Satan:

> „Hell hint ere þam þat Gerard grim
> And selcut snarpli snibbed[1]) him."

And thus while Sir Satan and Hell made their „murnand man" (contention), the King of Bliss had his will.

It will be appropriate to consider in this connection the poem entitled the *Harrowing of Hell,* A. D., 1290, (ed. by E. Mall, 1871, and by K. Böddeker, 1878). This poem is a debate or contention between Christ and Satan and, in all probability, is the earliest devil-scene in dramatic form. That it was intended to be acted is probable; it is not only similar to the corresponding play in the great Mysteries, particularly Townley and Coventry: cf. Mall, but furthermore, the *Christi descensus ad Inferos,* acted before Henry VII at Winchester in 1485, was, as Böddeker remarks, probably this very piece.

The poem is in dialogue form and contains eight persons: Christ, Satan, the Janitor (a devil), Adam, Eve, Moses, David and John. Satan disputes with Christ; being beaten in argument, he complains of his misfortunes:

> „Ich haue had so michel wo,
> That I ne recche, whider I go." 119—120,

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[1]) To snub = to scold, blame, can also mean to tie short, e. g. „snubbing post".

and threatens, in order to make good his losses, to „go from man to man". This, however, Christ will prevent: „So faste shall I binde þe", 127; only „þe smale fendes, þat ben unstronge", 131, shall be permitted to go among men to tempt them. The actual binding of Satan does not here take place, nor does the angel Michael appear.

The little devils, „þe smale fendes" could easily and with good effect be represented on the stage; that they were actually present, however, is not indicated in the poem as we have it, nor do they appear as such, nor are they even mentioned in the *Harrowing of Hell* of the Mysteries.

Another interesting figure in this poem is the devil-porter of hell. His chief trait is cowardice; he leaves the gates to be guarded by whoever will and, with certain side-remarks, runs away:

> „Ne dar I her no lengor stonde;
> Kepe þe ȝates, whoso mai,
> I lete hem stonde and renne awei." 140—2.

This figure belongs to a well-known type; cf., for example, the Porter in the *Conspiracy to take Jesus,* York Plays, 226, and in *Macbeth,* II, 3. A devil as the porter of hell is mentioned in a humorous way in the Towneley Plays, 379/373, seq., otherwise, this rôle is not played by a devil.

Forms. — The forms in which the devil makes his appearance are, on the whole, not greatly varied nor definitely described. References to the devil as a serpent or to the devil in a serpent's form are common. Thus the sermon, *Estote fortes in Bello,* explains the resemblance of the devil to the serpent: „diabolus nominatur hic serpens propter tria invidia; tabescit sine strepitu, serpit, quod pungit veneno afficit", *Hom.,* p. 153: cf. also *Aelfric,* I, 16. Other forms of the devil are sometimes mentioned in the Homilies, but these expressions are, for the most part, figures of speech. According to the sermon on *Psalm CXIX,* he is a hunter, while men are the wild animals and the world is the wilderness, *Hom.,* II, 209. In the *Dies natalis Domini,* it is taught that our foe the devil assumes a variety of forms (geres), sometimes that of a fox, sometimes that of a wolf, *Hom.,* II, 35. *Aelfric* mentions an

invisible devil (ungesewenlic), II, 176 and 454. Invisibility is a motif occurring often in the Legends and in the Morality, *Mankind.*

The Legends of the Saints and Homilies on particular Saints. — The legendary literature differs from that already considered in that the devil-scenes are not based upon biblical sources; in the Legends, devils may be introduced anywhere, but even here, as has already been pointed out, devils are not introduced at random. The nature of the contrast between devil and saint and the reason for the devil's bitter hatred are discussed at length by Roskoff in his *History of the Devil*; the whole matter may be summed up briefly thus: the saint possesses divine virtues and practises asceticism. By the former, the saint, though human, acquires superiority over the devil; the devil is, in consequence, peculiarly aggravated; by the latter, the saint is made peculiarly liable to the attacks of the enemy. The devil of the Legends is the embodiment of the sins that so teased and tormented the holy devotees.

The cross is likewise an object of the devil's hatred. The earliest representation of this in English is in Cynewulf's *Elene* 900—934. The „lacende feond" comes flying in the air, he bewails the finding of the cross, he recounts bitterly how Christ had already diminished his realm and bereft him of his property and threatens to instigate „another King" against the faith. Judas rebukes him and he vanishes. Cynewulf found this description, for the most part, already in his Latin original. The *Cursor Mundi* has the same story:

„Quen funden was þis hali croice,
þe warlau said wit voice,
A ha! Judas quat has þou don?", 21813—5.

The forms in which the evil one was accustomed to show himself are various. In most cases, and always, unless there is some reason for the contrary, he appears in his own proper shape, but, unfortunately, details regarding his form are not very abundant. When he appears in his own proper shape, he is described simply as the „devil", „the black devil",

„loathsome devil“, „foul fiend“, and the like. Stench is often mentioned as an accompaniment of the devil: cf. *Early South. Engl. Legends,* 208/264, 283, 209/301, 312: cf. also the description of the enraged dragon: „stonc þa æfter stane“, *Beowulf,* 2289, this dragon also spouted fire: „gledum spiwan“, *Beowulf,* 2313.

Assumed forms or disguises are frequent, but, as in the case of the real form, they are not explicitly described. The disguises are assumed either for the purpose of tempting the saint or of frightening him. To St. Dunstan the devil appeared in the form of a fair woman, to St. Andrew, as a fair damsel to be shriven, to St. Theodora, in a wild beast's likeness, to St. Martin as a „cruenda bestia“; St. Madwen saw a devil once in the form of a little black boy clinging to Bishop Cheuin's foot.

Occasionally the devil is described as a dragon: „ænne dracca“, *Aelfric,* II, 176, *Hom.,* p. 251, „dragoun“, the *Legend of St. Margarete,* as a dragon spouting fire in *St. Magarete* and in *St. Bartholomew*: Fuyrie speldene al stinkende out of his mouth he blaste and fuyr of brumston at his nose“. It is worthy of note, by the way, that the Legends, Homilies and Bible stories give no hint of the devil having horns, a tail or a cloven hoof; such details are left for development to the pictorial and histrionic arts.

The most elaborate description of a devil's form is given by Osbern Bokenam in his *Life of St. Margarete,* 1443; St. Margarete in prison prays that she might see her enemy; thus he appears:

„A huge dragoun, glastering as glas,
Sodeynly from a corner dede apere
Of the presoun, with an horryble chere;
His hairs were gylt, his beard was long,
His teeth of iron were mighty & strong;
Out of his nosethrylles foul smoke he blew,
His eyen glastryd as sterrys by night,
His tongue over his crowne he threw,
In his clawys a swerd burnished bright,
And anoon the presoun wex full of light

> Of the fire wych out dede renne
> From his mouth & fast gan brenne." 450—61.

This description is, however, not new. Bokenam here follows his Latin original: cf. Horstmann, *Bokenam's Legenden,* IX. The versions of this Legend in the Ashmolean MS. and in the Auchinleck MS. contain a similar, but not so full, description of the dragon.

The saint was not without reason frightened at this monster, particularly so, as he proceeded to swallow her, but, unluckily for him, he swallowed also her cross with her; he, therefore, burst in two and she „escaped harmless" and „thus had the victory". That this monster was a devil, there is no doubt, his name was Ruffyn. „Another deuyll", brother to this one, appears and explains how Ruffyn had assumed the dragon's form: cf. 483. In the Ashmolean version the name is Geffron.

The devil always defeated. — The saints often find themselves in fearful straits in these onslaughts of the evil one, but they are always able, with infallible certainty, to deliver themselves out of all dangers; the sign of the cross, a prayer, a relic, the breathing of Christ's name or merely thinking thereon at the right moment, has the effect of silencing the devil or of putting him to flight. Even the accidental swallowing of a cross caused the body of the monster, according to the *Legend of St. Margarete,* to burst open; the saint escaped unharmed, the monster died. Thus according to the prevailing idea of the Legends the devil is doomed to an everlasting, though ineffectual struggle. Sometimes he complains bitterly of his ill luck, as in the *Elene,* sometimes he is forced to describe his evil works and ways, as Satan does in the *Legend of St. Margarete* or the devil in the *Legend of St. Dominic,* sometimes he is forced, instead of doing the harm he intended, to serve the saint, as in the *Legend of St. James.*

Often, and always to his great disadvantage, the saints or Christ encounter the devil with physical force. In the *Life of St. Catherine* it is related how Christ overcame the fiend and shaved his head, „To scafet his heaued, E. E. T., 56/1190.

At one time there came a flock of devils through the air to carry off St. James to their master, Hermogenes; the saint, however, simply ordered angels to bind the devils in hot chains. The most interesting example of this sort is the popular story of St. Dunstan, who seized the devil one morning by the nose with a pair of hot tongs.

With sinners, on the other hand, the devil has usually more success. *Aelfric* relates how a furious devil seized Egeas, the persecutor of St. Andrew, and threw him to the earth in the sight of all who were present, I, 598; he also relates how an importunate monk once got the consent of St. Benedict to leave his cell; the monk was no sooner outside the monastery than he began to cry for help, for he saw a dragon. *Aelfric* adds: „forðon þæt wæs se ungesewenlica deofol", II, 176. Similarly in the *Legend of St. Brendan,* the devil captures and carries off a bad monk, in the Legend of St. Agnes he strangles the son of the Prefect, and is thus instrumental in rescuing the saint. *The Legend of St. Edmund* relates how the saint one day saw a flock of devils like crows in the air, gaily tossing about „a luyte blac sak". In this sack, according to the statement of the saint, was the soul of a man from Chalgrove who had just died and whose body was still lying warm on his death-bed.

As a matter of course, the devil lays claim to the souls of all bad men. *Aelfric* relates that St. Drihthelm, a pious Northumbrian, was once conducted to hell and there saw how the devils were engaged in bringing in souls: „sum þæra wæs preost, sum læwede mann, sum wimman and ða deoflu sæȝdon hlude hlihhende þæt hi þa sawla for heora synnum habban moston", II, 350. But, as a general thing in the Legends, the devil is cheated of his booty. In the *Legend of St. James* it is related that the devil once induced a young man, a protégé of this saint, to mutilate himself. The young man afterwards commits suicide, and, consequently, must go to hell. The devil comes to claim his property, but the saint makes a counter-claim, „þu berst more þane þin owe". There follows a bitter contention between the two over the soul in question. The devil, apparently, is about to make good his claim, but is suddenly baffled by a miracle, the young man

is brought to life again, *Early South Engl. Legends*, p. 44. Chaucer, in the *Friar's Tale*, gives a description of a devil dressed as a yeoman and riding through the country. The Friar and the Sompnour, being rivals and enemies, seek to demolish each other; the Friar relates how the devil once got possession of a Sompnour. The Sompnour in great rage retaliates; he tells in his *Prologue* a filthy anecdote and describes, where the Friars have their „nest" in hell. Satan is here represented as having

> . . . „a tail
> Brodder than of a carrick is the sail".

Dialogue: Cries. — The Legends contain, occasionally, passages in form of dialogue between saint and devil. The best example of dialogue is in the *Life of St. Dominic*, A. D. 1290. Here the names of the speakers, „Diabolus", „Dominicus", are given, *Early S. Engl. Legends*, p. 285, 286. *The Life of St. James, Early S. Engl. Legends*, p. 35 and the *Legend of St. Serf and the Devil* in Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle* contain likewise good examples of dialogue.

Crying and shouting appears not to be a characteristic of the devil in the Legends, except in cases where he has been seized with hot tongs or bound in hot chains; in this case his howling is justifiable.

Intrigue. — In his attempts to circumvent the saints the devil sometimes resorts to intrigue. For example, the devil hates especially a certain St. Madwen. He goes to a certain Bishop Cheuin, who had been doing penance as a hermit for seven long years and relates to him that St. Madwen had converted a band of thieves promising them immediate entrance, that is, without penance, into heaven; „You see", said the fiend, „your long penance is altogether useless". This infection works like poison, the Bishop collects a following and marches out to punish the saint. As he approaches, the saint sees the devil himself in the form of a small black boy, hanging to the Bishop's left foot and whispering evil suggestions into his left ear. The saint simply prays to God for help, the Bishop immediately sees his mistake and returns humbled and instructed to his cave, *Lives of Engl. women Saints*, p. 93, 94.

In this connection may be mentioned the occurrence of two examples of the Faust-motif. The first is the well-known story of *St. Theophilus,* who through the agency of a Iew, makes a contract with the devil that, for great riches, he will deny Christ and the Virgin Mary. A second example is given in Aelfric's „*Life of St. Basileus*". The devil instigates a young man to love a maiden who has been consecrated to the service of God; he will help the young man only on condition of receiving a written contract: „ac wryt me nu sylf wylles þæt þu wiðsaca Criste", p. 379. He then fires the maiden with love for this young man. Later the saint undertakes to free the young man from the power of the devil and to take him again into the church. The devil, in the mean time, attempts to tear the young man away from the saint crying, „He is mine! I have his written agreement, (his hand-ge-wryt)". „Very well", says the saint, „we will all shout, Kyrie eleison". The result is, the paper falls out of the air into the hands of the saint.

The dramatic value of the Legends. — According to the above cited examples, it will be easily seen that the Legends are almost entirely wanting in dramatic material. First, the necessary conditions of dramatic interest are lacking; the Legends contain, it is true, great contrasts, action and passion, but a situation of suspense is in every instance rendered impossible by the absolute holiness of the saint. In the face of such infallibility what can a poor devil do! Second, real humor is lacking; many scenes, indeed, in the Legends are, according to modern standards, comical or grotesque, but that they were originally intended to be so, particularly in the earlier forms, is doubtful. For such scenes to become regarded as comical, repeated exhibition before the public would be necessary; this was not the case with the Legends.

That the devil-scenes in the Legends have had so little influence upon the English drama, apart from the few dramatized Legends, or Miracle Plays, is owing partly to the nature of the subject-matter of the Legends, and partly perhaps to the prevailing taste in different districts of England. As Ten Brink remarks, *History of Engl. Lit.,* II, 262, the drama flourished better in Anglian than in Saxon England, that is,

better in the districts where Homilies and Bible stories were cultivated than in districts where the Legends flourished. On the other hand, the similarity in subject-matter of the Bible stories and the Mysteries, makes it very evident, as is seen from the foregoing sketch, where the elements of early drama are to be sought for.

II. The devil in the York, Townley, Coventry and Chester Mysteries.

General character. — The character of the devil in the English Mysteries is almost entirely serious. This peculiarity is due, not only to the nature of the devil-scenes, which are, in themselves, tragical, but also preeminently to the fact that the devil of the English stage is the creation, not of the people, but of theology. This is evident from the names of the devils, as well as from their speeches and acting; and, as long as this serious conception of the nature of the devil was retained, it was not possible to treat him satirically or humorously. The writers of the Mysteries have, on the whole, remained true to the sources from which they drew their materials, chiefly the Bible and the apocryphal writings. Accordingly, the devil-scenes in the English Mysteries have not made any special developments. It is only in the treatment of some of the under-devils that the authors have freed themselves to any extent from tradition. Examples of this freer treatment of the figure of the devil occur exclusively in the interpolations and revisions, particularly of the Townley and Coventry Mysteries. Here some of the devils become comical and satirical.

The sources of the figures of the devils in the Mysteries. — The greater of the devil-plays and, at the same time, those which are more than all others common to all the cycles, are the *Fall of Lucifer*, the *Temptation of Eve*, the *Temptation of Christ*, the *Harrowing of Hell* and *Doomsday*: all of which are taken directly from the Bible, or rest upon old interpretations of biblical passages, the latter being particularly the case in the *Harrowing of Hell*. For the figures in the remaining devil-plays, the Mysteries go beyond the

limits of biblical tradition. A comparison of these plays in the various cycles is particularly instructive, some having devils and some not; for example, in the *Slaughter of the Innocents,* devils appear in the Coventry and Chester cycles, but not in York and Townley; and in the *Ascension of the Virgin Mary* in Coventry, but not in York: cf. Table I.

The sources of the figures for which there is no corresponding biblical prototype are various: 1. The figures of the devil in the *Last Supper* (Coventry), the *Conspiracy of the Jews* (Coventry) and the *Dream of Pilate's Wife* (York and Coventry), owe their origin to the mediaeval idea which regarded the devil as the instigator of the evil actions of men. This idea, so prevalent in the old theological literature, may itself rest ultimately upon such passages as *Luke* 22, 3, where Satan is mentioned as entering into Judas Ascariot, though he does not appear in person, and I *John* 3, 8. 2. The devil in the *Ascension of the Virgin Mary* (Coventry) owes his origin to the underlying thought in the Legends — the irreconcilable feud between the fiend and the saint. In the case of the Virgin Mary this feud is especially emphasized by the peculiar position, which she holds in the Christian system: cf. *Genesis* 3, 15. 3. The figures of the devils in the *Slaughter of the Innocents* (Coventry and Chester), *Antichrist* (Chester) and the *Death of the Virgin Mary* (York), rest upon the mediaeval notions about death as they are embodied in the description of the death of the Virgin Mary in *Cursor Mundi* 20219, seq, and in the famous block-book entitled *Ars Moriendi.*[1]) According to the *Ars Moriendi* devils are accustomed to come to the bedside of the dying, in order to make a last effort to secure the departing soul. The souls of the wicked, as Judas, Herod and Antichrist, fall as a matter of course to the devil: cf. *Cursor Mundi*, 16528.

Origin. — According to the Mysteries, the devils are fallen angels, in whom, as a result of the fall, a great transformation has taken place. This transformation is indicated, first, by the changed names of the devils: in the *Creation and Fall of*

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[1]) *Ars Moriendi*, editio princeps, 1450? Translated and published by Caxton, 1490 and 1491.

Lucifer (York) „Primus angelus deficiens Lucifer" and „secundus angelus malus" became „Lucifer diabolus in Inferno" and „secundus diabolus". Also in the *Creation* (Townley) „Primus malus angelus" and „secundus malus angelus" become „primus demon" and „secundus demon". Similarly in *Cursor Mundi* 4789, „Lucifer" changes to „Satan". Second, the devils in their wailings refer to their origin and to their present changed condition: cf. Townley, 5/134—138. Again, Lucifer, in a monologue, gives exact information concerning the number of the fallen angels: „The X part fell down with me", Townley, 8/254—7. The cause of the fall, according to the Mysteries, was the arrogance and pride of Satan. This is expressed dramatically in the form of a contention in heaven between the angeli boni and the angeli mali, by the daring resolve of Satan: „I will go sittyn in Goddes se", Coventry, 20, and by the presumptuous demand of Satan that the angels bow before him, Chester, I, 15.

Number: Names. — The number of the devils which appear in the Mysteries, their names and their distribution in the different cycles are given in the following Table I: (v. p. 19).

It is to be observed that the number of the devils is always as limited as possible; many plays have only one, the usual number is two or three, in one play, the *Harrowing of Hell* (York), there are five. The number sometimes exceeded this: cf. Lucy T. Smith, The York Plays, Introduction, XXVIII. The names, Lucifer and Satan, are common to all the cycles; Belzebub occurs in York, Townley and Coventry; Belial in York and Coventry, Titivillus only in Townley; Lightborn[1]) (English for Lucifer) only in Chester, Rewfyn and Leyon[2]) only in Coventry. Besides these, very common use is made of the simple terms „diabolus" and „demon", often, where

[1]) Lightborn occurs *Genesis and Exodus,* E. E. T., p. 7, and in the Legends, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legende,* 1878, p. 139, Leohtberend, in *Aelfric,* Aelf. Soc. I, 10.

[2]) Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry,* II, 259, regards Rewfyn and Leyon as allegorical persons, i. e., the personifications of the hatred of the Jews against Christ, that is, of the villainy and iniquity of the Jews. They are, however, also devils: cf. Chester, I, 17 and 84. Weinhold and Schröder both give them in their lists of the names of devils in the old German drama.

Table I.

Play	York	Townley	Coventry	Chester
Creation	Lucifer (diabolus in inferno) (Secund. diab.)	Lucifer (Primus demon) Secund. demon	Lucifer Angeli mali	Lucifer (Primus demon) Lightborne (Secund. demon)
Fall	Satan		Serpens (diab.)	Demon
Innoc.	*	*	Diabolus	Demon
Tempt. of Christ	Diabolus		Satan Belial Belzebub	Diabolus
Last Sup.			Demon, Rewfyn, Lyon	
Council of Jews			Demon, Rewfyn, Lyon	
Dream of Pilate's Wife	Diabolus		Satan Demon	
Harrowing of Hell.	Belzebub Satan Belial Primus diab. Secund. diab.	Belzebub Satan Rybald	Belial	Satan Secund. demon Tertius demon
Death of Mary	unus diabolus			
Antichrist				Primus demon Secund. demon
Assumpt. of Mary	*		Primus demon Secund. demon	
Doomsday	i diabolus ii diabolus iii diabolus	Primus demon Secund. demon Titivillus	Primus diab. Secund. diab. Tertius diab.	Primus demon Secund. demon

[*) Contains no devil].

necessary for the sake of distinction, with the addition of „primus“ and “secundus“. A number of names of devils are mentioned in the Mysteries, who, however, do not appear on

the stage. Raynal (Chester, I, 84), Balachar and Ragnal (Chester II,174), Anaball, Astarot, Berith and Bel (*Harrowing of Hell,* York and Townley).[1])

The devil names in the Mysteries are thus almost exclusively biblical; names having reference to the outward appearance, to evil and villainous propensities, or names formed to express humor or satire, do not occur. The Mysteries do not contain a variety of grotesque devils' names; nor are the various devils of the Mysteries possessed of marked individuality, as the very frequent use of the simple designation „diabolus" and „demon" indicates. The only exceptions to this statement are the names Rybald, Rewfyn and Leyon, and Titivillus, all of whom, however, occupy comparatively but very little space. The tendency thus to enlarge the scope of devil characters in a popular way in the religious drama in England progressed no further.

Hierarchy of the devils. — Definite distinctions of rank and office cannot from the use of the names of the devils be inferred. In a rough way only two classes of devils can be distinguished, an upper and a lower. Lucifer is to be regarded as the chief. The confusion in the use of the devils' names may be clearly shown by the following example:

„Demon: I am your lord Lucifer, that out of hell came,
Prince of this world and great duke of hell,
Wherefore, my name is called Sir Satan",

Coventry, p. 239; here the designation demon, in the rubric, and the names, Lucifer and Satan, in the text, refer of course to one and the same person. Belzebub appears also to enjoy the rank of a ruler. He says of himself: „Whilst I am Prince and principal" etc. York, 378/111, speaks, however, immediately thereafter of „Satan, our Sire", 379/117.

The use of the devils' names in any given play in the various cycles is not consistent; for example, Ribald in the

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[1]) For further references on devils' names see: Weinhold, *Ueber das Komische im altdeutschen Schauspiele*, *Jahrbuch für Litteratur und Geschichte,* 1865; Karl Schröder, *Redentinerspiel,* 1893; Wieck, *Die Teufel auf der mittelalterlichen Mysterienbühne Fankreichs,* 1887; Osborn, *Die Teufellitteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Acta Germanica,* III, 3, 1893.

Townley Plays corresponds, for the most part, to diabolus in York. Belzebub in Townley corresponds sometimes to Belzebub and sometimes to the first, sometimes to the second diabolus, and sometimes to Satan in York. However, when a name of a devil occurs in the text of different cycles, the names agree: for example, Belzebub, York, 377/97; Townley, 296/93, and Rybald, York 378/99; Townley, 296/94.

A system of titles of rank and particular modes of salutation among the devils is only to a limited extent developed. Such expressions as are to be found in the Mysteries are classified in the following

Table II.

a) *Of Satan and Lucifer:*

Sir, York, 382/169; Townley, 298/172; Chester II, 75, 81; Coventry, p. 399.
Sir Satan our sire, Townley, 296/111.
Sir Satan our sovereign, sir, Coventry, p. 205.
Sir Satan in the herne, Coventry, p. 399.
Sir Lucifer, lufly of lyre, Townley, 296/113; York, 379/319.
Satan our sire, York, 379/117.
Lucifer, that lord, Chester, II, 175.
Lufly Lucifer . . . . king and lord of sin and pride, Coventry, p. 207.

b) *In Assemblies:*

Ye dear worthy devele of hell, Coventry, p. 205.
hell hounds, Chester, II, 174.
Hell, hell, Coventry, p. 309.
fellows, Townley, 9/260.

c) *Said of himself:*

A devil most doughty, Coventry, p. 308.
a devil full dark, Coventry, p. 21.
prince of this world-great duke of hell, Coventry, 239.

d) *Said by God or Jesus:*

fiend, York, 478/154; Townley, 301/250; etc.
thou wicked fiend, York, 386/334.
thou foul Satan, Coventry, p. 211.

this foul fiend, York, 183/183.
devil, Townley, 304/357.
thou wared wight, York, 180/73.
warlow, York, 181/115.
wicked worm, York, 27/150.
traitor, Townley, 303/321.
ye princes of hell, Townley, 299/193.
ye princes of pains, York, 379/122.

e) *In ordinary conversation:*

master, Chester, II, 199.
fellows, York, 4/94; 505/217; etc.
master mine, Townley, 372/171.
hell hounds, Coventry, p. 399.
my friend and frery, Chester, I, 17.

f) *Said by the „Tapster":*

Sergeant, Chester, II, 81.

(g) *The devil designates Christ as:*

that lurdan, York, 179/32.
swain, York, 179/19.
this gentleman Jesus, York, 277/161.
this traitor, York, 381/150.
dastard, York, 382/180; Townley, 299/183.
harlot, York, 383/185.
gadling, York, 384/212.
fellow, York, 388/284.
page, York, 379/125.
Sir, York, 183/151.
belamy, York, 385/213.
thou witty man, York, 180/55.
brodell, Townley, 297/122.
lad, Townley, 297/138.
dossiberde, Chester, I, 201.
stubborn fellow, Chester, II, 77.
popilarde, Chester, II, 76.
this shrew, Chester, II, 75.

h) *God is addressed as:*

god, Chester, II, 196.
goodman, Chester, II, 196.)

Outfit. — Neither the stage-directions nor the words of the players furnish very exact information concerning the appearance and outfit of the devils. It is merely emphasized that they are black, ragged and frightful. The devils bewail, among other things, the loss of their former beauty and brilliancy;

„We that were angels so fair,
And sat above the air,
Now are we waxen black as any coal,
And ugly tattered as a fool“, Townley, 5/134—7.

The stage-direction in Coventry, p. 307, indicates the same, „Here entereth Satan into the place in the most orryble wyse“. But just what this „most orryble wyse“ was, or how it was attained, is not explained. The expressions „loathest“, York, 5/100; „figure foul“, York, 478/155 etc. are also used in this same general way.

The account-books of the Guilds are a much richer source of information in regard to the devil's outfit. Sharp in his *Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries* has given a number of interesting extracts from these books, such as: „Heare for the demons cotts and hose“, p. 59, „Devel's face“, „head“, „malle“, „clubbe“ and „staff“, p. 56. The devils were thus furnished with hairy suits and with masks and were armed with clubs. Satan refers once to his club as a „crocket camrocke“, Chester, I, 186, a sort of crooked club made of buckram. Sharp gives also some cuts of the wall-decorations of the Chapel at Stratford-on-Avon, illustrating hell-mouth and groups of devil-figures: See plates 6. and 9. According to Townley, 350/103, the secundus demon very probably did not wear a mask from the fact, as he asserts, that he made faces: „gryned and gnast“.

According to the *Proemium* to the Chester Plays, dated 1600, the butchers of the town were charged with the exhibition of the devil in his feathers „all ragger and rent“, p. 5. Robert Rogers, Archdeacon of Chester, who wrote in 1609, condemning the „midsomer showe“, corroborates the description given in the above mentioned *Proemium*; among other things, he mentions: „ye divil in his fethers before ye butchers, . . . which were reformed and amended“: See Furnivall, The Digby Mysteries

XXIII. The amusing account *„of John Andryons in Devyll Apparell"*, 1553?, reprinted in Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry* II, 263, shows how realistic and effective the make-up of the devil at that time was.

Occasionally the devil disguises himself, but he does this only in the play of the *Temptation of Eve,* where the biblical account requires it. He says in York, 23/231: „In a worme likeness I will wend", and in Chester, I, 27, „the edders cotte I will put on"; this latter remark is immediately followed by the stage-direction: „Superius volucris penna, serpens pede, forma puella."

The stage. — The Mystery-stage consisted of two, or sometimes three, stages or platforms, one above the other, the lower one of which represented hell: Strutt, *Manners and Customs* III, 130. The stage-direction in the *Mary Magdalene,* The Digby Plays, p. 67: „Here shall enter þe prince of dylles in a stage and hell onderneth þat stage", refers explicitly to this arrangement of the stages; also in Coventry, p. 309: „Here xal a devil spekyn in hell." The entrance to, and at the same time a part of, hell, was the hell-mouth; before which most of the hell-scenes took place. Sharp in his Dissertation gives a number of drawings of hell-mouth, together with some extracts from the account-books of the Guilds concerning the construction of and care for the same, p. 16.

The Fall of the angels was in all probability, represented realistically in the York and Chester Plays. The speech of Lucifer, York, 4/92, refers to an actual fall: „all goes down"; this passage is lacking in the corresponding play in Townley. In Chester, I, 16, God commands Lucifer to fall and the stage-direction provides as follows", Now Lucifer and L[ightborn fall]". In Coventry, p. 21, on the other hand, there is neither a fall nor use of fire: the representation of this scene, in this cycle is decidedly flat; God commands Lucifer to fall, Lucifer answers: „Thy will I work, to hell I take my way."

None of the great Mystery-cycles contain, in the stage-directions, any mention of the use of fire. Sharp found in the account-books only one entry for fire in hell-mouth, and that of a late date: „1557—I tm̃ payd for keeping fyer at hell mothe iiij d." The use of fire on the stage was rather the

peculiarity of the Digby Plays. In the York Plays, however, Lucifer complains, at the time of his fall, of intolerable heat, „slyke hat", 5/97, and again, he complains of the heat and of the smoke, which rolls up from below, „ye smore me in smoke", 5/117.

The scenes in the *Harrowing of Hell* are treated with more than usual detail and are distinguished, especially in the York and Townley Mysteries, by much noise and commotion. The play consists of three parts: First, the excitement among the souls that have been long imprisoned, the astonishment and hasty council of the devils, York, 377/97, Townley, 296/95, the barring of the doors. Second: The bursting open of the doors at the sudden coming of Christ, unusual consternation of the devils:

> „Harro! our gates begin to crak,
> In sunder I trow they go,
> And hell I trow will all to-shak,
> Alas what I am wo!" Townley, 300/212.

Third: Satan is overpowered and bound by the Archangel Michael, York, 392/340, Coventry, p. 345.

The Occupations of the devils: Councils. — Real councils of the devils are held only twice: just before Satan attempts the temptation of Christ, Coventry, p. 205, and in the *Harrowing of Hell,* Chester, II, 74. In the last-mentioned play, in the York and Townley Mysteries, an assembly of the chief devils is summoned, but, owing probably to the sudden appearance of the Savior, it was prevented. Occasionally a chief devil appears as if addressing a supposititious audience, and thereby announces his plans, Townley, 9/260; Coventry, p. 239. Occasionally the devils take counsel with one another wherever they happen to meet, and discuss their undertakings, for example, in *Doomsday,* York and Townley, and in the *Death of Antichrist,* Chester, II, 175.

Conveying of Souls to Hell. — A special occupation of the devils, as the passage in *Cursor Mundi,* 16528, teaches is the conveying of the souls of bad men, especially of hardened sinners and adversaries of God, to hell. The stage-direction in the *Slaughter of the Innocents,* Coventry, p. 186, is as

follows: „Hic dum buccinant mors interficiat Herodem et duos milites subito et diabolus recipiat eos:“ the devil enters immediately with the shout, „Alle oure! alle oure! this cattle is mine, I shall bring them into my cell“. In a similar way two devils carry off the soul of Antichrist, relate jokingly that they deeply regret his departure, and describe how he shall hang on a hook in hell; the secundus demon says to his mate: „Thou take him by the top and I by the tail“, Chester, II, 176.

In the *Death of the Virgin Mary,* York, p. 478, Mary prays to her Son, just as in the *Cursor Mundi* and in almost the same words:

> „And dear Sone whane I shall dye,
> I pray þe þan for þi mercy,
> þe fende þou latte me nought see“, 127—134.

She then prays for sailors, the oppressed, and for women in childbirth, all which prayers Christ grants, excepting the first: „But mother, þe fende must be nedis at þyne ending, In figure foule for to fere þe“ (freighten thee), 155, but He promises to send His angels to be about her. At the conclusion of the piece are these words: „Cum uno diabolo“, but the diabolus says nothing in the play. The resemblance of this scene to the eleventh picture in the *Ars Moriendi* is striking, there the soul of the dying person is represented rising in the form of an infant into the outstreched hands of the angels, while six horrible fiends rave in disappointment about the bed.

With the living the devils have in the Mysteries but little to do, excepting with Eve and with Christ. Only Rewfyn and Leyon associate exclusively with men; they instigate the Jews against Christ, Coventry, p. 250, 260, and close the bargain with Judas. Later, Coventry, p. 275, a devil, in all likelihood Rewfyn or Leyon, comes to praise and encourage Judas. In the *Dream of Pilate's Wife,* Coventry and York, a devil enters in order to inspire the dream. In the *Harrowing of Hell,* Chester, II, 83, one of the devils assumes a function which, in the English Mysteries, is very unusual; he wants to marry the tapster who is left behind at the time of the delivery of the souls: „Welcome my dear lady I shall thee wed“. This episode

is manifestly an interpolation: according to Halliwell it is wanting in the Harleian Ms.

In the *Doomsday* the devils that appear are all under-devils, none of the chief devils appearing; in this play they have the task of laying claim to and selecting out the condemned souls. In York, 505/217, and Townley, 370/112, the devils prepare to fight for their so-called „fee", but the fight is not carried out, a court-or judgment-scene takes its place. The writers of the Mysteries seem hardly able to handle a court-scene successfully, although the English judicial usages were certainly not unknown to them: cf. Miss L. T. Smith, York Plays, *Introduction*, LVII. As a matter of fact, the judge, in this case, God or Christ, is omniscient, and this may account for the weakness of the dramatic interest. In Coventry, indeed, the condemned are already branded as such, the devils are really superfluous. In York, 505/217, seq., this scene occupies only twelve lines, the devils rely simply upon the justice of God in the matter: „He shall do right to foe and friend", and express themselves as confident that the truth now will out, but at the final condemnation of the souls no devils appear.

In Coventry, p. 403, seq., the lost souls beg for mercy: „No. mercy", says the devil, and points to the mark on their brows. God utters his judgment and the devils go through the crowd picking out the condemned according to the categories of the deadly sins. They briefly describe each of these sins, but without humor or satire; only lechery is designated by the name of Sybile Schlutte.

In Chester, II, 194, seq., the devils, as in York, rely on the justice of God, with this difference, however, they expressly remind God of his own laws, and refer to the New Testament:

„These words, God, thou said express,
As Matthew thereof bears witness ....
And lest thou forget, good man,
I shall mind thee upon,
For speak Latin well I can ....
Filius hominis etc. ...
Therefore, if righteous thou be,

These men are mine,
Or else thou art as false as we" etc.

They then lay claim to various classes of sinners, a pope, an emperor, a king, and a queen. Jesus utters his judgment, the devils declare themselves well satisfied: „A, Sir Judge, this goeth aright", and, with cruel words, turn to the condemned.

The secundus demon in this scene in the Chester plays, whose rôle is apparently an interpolation, appears to regard himself in duty bound to see that nothing is forgotten. In great anxiety he calls out: „Forget not these thieves two!", referring especially to a merchant and a lawyer. In the merchant's case he had kept an accurate account; for every misdeed, the devil had put a kernel of corn into a sack, until the sack had finally become so heavy as almost to brake his neck, Coventry, p. 199—200.

Fear. — As a rule the devils are brave in spite of the fearful situations in which they frequently find themselves. Satan, for instance, orders his armor brought: „Myself shall to that gadling go", *Harrowing of Hell*, York, 384/212, and at the same time he blames the cowardice of the others. Expressions of fear are however not uncommon: „I have great dread", York, 380/137, „Now wax I wode, and out of my wite", York, 292/344, „My wit waxes thin", 296/91, „I gin quake", Coventry, p. 30, „sore afraid, Chester, II, 79.

Cries. — The devils utter, as they enter, preferably the word „harrow", combined frequently with „out", „alas" or „we" etc., „Out harrow" is, in fact, a cry for help, the old Norman hue and cry, and expresses in the plays consternation or pain. It is especially frequent in the plays of great excitement as the *Fall of Lucifer* or the *Harrowing of Hell*; here the use is in keeping with the sense and is justifiable. On other occasions, the devil enters quietly, for example, York, 21/3, Coventry, p. 25, 205, 399, etc., Chester, I, 201 etc. In Coventry, p. 399, occurs the exclamation „Harrow, harrow, we come to town", which is here quite meaningless and indicates a deterioration of the expression to a mere interjection. The devil in this case is happy; he is just leaving hell in order to carry off the soul of the dead prince. This passage is, according to Halliwell, not original; cf. The Coventry Mysteries, p. 418.

The cry „harrow", or „out harrow", it is further to be remarked, is not exclusively a cry of devils; it is used by Cain, when attempting to make his sacrifice burn, Townley, 17/275; by Noah's Wife, while being forced into the Ark, York, 48/98; by the King of Egypt in the Red Sea, York, 91/403; etc. etc. Moreover, the devil enters often with altogether different ejaculations: „Makė room beleve and let me gone", York, 178/1; „Ware, ware", Chester, I, 186; „Alas", Chester, I, 16. „Anon, master, anon", Chester, II, 174, etc. etc.

Actual roaring on the part of the devil in the Mysteries simply to make a noise is unusual. An unmistakeable reference to this so-called habit of devils is in the *Harrowing of Hell*, York, 378/99, and Townley, 297/143; Rybald announces the disturbance in the vestibule of hell, Belzebub asks snappishly, „Why roaris thou so Rybald? Thou rorys". Again in Coventry, p. 399, a devil warns his companions to be quiet, lest „Sere Satan may hear our sound".

Quarrelling. — As soon as the devils, after their fall, find themselves in hell, they begin to quarrel with each other. The followers of Satan ascribe to him in no gentle words the responsibility for their misfortune. Secundus demon says, „All this sorrow thou hast us sought", Chester, I, 16. Lucifer, however, rejects the charge with scorn. In York, 5/115, seq., Lucifer and secundus demon, give each other the lie, and not being content with words, they soon come to blows; the devils soundly trounce Lucifer, their leader: „We lurdans have at you". The remark of Belial, as Michael throws Satan into hell, is anything but sympathetic:

> „þis saide we are,
> Now shale þou fele þy fitte", York, 392/345—6.

A subject of dispute between the devils (hell) and Satan was also the question of admitting the Savior, after the crucifixion, into hell. This contention, already found in the description of the *Harrowing of Hell in Cursor Mundi,* occurs as a sort of prelude to the *Dream of Pilate's Wife* in Coventry p. 309; the devil blames Satan for accomplishing the crucifixion of Christ; Christ could, should He come to hell, do much

injury to the place; accordingly, Satan hurries to Pilate's Wife and tries thus to prevent the execution.

Scolding. — Satan is occasionally given to scolding. In the *Harrowing of Hell,* (York and Townley) he blames the devils for their weak defence of hell. As Rybald brings the startling news „Limbo is lorn, alas!", Satan curses: „hanged be thou on a crook",

„Thieves, I bade ye should be bowne,
To ding that dastard down", Townley, 300/217—219. Belzebub objects to these words; he remarks, that is very easy to say, go yourself, and defy the Savior. And because Belzebub is unable to resist Christ's bitter strokes, Satan again severely scolds, Townley, 300/225. In Townley there are a number of verses interpolated, which are lacking in York, namely, where Belzebub in his anxiety calls up Satan; Satan had apparently not been present and appears at first unable to grasp the situation. He answers angrily and brutally:

„The devil you all to-har
What ails you so to shout
And me, if Icome nar,
Thy brain bot I bryst out", Townley, 797/142—45.

Oaths and opprobrious epithets. — It is remarkable that the devils in the Mysteries are but seldom addressed by each other or by their opponents with oaths or curses; these for the most part fall to the lot of the Savior, owing probably to the fact, that the opponents of the Savior are mostly persons of the lower order, such as servants or lackeys, or are objects of popular hatred such as Herod, whose leading characteristic is profanity; while, on the other hand, the opponents of the devil are exalted personages, God, Christ and Eve, who do not swear at all. A list of the oaths opprobrious epithets used by the devils is given in the following

Table III.

a) *By the devil:*

dewes, York, 4/92.
develeway, York, 380/133.
what devil, etc. York, 385/223, Townley, 297/116.
a develys name, Coventry, p. 390.

The devil yo all to-har, Townley, 297/142.
The devil may speed thy stinking face, Chester, I, 16.
by Belzebub, Chester, I, 26.

b) *By Mahommed:*

Coventry, 199, Chester, II, 197, 199, 200.

c) *Asservations:*

to swear on a book, Townley, 370/100.
by my sovereignty and principality, Chester, I, 201.
mayfay, Townley, 373/188.
by my lewtie, Chester, I, 186.
as I broke my pane, Chester, I, 27; II, 197.

d) *Imprecations:*

high mot he hang, York, 181/117.
hanged be thou on a crook, Townley, 300/216.
The devil you all to-har, Townley, 297/142.
high might you hang right with a rope, York, 178/4.
The devil may speed thy stinking face, Chester, I, 16.

e) *Opprobrious epithets:*

lurdan, York 5/108, Townley, 72/239.
faytour, York, (feature) 80/213, Townley, 298/160.
false faytour, Chester, I, 16.
Thieves, Townley, 300/217.[1])

Obscenity. — It is still more remarkable that the devil of the English stage is almost entirely free from obscenity; with the exception of the really harmless word in Coventry, p. 21 and 30, there is, in the speeches of the devils, hardly any traces of vulgarity or obscenity, even from the modern point of view. To be sure Titivillus and the devil in Coventry, p. 101, 104, border closely, in their satirical remarks, on the obscene. Titivillus uses once the word „luddokys", Townley, 377/314, and speaks of „Nell's . . . smock" which is open behind: Townley 377/328. But, as has already pointed out, these passages are of a later date.

Malevolent speeches. — The devils are accustomed to hold up before their victims the terrors of hell. This trait is likewise

[1]) Wanting in the corresponding passage in the York Plays.

characteristic of the later revisions of the Mystery texts. In Coventry, p. 186, for example, the devil tells Herod that he will teach him „Plays fine“ and show him „such mirth as in hell“. The tertius demon in Chester, II, 83, welcomes the dishonest tapster to „endless bale“. The devil in Coventry, p. 275, says to Judas, that he shall have the honor of sitting beside the devil in hell „in fire and stink“. In Chester, II, 199, the devil addresses the condemned souls thus, „Judged you shall be to my belly . . . . and delivered be you never“. Titivillus and his companions, as they drive the condemned souls off to hell, describe with malicious joy, the pains of hell, the pitch and the messes of rotten oysters. Likewise, concerning the hell-fires and the kindling of the same, the devils are apparently much concerned: „Blow flames of fire to make them burn“, Coventry, p. 399; similarly, p. 430, Chester, II, 176, 199.

Malice and hatred. — The devil gives expression occasionally to his hatred of man and to his desire for revenge. In Coventry, p. 29, God asks the devil, why he has led man astray; the fiend replies that he had long cherished great enmity against man because man had been put into the place in heaven which Lucifer and his followers had forfeited: „for I am full of great envy, of wrath and wicked hate;“ similarly, Chester, I, 17.

Monologues. — As the devil undertakes the temptation of our first parents, he comes upon the stage in a state of great tribulation, „for woe, my wit is in a war“, York, 21/1, describes his bitter lot, and announces his purpose of defeating the plans of God, his motive being to prevent man from enjoying the place in heaven which he himself has lost, York, 22/1, seq., Chester, I, 25, seq. The process is the same in the *Temptation of Christ,* York, 178/1, seq., Chester, I, 201, and in the *Dream of Pilate's Wife,* York, 277/159, seq., Coventry, p. 308. In the *Temptation of Eve* in Coventry this announcement of his plans on the part of the devil is wanting.

It is a marked characteristic of these monologues that they always precede the action to which they relate; that is, except to make some remarks concerning his own fall, or concerning his deeds in the world — matters having nothing to do with the play — the devil explains in advance only his

undertakings, but never reports or comments on his own past actions in the play nor on those of others.

The demon in the *Conspiracy of the Jews*, Coventry, p. 239—243, opens the play with a long speech, boasts of his activity in the world, „the dyvercyte of my varyauns", lashes satirically the vices of the times, and describes euphemistically the seven deadly sins. As he makes his exit, he declares himself at all times ready for action, but he does not appear again in the play. This speech has but very little connection with the play in question, for the play deals with the betrayal of Christ and has nothing to do with social conditions in general. See below, p. 34 for a discussion of the relation of this passage with *Judicium* of the Townley Plays.

The devil addresses the audience directly but very seldom. In Chester, II, 176, the devil says to the dead Antichrist, „a doleful look that thou now deal to all this fair company". In the *Slaughter of the Innocents*, Chester, I, 186, the devil threatens the audience with his club, and warns those who are in the habit of giving scant measure with the same fate as Herod, there are many here who may perhaps like to bear him company. With the remark that he will soon return for others he takes leave of the audience.

Asides. — The only examples of asides in the speeches of the devils are in the *Temptation of Christ*; the devil, each time he is repulsed, comments on his failure and announces his resolve to try again, York, 181/85,97, 182/125, Coventry, p. 203, 205.

Titivillus and his companions. — The devil-scenes in the *Judicium, or Doomsday* in the Townley Plays, verses 89—384 and verses 386—532, are interpolations. This is evident from the versification, which differs from that of the rest of the play; moreover, these scenes are lacking in the York Plays, whose *Doomsday* otherwise substantially agrees with that of the Townley Plays. These scenes require special notice, Titivillus et al. differing as they do, in their actions and speeches, from the usual type of the devil in the Mysteries.

As is well-known, the Townley Plays contain several scenes of broad humour, for example, Noah and his wife, Mac and the other shepherds, Cain and his servant, and some others.

Among these comical figures is to be included also that of Titivillus and his companions, which, excepting a few traces here and there, contains the only devil-humour in the Mysteries. Pollard is of opinion that all these comical scenes in the Townley Plays are the work of some unknown but gifted humorist and poet; cf. Townley Plays, E. E. T. XXX. This assumption is contradicted, however, by the condition of the text of the *Judicium.* There are, for example, in the speeches of the devil in verses 225—366 repetitions from the speeches of the devils in verses 143—185,[1]) repetitions which would hardly have been made, were the whole of the work of one author. Further, in the speeches of Titivillus, verses 237—305, are a number of striking correspondences to passages in the speech of the demon in the Council of the Jews, Coventry, p. 69—109.[2])

Action. — The primus demon enters with the usual cry „out harrow", 370/89, the two demons „primus" and „secundus"

[1]) 1. Of lurdans and lyars, 145, repeated 359.
2. Mychers and thefes, 144, repeated 359.
3. Of flytars, of flyars that no man lefys, 146, flytars and flyars that all men reprefes, 360.
4. A bag full of brefes, 143, Of brefes in my bag, 225.
5. Of femynyn gender, 161, Of femellys a quantite, 253.
6. backbytars, 161, repeated 366.
7. fals quest-datyrs, 185, fals dedys forgars, 365.
8. ire, 152, repeated 332.
9. Thou art the best hyne that euer came beside us, 170.
Now the best body art thou that euer cam here in. 272.

[2]) 1. long pekyd shoon, Coventry 69; hemmyd shoyn, Townley, 238,
2. thou poverty be chef let pride be present, Coventry, 75.
thou prowde as pennyles, Townley 337.
3. Wolle or flokkys, where it may be sowth,
To stuff withal thi dobelet, Coventry, 77—78.
Of prankyd gownes and shoulders up set,
Mos and flokkys sewyd within. Townley, 288.
4. A beggerys dowtere . . . to cownterfete a gentylwoman.
With here prevy plesawns to get (money) of som man, Cov. 101—104.
Ilka las in a lande, like a lady nerehande,
So fresh and so plesande makys men to folly, Townley, 256—258.
5. I have browth you newe namys, Coventry, 109, (i. e. of the Seven Sins).
Yit of the Sinnes seven som thyng speciall now nately to neven, Townley, 305.

vie with each other in grotesque descriptions of their fright caused by the noise and the blowing of the horn, 370/89—111. The division of the parts between these two is admirably carried out, the first serving chiefly to prompt the speeches and action of the second, very much in the manner of modern clown exhibitions. Primus demon, although he would rather walk three times to Rome than go up to this doom, proposes nevertheless to „make ready our gear", 370/112, similarly 372/175, to „examine our books", 371/140. He then asks of the secundus demon:

„Is aught ire in thy bill
And thou shall drink", 372/153.

„Hast thou aught written there of the feminine gender?" 372/161. The skillful answering of these questions he rewards with laughter, 372/152, 373/196, and with praise: „Thou are the best hind", etc., 372/170. The secundus demon, on the other hand, is the important personage of the scene. He has with him the books and registers, „a bag full of brefes", 371/143, and „these rolles", 373/183, and is anxiously concerned to push matters: „Let us go up to this doom up Watling Street", 371/126. He is, however, before all others, the satirist.

Satire. — The secundus demon has in his sack all sorts of sins, which he pungently describes, enumerating two separate lists of the vices of the times, 371/142—157 and 373/183—187. He is satirical at the expense of the proud, 371/150, at the expense of the women, the registers of whose sins fill more books than he can well carry, 372/162—169, at the expense of the administration of law and justice: „faith and truth have no feet to stand", 373/188, „the poor people must pay", 372/189, „worse people worse laws", 373/195, and finally, refers to the infinite wickedness of the world. He is of opinion that, had the Day of Judgment been longer postponed, it would have been necessary to build an addition to hell: „We must have bigged hell more, the world is so warrid", 372/180.

Titivillus. — At this point Titivillus suddenly enters; „I am one of your order and one of your sons", 373/207: „I was your chief tollar and sithen court rollar (registrar), Now I am

master tollar", 374/211—213; that is, he has become a Lollard. He relates, further, how he has been instrumental in delivering more than 10,000 souls hourly into hell. Being asked his name, he quotes from a well known poem, „Fragmina verborum Titivillus colligit horum" etc., (Lansd. Mss, 762, see Wright). So far as action goes, Titivillus has but very little to do with the plot. He simply shows his „Roll of Ragmen of the Round Table", 374/224, that is, a list of various delinquents, he describes satirically the new fashions in the dress of men, 374/233—244, and 376/287—295, which he calls „a point of the new get" 376/286, an expression used by Chaucer, *Prologue*, 682, the faults of women, 375/255—271, adultery, 376/277, and a number of political and ecclesiastical abuses, such as the crimes of „false swearers", 376/279.

„raisers of false tax", 376/283,
„kirckchatterers", 376/296,
„gatherers of green wax", 376/284.

The name Titivillus has not yet been definitely explained. Douce derives it from *titivillicum*, a word which occurs in Plautus, Cas. 2. 5, 39, and signifies a trifle, something insignificant; in sense this certainly agrees with the character of Titivillus, whose function is to collect „fragmina verborum". Collier derives the name from totus and vilis. Schroeder, *Redentinerspiel, Einleitung,* p. 17, regards the word simply as a cloister joke, an anagram of diabolus. The name appears in English, German and French, the oldest occurrence being in the writings of an Englishman, John Bromyard, an opponent of Wyclif. Bromyard was accustomed to collect old stories of monks, some of which he took from Jacob Vitrys, a Frenchman living in the first half of the thirteenth century. Vitrys has an account of a devil who collected the syllables skipped in the services by the monks. Bromyard, in repeating this story, adds the name Titivillus: „Et dixit sanctus: quale nomen habes. Daemon respondit: Titivillus vocor, ille autem fecit inde, versum: fragmina psalmorum Titivillus colligit horum" etc.[1]) Bromyard thus appears to assume the authorship of the verses on Titivillus and the invention of the name.

[1]) Bolte, *Der Teufel und die Kirche,* Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte, 1879: also Wright, *Latin stories,* Percy Society, 1842.

III. The devil in the Digby Plays (The Conversion of St. Paul, Mary Magdalene) and Noah's Ark or, the Shipwrights' Play.

The common characteristics of this group are: First, sensation is purposely aimed at. Second: The stage-directions are more explicit. Third: Devil-scenes are introduced or enlarged. The date of the manuscript of the Digby Plays is set by Furnivall at 1480–90. The *Noah's Ark* of Newcastle-on-Tyne, is preserved in a print of 1786, it is the only remaining play of a cyclus of 22—23 pieces, known to exist as early as 1426: cf. Holthausen, p. 11, 12.

The sources of the figures of the devil. The third characteristic above mentioned is made evident by the fact that the scenes in question are manifestly interpolations; the entire devil-scene, for example, in the *Paul,* has been inserted by a later hand: See Furnival, The Digby Plays, p. 43. The same is also probably the case in the *Magdalene* : See Ten Brink, *Geschichte der engl. Lit.* II, 320. Furthermore, it is to be observed that the *Legend of Mary Magdalene,* upon which the play is based, makes no mention of devils: cf. the versions in the *Early South English Legends* and in Osbern Bokenhams *Lives of the Saints.* The play of the *Flood* in the York, Townley, Coventry and Chester Mysteries, likewise the biblical account of the *Flood* and *Noah's Ark,* and the biblical account of the Apostle Paul, contain no devils. It is true that, according to the *New Testament,* seven devils were driven out of Mary Magdalene, but this is not sufficient to account for the appearance, in the play, of Satan and other devils. The seven devils reappear in the play as the Seven deadly Sins

Professor Brandl has remarked, *Grundriss,* II, 711, that the construction of the play of *Noah's Ark* approaches that of the Moralities, that is, that humanity here stands between the good angel and the Vice (devil?); similarly again, *Archiv,* 100, p. 436, adding that the rôle of Noah's Wife, as the instrument in the hands of the devil for deceiving Noah, is unusual and reminds one of the methods of the Moralities. Holthausen is of the same opinion; Brotaneck in his edition of this play thinks that the *Noah's Ark* suggests rather the temptation of

Eve by the serpent. This, however, is decidedly too vague; one could even as well refer to the story of Job, where, indeed, a devil, a woman and a man appear.

Professor Brandl's explanation, that the devil is here introduced in imitation of the Moralities is likewise not conclusive; if the *Noah's Ark* were written under the influence of the Moralities, why, one may ask, is the figure in question called „diabolus" rather than Mischief or Detractio or some usual Vice-name? Further, the function of this „diabolus" is not that of the Vice, which is to lead some one into sin and pleasure; and his manner is not that of the Vice, who, as tempter, does not use a middle person or agent. For the devil to act thus through an agent is common, as numerous examples: the *Legend of St. Madeven*, the *Legend of St. Dorothe*, the *Blickling Homily on St. Andrew*, E. E. T. p. 239, etc., etc., prove.

Far more material, however, in this case, is the fact, that the underlying thought of these plays, including the *Noah's Ark*, is very different from that of the Moralities. Noah, Paul, and Mary Magdalene are saints, each being charged with some great work for God, which the devil, as the enemy of God, seeks to thwart. Diabolus in the *Noah's Ark* says:

„Although I have heard say
A ship that made should be,
For to save withouten nay
Noah and his meenye:
Yet troubled they shall be,
. . . .
To taynt them yet I trow." 100—106.

Similarly Satan in the *Magdalene* says:

„In haste we must a conseyll take,
. . . .
A woman of worship our servant to make." 382—384;

and Belial in the Paul acting upon the suggestion of Mercury, says with reference to the Apostle Paul,

. . . „this death, doubtless
It is conspired to reward thy falseness," 486.

Thus it is plain that the persons in these plays and their

grouping is the same as in the Legends; the devils here act from the same motives; the Legend-literature had been and still was much in vogue, and the taste for diablerie was then in the ascendency; on the other hand, the Moralities were yet only in the earlier stages of development. Hence there is every reason for referring the origin of the devils in these three plays to the Legends.

The Miracle Play, *Mary Magdalene,* itself a dramatised Legend, approaches more nearly than any other play of this group to the Moralities because of the prominent part played in the life of Mary Magdalene by the sensual sins. In the Legend, as in the *New Testament,* she is simply represented as a common sinner; the falling into sin, as the result of the temptation of the senses, is the special development of the play and is made the work of the devils:

„A woman of worship our servant to make."

It is consequently not surprising that this theme, which lends itself so naturally to such treatment, should later be made use of in a Morality, the *Mary Magdalene* of 1567 by Lewis Wager-a play containing a Vice but no devil; the theological literature had, by this time, fallen into decadence and diablerie become out of fashion.

Names. — The names of the chief devils are the same as in the greater Mystery cycles, that is, they are of biblical origin: Lucifer, Satan, Belial, dylle, or diabolus. The term demon, however, does not occur. In the *Mary Magdalene* Satan is designated as „Prince of devils", p. 68, later as „diabolus" p. 76, „Rex Diabolus", p. 82, and „primus diabolus" p. 82—83. Besides him appears a number of under-devils: „Belfagour" = „secundus diabolus", „Belzebub" = „Tertius diabolus", and others designated as „tother dylles".

The Seven Sins according to a stage-direction, *Mary Magdalene,* p. 76, appear dressed as devils: „all the seven deadly sins shall . . . be arrayed like VII dylf", they are expressly called," the VII dyllys," p. 81, and are under the direction of the Bad Angel, p. 71, 82. Later they are dragged before Satan's court to receive punishment for having let Mary Magdalene escape from their clutches: „Lete þen woman þi bondes break", 82/732. Their punishment consisted in their

being beaten 82/733, drenched with pitch, and, finally, shut into a house and burnt, 83/743. In the midst of all this they are obliged to endure much cursing: Satan calls them „betyll-browed bitches", 82/724, „horesons", 83/744. The devils in the *Paul* are Belial

„Prince of the parts infernal,
Next to Lucifer in Majesty", 43/412

and Mercury and another devil, Belial's Messenger, called on one occasion, „fool," 44/441.

Outfit: *Fire.* — The use of fire as a part of the equipment of the devils may be regarded as the specialty of this group. Almost every stage-direction contains some provision for the use of fire or fire and thunder: „Here to enter a devil with thunder and fire, *Paul* p. 43; „Here shall enter Mercury with a firing", *Paul*, p. 44; Similarly, at the exit, „here they shall vanish away, with a fiery flame and a tempest", *Paul*, p. 46; Similarly, *Magdalene*, p. 81.

The oldest stage-direction of this sort in the history of the drama, is in the Morality, the *Castle of Perseverance*, A. D. 1400; it is as follows, „& he that shall play Belial, loke þt he have guñe powd' breñ̄ḡ in pypys ⁊ h's hands & ⁊ h's ers & ⁊ h's ars whañe he gothe to batayl": See Sharp's *Dissertation*, Plate 2. The devil here is thus provided with a sort of fireworks consisting of gunpowder in tubes and carried on different parts of the body. In Heywood's *Play of Love*, A. D. 1533, it may be seen how this was produced: „The Vice cometh in running with a huge tank on his head full of squibs fired", etc., Fairhold, XXVI. Squibs are a kind of fire-cracker. Marlowe has also made use of this method in the equipment of the figure of the devil; in *Doctor Faustus* Mephistopheles introduces a female devil, „with fierworks", text A, 1604. In text B, 1616, this stage-direction has been omitted.

Hell-mouth is an important apparatus of the devil-scenes. The use of a heavier sort of fireworks in the hell-mouth or in hell itself is indicated in *Paul*, p. 43, 46, in *Magdalene*, p. 81. An attempt at the sensational in the use of fire is made in *Magdalene*, p. 83: „Here shall þe tother deylles sette þe house on a fire". Furnivall appears to be in doubt as to what house is meant in this passage, but it is more than likely no par-

ticular house whatever; the seven little devils and their leader, the Bad Angel, were simply enclosed in some house, or shed and burnt, indeed, a very appropriate devil's punishment. Satan complacently remarks: „that shall hem a-wake“, 83/743, „they shall be blazed both body and hals“, 83/744.

Costume. — The plays of this group give but very little exact information concerning costume. In the *Magdalene* the Deadly Sins enter dressed as devils; the stage-direction is, „they shall be arrayed like VII dyll“, p. 76, which apparently assumes that the devil's outfit was something well-known, the mention of details, being, consequently, not necessary. In the *Noah's Ark* diabolus swears once by his crooked nose, 123; Holthausen, p. 38, is inclined, consequently, to believe that the devil here wore a mask. This assumption, however, is unnecessary, the probability being that the devil merely uses the expression equivocally, hinting at his real, though disguised, character; for in fact, he appears as a gallant cavalier and is not recognized by Noah's Wife as a devil, cf. Holthausen, p. 19. Noah's Wife uses the word devil more than once, but in each instance merely as an oath and not as applying to the character of diabolus.

Occupation. — The under-devils in this group play only very subordinate parts. Mercury in the *Paul* is the trusty messenger and counsellor of his master; Belfagour and Belzebub in the *Magdalene* assist Satan in punishing the Bad Angel and the Seven Sins. The principal devils of this group associate with human beings in the *Noah's Ark,* with allegorical personages, Mundus, Caro, and the Seven Deadly Sins in the *Magdalene,* or exclusively among themselves in the *Paul.* Their function is, as has already been emphasized, to thwart the work of God's servants and heroes. In the *Magdalene* they plan specially to lead Mary into sin; in the *Paul* they try to accomplish the death of the Apostle, that is, the function in each of these plays is the same as that of the devils in the Legends.

In the *Paul* Belial is found anxiously waiting for the return of his messenger, Mercury, Mercury finally brings the news of Paul's conversion and baptism, there upon the two devils set up a wail, p. 45. Mercury suggests, however,

that this is all useless; the high-priests must be instigated against Paul, and the death of the Apostle must be accomplished in some shrewd, secret way, but what they do to accomplish this end is not related.

In the *Magdalene,* the devils, at the suggestion of Satan, hold a great council to discuss measures for the corruption of Mary Magdalene: „A woman of worship our servant to make", 68/384; Satan gives the Seven Sins orders for carrying out this plan and, in a happy frame of mind, takes his leave, 76/560. He appears again and summons the council of the devils for the purpose of punishing the Bad Angel and the Seven Sins, p. 82. The diabolus in the play of *Noah's Ark* is without any companion. He sets out to thwart God's plan for saving Noah and his family:

„Yet troubled they shall be...
To taint them yet I trow". 103—106.

To this end he goes to Noah's Wife to plot against the good old man.

Crying and Howling. — Another specialty of this group of plays is the roaring on the part of the devils. The outcry, „Out harrow," is in the old sense only partly retained. In the *Magdalene,* 87/722, and 91/963, the cry expresses consternation and disappointment, as in the other Mysteries. This use of the expression is, however, in the Digby Plays, exceptional.

That the outcry is used without special meaning is shown by the fact that the devils, even in time of greatest tribulation and disappointment, expressly call attention to the fact of their roaring, as in the *Magdalene,* 91/963: „I may cry and yell". The stage-direction in the *Paul* provides especially that the devils howl: „cryeing and rorying", p. 44, „Here they shall rore and cry", p. 45: cf. „I roar" in the Marco Morality, *Wisdom,* 150/225.

In the *Paul,* 43/412, Belial enters with the cry „Ho, ho, behold me". This is the first occurrence of this outcry; it is a perfectly natural outcry, but has no specific signification except to attract attention, or make a noise: cf. further the shouts of Curiosity: „Hof, hof, hof," *Magdalene,* 73/491; the devil in the *Disobedient Child,* A. D. 1550?, Dodsley's Old

Plays, II, 304, enters with: „Ho, ho, ho". The statement of Sharp, p. 58, is misleading; he says, „A frequent exclamation used by the demons of our ancient Mysteries was „Ho, ho", and refers to *Gammer Gurton's Needle.* Sharp's mistake consists in applying the customs of the late 16th century to those of the 15th. The customs in question could in the meantime have completely changed. Ben Jonson was also accustomed to send his devils onto the stage with this so called devil's bluster. The character of the devil as a stage-figure had, however, since the middle of the 16th century materially deteriorated; see below, p. 48, seq.

The outcry of diabolus in the *Noah's Ark,* as he makes his entrance, is unique, he says, „Put off, harrow", etc. Holthausen in a note to this passage, verse 93, says that he does not understand it, likewise Brotanek in his edition of the play, *Anglia* XX, 188, is unable to explain it. The explanation, however, is simple enough. The play, *Noah's Ark,* is, as we know, a shipwrights' play; the devil is, accordingly, adapted to his surroundings, that is, he is a sailor. He is found getting into a boat in order to go to Noah's Wife and gives the order to the rowers, „Put off", that is, push off from the moorings. This common use of the term „put off" is, in fact, given in *Muret's Dictionary* under „put"; although Holthausen failed to find it. The further „Harrow" etc., diabolus says complainingly to himself.[1])

Humor. — Traces of humor, mostly humorous comparisons or epithets, are to be found in the speeches of the devils of this group: „I tremly and I trot," *Magdalene*, 76/555; „Flat as a fox", 82/730, is said by the Bad Angel as he appears before Satan, meaning that he prostrates himself in the manner of a fox 'possum; „This hard balys on thy buttocks shall bite", 82/735 and „Scour away the itch", 83/737, are the expressions Satan uses when he orders the eight evil spirits to be beaten. „And that shall hem a-wake", 84/743, is Satan's

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[1]) Cf. Hickescorner's outcry „Shoot off", 16; he was himself a sailor. Further, the devil appears in a Spanish Morality *„The Journey of the Soul"* by Lope de Vega, as a ship's captain. Ticknor, *Hist. of Spanish Literature,* 1849, II, 160.

remark at the burning of the delinquents. („Bleared is our eye“, 92/985, is probably not humorous).

The devil happy. — A happy, satisfied and self-congratulating devil is a new phase of this character. He is proud, „pricked in pride“, *Magdalene,* 68/358, he boasts of his royal living, „as a king royal I sit at my plesauns“, 63/361. At the news that Mary Magdalene is fallen, he is beside himself with joy, „A, how I tremly and trot for these tidings! . . . for of her all hell shall make rejoicing“, 76/555, 9. His rejoicing, however, is soon turned to gall; when he hears of Mary Magdalene's conversion, he is beside himself with rage: „A, out, out, and harrow, I am hampered with hate“, 82/722. It is only while engaged in punishing the bad spirits that he, to any degree, recovers his complacency: „Now have I a part of my desire“, 83/740. The process is very similar in the case of Belial in the *Paul.* Belial brags of his achievements, but as before, his happiness is of short duration; Paul in spite of him has been converted.

Monologues. — The devils of this group make little or no reference to the audience. Diabolus in the *Noah's Ark* addresses the company directly and expresses the wish that all, who do not believe in him, may be permitted to enjoy the fires of hell in company with Dolphin. With this the piece closes. In the *Magdalene* a dylle (Satan) makes a long complaint, at the close of which he takes leave: „I tell you all in fine to hell I will go“, 92/992. This monologue, *Magdalene* 91/963—992, is, so far as the subject-matter is concerned, of great interest, because Satan here, as also in *Wisdom,* represents, to some extent, the ancient chorus; Satan in his speech reports and comments on a number of past occurrences, (the resurrection and the journey of Christ into hell,) which must be thought of as happening between scene 20 and scene 22, but which have not been presented on the stage.

VI. The devil in the Moralities.

Group a. In the early Moralities, *Castle of Perseverance, Mankind* and *Wisdom,* that is, in those which were written before 1500, the devil appears as a constant figure, but, it is

worthy of note, he is not the sole representative of evil; there are here associated with him several Vices, including the Deadly Sins. The position of the devil in these plays is, however, one of primary importance, and is, furthermore, excepting in Mankind, always serious. The relation of these several figures, of devil and Vices, to one another can best be shown by means of a short account of the part played by the devil in the plays of this group.

1. In the *Castle of Perseverance,* (about 1400) the devil is Belial. Here he forms, together with Mundus and Caro, that famous trinity which once so largely occupied the minds of theologians. Concerning Belial's rôle in this piece one can say but little, for the reason that we have, as yet, no complete accessible text. According to Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry,* II, 283, Belial maltreats his accomplices, the Deadly Sins, at whose head he leads the attack upon the *Castle of Perseverance*; he calls them „harlots", curses them „by Belial's bones", and, according to the stage-direction, „et verberabit eos super terram", he beats them because they had let Humanum Genus escape.

What we know concerning Belial's make-up, namely, the fire-works, has already been discussed, see page 40.

2. *Mankind,* (about 1450 — Brandl, *Quellen*). *Titivillus and his rôle.* — Titivillus is summoned with music by the other Vices, 438. He and the chief Vice, Mischief, seem to be on terms of complete understanding with each other, 486, 646, although they do not appear at any time together on the stage. Titivillus, after promising to avenge the three minor Vices, Nought, Newguise, and Nowadays, against Mankind for the beating them with his spade, 487, sends them out to seek for opportunities of doing mischief, 488. Unseen by Mankind, he whispers evil suggestions in his ear while he sleeps, or while he is praying, 545—546, 579—583. He announces to the audience his plans, 511—526, 542, 577—588, and steals Mankind's spade, 535. He reports his previous doings: „Mankind was besy in his prayere etc." 511, „I have brought Mankind to mischief and shame", 592. He praises his own cleverness, 541, 588, and, as he goes out, he takes leave of the audience: „Farewell, everyone, for I have done

my game“, 591. In the other principal scenes of the play, the „Court of Mischief“ and the scene where Mankind attempts to hang himself, Titivillus is not present.

The Comic Element. — The comic quality of Titivillus comes to light in various ways. As he enters he makes the naïve remark „I come with my legges under me“, 439. Another joke is that which he whispers to Mankind, namely, that „þe deullys dede“, 579. He attempts to borrow a penny from the Vices, 464, but they have the best of him; they say they have no money, although they had just taken up a collection from the audience on the plea of exhibiting the great Titivillus: „ellys þer xall no man him se“, 443, furthermore, he uses scraps of Latin, 460, 462, 564, a few obscene expressions, 546, 554, and blesses the Vices with his left hand, 508.

The outfit of Titivillus consists of a net, 516, and, in all probability, a mask, „hede“, 446.

Hostility to the Good. — Titivillus is really not at enmity with the allegorical figure of the Good, here called Mercy: he will only separate Mankind from him: „The good Man Mercy shall no longer be his guide“, 513. He furthermore attempts to stain Mercy's character by calling him a horse-thief, 585.

The Temptation of Mankind. — In this play the temptation is effected, as Professor Brandl remarks, by the means of evil suggestion and taking by surprise. This motif, the whispering evil suggestions, occurs also in the *Dream of Pilate's Wife* in the York and Coventry Mysteries, and, is as we have seen, frequently made use of in the Legends, as in the story of *St. Madwen.* It is interesting also in this connection to compare the numerous old drawings in which the devil is represented as whispering in the ear of men and women.

The placing of a board under the surface of the ground in order to aggravate Mankind at his work and to make him „lose his patience“, 522, the suggestion of religious pride and the giving him the belly-ache, are motifs peculiar to this play; but that which he suggests to Mankind is the usual means of seduction, namely, that Mercy is an unrelievable character: „Trust no more on him, he is a marred man“, 586, that tilling the ground, that is, honest labor, is a hard lot,

that he should go to the inn, and that he should get him a sweetheart: „and take þe a lemman", 590.

3. The play of *Mary Magdalene,* (about 1480—90, Furnivall The Digby Plays) has already been discussed, see above, p. 37, seq., should be mentioned again in this connection on account of its being a mixture of the Morality and Mystery types. In this piece the evil originates from Satan alone. Satan conducts the conference of the devils and commissions the Bad Angel and the Seven Deadly Sins to debauch the saint. Later in the play he punishes his agents severely, and that for the very same fault for which Belial does his in the *Castle of Perseverance,* namely, for letting Mary Magdalene escape. Before leaving the stage he comments on his own past actions.

4. *Wisdom* (about 1480—90, Furnivall, The Digby Plays) is a Morality constructed according to the plan of the greater Temptation-Mysteries of Eve and of Christ. Lucifer enters in the usual manner of the devil of the Mysteries, represents, however, as regards his activity, the Vice of the Moralities. For example, he announces his plans, 325, 380, he comes for the express purpose of leading man (Mind, Will and Understanding) astray, he speaks directly to him, he slanders the Good, and, in the end, comments, in the manner of the ancient chorus, boastingly of his previous doings: „Of my desire now have a some", 520, „Reason I have made both deaf and dumb, Grace is out and put a roam", 524—525. Just before the conversion of Man he makes his exit.

Outfit. — In order to hide his horrible appearance Lucifer disgüises himself according to the stage-direction, thus: „Entereth Lucifer, in a devely array without and within as a proud gallant", p. 150, see also p. 151.

The Comical Element. — The comical element is entirely wanting in this piece except at Lucifer's exit, where we find the following direction, „Here he taketh a shrewd boy with him and goes his way crying", p. 158. This, however, does not at all correspond with Lucifer's rôle in this play and is certainly to be regarded as an interpolation.

Hostility. — Lucifer is, in consequence of the fall, very bitter, revenge is the sole motive of his action:

„Out harrow, I roar,
For envy I lore“, 525.

The devil in the *Temptation of Christ* in the York Plays gives expression to exactly similar motives. The object of the devil's hostility is, in these cases, especially Mankind: „Man whom I have in most dispight“, etc., 338. Both these traits — revenge towards God and hatred towards Man — are thoroughly devilish and not vicious, that is, pertain to the devil and not to the Vice. The preachers, as representatives of the Good, are however, also the object of Lucifer's hatred, as is always the case with the Vice: „They flatter and they lie... there is a wolf in a lambe skin“ — 490.

The temptation of Man. — In order to lead humanity astray Lucifer resorts chiefly to the use of arguments, wherein he distinguishes himself as a well-schooled logician; his arguments are: 1. There is time enough both for the worldly life and for the spiritual, as is to be seen, for example, in the case of Martha, who pleased God, and also in the case of Christ, who led the so-called „vita mixta“, 401, 428; 2. The religious life is dreary: „they must fast, wait and pray“, etc., 433; 3. The worldly life is not to be despised:

„Behold how riches destroyeth need,
It maketh a man fair him well to feed,
And of lust and liking cometh generation“, 458—460.
„What sin is in meat, in ale, in wine?
What sin is in richesse, in clothing fine“, 473—475,

and finally he challenges Humanity, in the manner of the Vice, to lead a jolly life: „Leave your studies . . . and lead a common life“, 472, „Leave your nice chastity and take a wife“, 476, „Ever be merry; let revel rought“, 505, without, however, taking part himself therein, as does the Vice; this is an important distinction between the two figures.

Group b. The appearance of the devil in the remaining Moralities can be briefly disposed of. *Nature* (about 1500, Brandl, Quellen) is the first Morality without a devil, and, from this time on, the devil appears only occasionally on the stage, and that mostly in the later Moralities. The position of the devil in the plays of group b is always subordinate.

[1. *The Necromancer,* (printed 1504, described by Warton, *History of Engl. Poetry,* II, 360, see also Skelton's *Works,* ed. Dyce, I, XCIX). This lost piece of Skelton's should be mentioned here on account of its peculiar portrayal of Belzebub, who is the chief character of the play. He kicks the Necromancer, who comes very early in the morning to summon him to court; the plot is the trial of Simony and Avarice, probably Vices; Belzebub plays the judge; the closing scene gives us a view into hell, Belzebub and Necromancer dance for the benefit of the audience, Belzebub trips Necromancer up. The stage-direction: „Enter Belzebub with a beard" is unusual because of its explicitness].

2. In *Lusty Juventus* (about 1550, Dodsley) there appears a devil called simply „the devil". He is dressed as a swine, he bewails the progress of the Reformation: „Oh, oh, all too late" etc., p. 62, and makes known his intention of infecting Youth. This he will do through his son, Hypocrisy, the Vice of the play, whom he calls up and to whom he explains his plans; he promises Hypocrisy his blessing, should Hypocrisy succeed in sowing discord between Youth and Knowledge; he then changes the name of the Vice to Friendship and makes his exit.

3. The *Disobedient Child* (about 1550, Dodsley) contains the devil unaccompanied by a Vice. The devil enters only once and with the cry: „Ho, ho, ho, what a fellow am I", p. 307, he makes a long speech on his power in the world and on the means which he intends to use in the destruction of a certain rich man's son; and these are none other than the Deadly Sins, who, however, do not appear in the play.

4. *Like Will to Like* (printed 1568, Dodsley) represents Lucifer in a decidedly fallen condition, that is, as a target for the jokes of the Vice; he enters dressed as a bear, at whom the Vice at first is greatly frightened, he carries on his breast and on his back placards containing his name „Lucifer" in large letters. He calls the Vice, Nichol Newfangle, his son, and commissions him always to join „Like to Like". The Vice does this with a vengeance, in that he introduces Lucifer to Tom Collier, a clown; the three then sing and dance for the benefit of the crowd. It is especially to be noted that

this is the only instance of the devil singing, while, on the other hand, singing is almost a constant trait of the Vice; at the conclusion of the song Lucifer requires the Vice to salute him as his chief. Nichol, however, perverts the formula of the salution most fearfully. Lucifer then leaves the stage, p. 317, enters again, however, shortly before the end of the piece in order to carry off the Vice on his back. The Vice mounts him as he would a horse, p. 356.

5. In the *Conflict of Conscience* (1567—70? Dodsly) Satan opens the play with a long monologue, „High time it is for me to stir about". He expresses his hatred of Christ, calls himself a prince of this world, and declares the pope to be his son and darling to whom he has given the rule in this world. Further, he explains fully how he tempted Eve, misled the children of Israel and tempted Christ. In these days he says the pope has secured two great champions, Avarice and Tyranny, the minor Vices of this play, who, as it appears, have not succeeded in defending the pope's power against the onslaughts of his enemies. Satan will, accordingly, send him Hypocrisy, the chief Vice of the play: „No sweeter match can I find out than is Hypocrisy". With an allusion to his own horrible appearance, he then takes leave of the audience: „For none will be enamoured of my shape I know, I will, therefore, mine imps send out from hell their shapes to show". It is to be noticed here that Satan is not called up by anyone, and that he comes in contact with no one.

6. In *Appius and Virginia,* (about 1563, Dodsley), there is evidently a devil behind the scenes; Haphazard, the Vice, as he enters, is in conversation with him: „Very well sir, very well sir, it shall be done", and there upon utters the proverb, „who dips with the devil, he had need have a long spoon", p. 117—118.

7. In *All for Money* (printed 1578) Satan enters with the woful words, „Ohe, ohe, ohe, ohe, my friend Sin" (Bii). The Vice, Sin, however, flouts him, calls him „snotty nose" and threatens to diminish his kingdom. This is what the devil dreads most of all and is the reason why he howls so: „Here Satan should roar and cry"; Satan begs: „My friend Sin, do not leave me thus", but in vain. Satan then summons

his sons, Gluttony and Pride, and these succeed in winning Sin over, whereupon Satan becomes extraordinarily happy and dances about for joy; Sin, however, will have a reward for his constancy to the devil and demands either the devil's tail to make a flapper of or his mask („face"). The devil cannot spare either but is willing to appoint Sin chief officer of hell; whereupon he makes his exit.

The stage-directions indicate Satan's outfit only in a general way: „Here cometh in Satan the great devil as deformedly dressed as may be"; this reminds one of the ragged appearance of the devil in the Mystery Plays. As already indicated Satan had, moreover, a tail and a mask. In this piece Satan enters only once, and, as it appears, chiefly to give point to the joke, the devil and Sin have fallen out.

The rôle of the devil in the Moralities. — The office of the devils in the Moralities is, on the whole, limited to one thing, namely, that of giving their agents, the Vices, their hellish commissions, for example, in the *Mary Magdalene,* Lucifer sends the Seven Deadly Sins out to debauch the saint. In *Lusty Juventus* the devil calls up Riot, the Vice, and commissions him to counteract the work of the Reformation; Satan, in the *Conflict of Conscience* does the same, and according to the passage in *Appius and Virginia* it would appear that the action of the Vice in the play were, to a considerable degree, dependent, for its start, upon such prompting of the devil.

Among those already mentioned are three figures of the devil which require particular attention, namely, Titivillus in *Mankind,* Belzebub in the *Necromancer* and Diabolus in the Mystery *Noah's Ark.* These, in their principal characteristics, differ decidedly from the rest of the figures of the devil. In the portrayal of these three, the authors appear to have freed themselves from the trammels of biblical tradition. This tendency to treat the devil, as for instance Titivillus, in a free way and to associate him with human beings other than saints or to give him a rôle taken from daily life, as is the case with Belzebub, who plays the rôle of judge, or, as is the case with Diabolus, who is a sailor,

indicates a new phase in the development of this figure; but this development has not proceeded further in this direction.

In the Moralities as well as in the Mysteries the characteristic traits of the devil have, on the whole, not been enlarged upon. The English drama shows no differentiation of the character of the devil as an exponent of the comic, of satire, and of carricature, as is the case with the German and the French drama. That is to say, the English does not show a number of devils, excepting the three above mentioned, each with a specific property or commission, designed to take off or stigmatize human faults: as for example, a family devil, a court-devil, a devil of drunkenness, a devil of fashion, etc. etc.: cf. woodcut of the title-page of the *Theatrum Diabolorum,* 1569—75, given in Osborn's: *Die Teufel-Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.*

The conception of the devil has remained uniform in England, hence the limited number of devil's names in English. In many plays he is called „the devil“ or has some one of the biblical names Satan, Belzebub, Belial, Lucifer; there are, on the other hand, according to Weinhold about 68 distinct devils' names in the old German drama, p. 18; and according to Wieck about the same number in the French Mysteries p. 7. This remarkable difference between England and the continental countries is to be explained by the fact that the English have used the allegorical figure of the Vice as the representative of the sins and weaknesses of men, while the Germans and the French, who had no Vice-figure, used for this purpose a differentiated devil-figure. Regarding the indigenous character of the Vice-figure see Douce, I, 467, and Ward, I, 160.

The devil negatively considered — It is eminently appropriate, at this point, to make a few negative observations on the character of the devil, in order to settle once for all some questions as to what the devil does not do. Such a process will not only give a more definite conception of the character and function of the devil, but will, at the same time, brand as false a number of very prevalent opinions on the subject: — 1. The devil of the Moralities, on the whole, does not come in contact with the human characters. 2. The comical element

is almost entirely wanting, or is at least very weak; he is never represented as stupid or as being imposed upon. Singing, dancing, eating, drinking, in short, making merry, is just what the devil does not do. 3. There exists no definite relation whatever between Vice and devil; it is not the devil's part to offer himself as the target of the Vice's teasing nor finally to drag the Vice off to hell. 4. Except in the earliest Moralities, the devil takes only a very subordinate part in the plot. 5. The devil does not represent human characters.

As exceptions to one or more of these rules are to be mentioned four representations of the devil: 1. Lucifer in the *Mary Magdalene,* is the principal character; he conducts the entire action of the play, excepting, of course, the conversion-scene, and comes in direct contact with human beings. 2. Titivillus in *Mankind* organizes to some extent the action of the play, and is comical. 3. Belzebub in the *Necromancer* is the chief person of the play; he represents a human character, namely, that of judge, he dances, and beats the other characters. 4. Lucifer in *Like Will to Like* is stupid, dances and sings.

Part II. The Vice.

I. The Vice-dramas: Limits of the present investigation.

The Vice-dramas are those dramas which contain a Vice-figure, they are either Moralities or Tragedies, that is, serious plays. The Vice, indeed, is a characteristic feature of the Moralities, the only Moralities not having a Vice being the Moralities of Death and Judgment, such as, *Everyman.* In the pedagogical Moralities, the three so-called *Wit-plays,* the character Idleness may also be considered a Vice, indeed, in the latest of these plays, A. D. 1579, Idleness is expressely called the Vice, but at that late date the designation means but little. Idleness is, in name, a Vice, so also his (or her) accomplices, Ignorance and Tediousness, but the character, even in these plays, is quite subordinate, and, as a Vice, is not well defined; on the whole, Idleness appears rather to be a special development of the *Wit-plays* and quite independent of the Vice proper.

The Vice-Tragedies are three in number; the Vice-figure in these plays is, in all probability, borrowed from the Moralities. The figure of the villain is a type distinct from the Vice in its origin and partly also in its function. Tragedies with figures of the villain-type are, at present, left out of account.

Some of the early Comedies have figures that are in some respects similar to the Vice; Diccon, the Bedlam, in *Gammer Gurton's Needle,* a mischief-maker pure and simple, or Conditions in *Common Conditions* a mischief-maker and buffoon. Such figures however, are quite special and are only partially Vices, they may have been influenced to some

extent by the Vice-figure, but can hardly be regarded as factors in the development of the Vice.

The following table gives the dramas chiefly discussed in these pages, together with the characters to be considered. The Vice-dramas may be conveniently classified in two groups, the Moralities and the Tragedies; of the Moralities there are further four main groups, the early Moralities, 1400—1500, the Moralities of the middle period, 1500—1560, the political or controversial Moralities, and the late Moralities, after 1560. This classification is based upon the structure of the Vice-rôle in each period.

Table IV.

	Play	Man	Good	Vice	Minor Vices	Devil
1. Early Moralities (1400—1500)	Castle of Perseverance (1400)	Hum. Genus	Deus	Detractio, Stultitia	Deadly Sins, Bad Angel, Mundus, Caro	Belial
	Mankind (1450)	Mankind	Mercy	Mischief	Nought, New-guise, Now-adays	Titivillus
	Mary M. (1480—90)	Mary M.	Good Angel	Sensuality	Deadly Sins, Mundus, Flesh, Curiosity	Satan, Devils, Bad Angel
	Wisdom (1480—90)	Mind, Will, Understanding	—	—	—	Lucifer
	Nature (1500)	Man	Reason	Sensuality	Deadly Sins, World, W. Aff., Priv.Co. Bod. Lusts	—

	Play	Man	Good	Vice	Minor Vices	Devil
2. Moralities of the middle period (1500—1560)	W. and C. (1506)	Manhood	Conscience	Folly	[World]	—
	Hickescorner (1509)	Freewill, Imagination	Pity	Hicke-scorner	—	—
	Four Elements (1510)	Humanity	Stu. Desire, Experience	Sensual Appet.	(Ignorance)	—
	Lusty Juventus (1550)	Juventus	Good Counsel, Knowledge	Hypocrisy	Fellowship	Devil
	Youth (1554)	Youth	Charity	Riot	Pride	—
	Nice Wanton (1560)	Barnabas, Ismael, Dalilah	Barnabas	Iniquity	—	—
3. Late Moralities (after 1560)	Trial of Treasure (1567)	Lust (Sturdiness)	Just, Sapience	Inclination, the Vice	Greedy Gut Elation	—
	Mary M. (1567)	Mary M.	Christ	Infidelity, the Vice	Pride, Carnal Concup., Cupidity	—
	L. W. L. (1568)	[clowns]	—	Nichol New-fangle, the Vice	—	Lucifer
	Tide (1576)	[Types]	—	Courage, the Vice	Greediness, Help, Profit, Furtherance	—
	Money (1578)	[Types]	—	Sin, the Vice	Pride, Gluttony, Pleasure	Satan

	Play	Man	Good	Vice	Minor Vices	Devil
4. Political or controversial Moralities	King John (1548)	(John)	(England)	Sedition (the Vice)	Dissi-mulation	—
	Res Publica (1553)	(People)	(Respublica)	Avarice, the Vice	Adulation, Oppression, Insolence	—
	Confl. of Conscience (1563)	(Philologus)	—	Hypocrisy	Tyranny, Avarice, Suggestion	Satan
	King Darius (1565)	—	—	Iniquity, the Vice	Importunity, Partiality	—

	Play	Vice
Tragedies	King Cambyses (1561)	Ambidexter, the Vice
	Appius and Virginia (1564)	Haphazard, the Vice
	Horestes (1567)	The Vice [clowns]

II. The Vice-rôle.

Origin. — The question concerning the origin of the devil has been variously answered; it is often maintained that he was simply borrowed from the Mysteries: cf. Collier, II, 262, Ward, I, 60, and others. This theory presupposes a sort of direct, conscious borrowing of a figure or motif, because of some predilection, from one species of literature for another, but overlooks the fact that such borrowing is a mechanical

process more peculiar to an eclectic age like the present than to a period preceding the renaissance. That an author of an early Morality ever said or thought, go to, let us make a play with a devil in it after the manner of the great Mystery Plays, is not probable. There were, indeed, at that time, a set of people, who were, perhaps, capable of fulfilling the conditions of the above mentioned theory, namely, the minstrels or jugglers; but, so far as we know, the English drama was never at any time, wholly or in part, in their hands: cf. Ward, I, 16, though perhaps otherwise in Germany: cf. Freytag, 18, 459. Weinhold's explanation that the devil was introduced into the drama because he was the punisher of vice and the father of sin, does not sufficiently cover the ground.

This question is a far more general one and includes the origin not only of the devil but of all the evil characters in the Moralities; the answer, to be of any value, must be based upon the historical facts in the case, so far as these are accessible. The explanation of the Seven Deadly Sins, the Vice and the devil in the Moralities is one and the same, and is not far to seek; indeed, it can be shown not only why the devil and these other figures were introduced, but the sources from which they were drawn, can also be ascertained to a certainty.

The reason for the introduction of the evil figure, or figures, lay in the very purpose of the Morality, namely, the allegorical representation of the conflict between the powers of good and evil over the human soul; the source of these figures was the general traditions of the age. This conflict was, as we know, a frequent theme of discussion in the religious, didactic literature of the Middle Ages; the usual method of treatment was to assume real representatives of each power; these were, on the side of evil, the Deadly Sins and devils. That the Moralities drew their material and inspiration from a common source with this literature, is manifest.

The representatives of the Evil. — As already intimated, the devil was far from being the only representative of Evil; up to the beginning of the 16th century the rôle of the Evil in the Moralities was almost always divided; on the other hand subsequent to the beginning of the 16th century this rôle

was concentrated in a single figure, the Vice, or at least in one chief Vice and several minor Vices. Thus in the *Castle of Perseverance,* A. D. 1400, there are one devil, two Vices, and ten minor Vices; in the *Mary Magdalene*[1] (1480—90), the same; *Mankind* (1450) has one devil, one Vice, three minor Vices *Nature* 1500, has one Vice and eleven minor Vices; *Magnificence,* 1515, has seven scarcely distinguishable Vice-figures. The relation of these figures is shown graphically in table IV. The extent of this surprising splitting up of the Vice-rôle, and the relation of the various figures in question, can be easily seen by a brief review of the earlier Moralities.

1. The *Castle of Perseverance.* — Besides the devil, Belial, there are here two undeveloped Vices, Stultitia and Detractio, the latter of whom appears also, at least in name, in the Coventry Mysteries. He figures here as page to Humanum Genus and procures him the acquaintance of Avaritia; the other, Stultitia, appears later in the *World and the Child,* A. D. 1509, as a full-fledged Vice. The minor Vices of this piece are the Seven Deadly Sins, among whom one, Avaritia, plays quite independently a good Vice-rôle; he calls up the other Vices and succeeds finally in leading Humanum Genus, now an old man, astray.

2. *Mary Magdalene.* — The Miracle Play, *Mary Magdalene,* contains an abundance of devils and Vice-figures, but no one chief Vice. After the council of the devils, the Bad Angel, the World and the Flesh, the Seven Sins and the Bad Angel besiege the castle of Magdalene, p. 71. Lechery enters the castle, flatters Mary, tells her not to grieve for her father and finally takes her to a tavern in Jerusalem; a gallant, Curiosity, enters, p. 73, he is represented as longing for a pretty tapster to talk to, and as admiring his attire. Lechery suggests to Mary that „this man is for you", 507, Mary asks at once to „call him in", which the taverner does. Curiosity proceeds, without further circumstance, to make love to Mary, asks her to dance and to drink some sops of wine. They then go out together.

The character Curiosity is but very slightly developed, his part in the action of the play very limited; he is neither hellish nor vicious; the part of Lechery, the real tempter in

this case, is far more important, she forces her way into the castle and by means of flattery succeeds in leading the victim astray; neither the Gallant nor Lechery is humorous. The expression „höllischer Hanswurst“, as used by Professor Brandl, Grundriss, II, 705, does not apply very well to either of these figures.

3. *Mankind.* — The Vice-rôle in this piece is, apart from Titivillus, divided among Mischief and Nought, Newguise and Nowadays; the chief Vice, Mischief, enters twice: he is absent, however, during two of the principal scenes, that of the secondary Vices and Mankind, 68—152, and that of Titivillus and Mankind, 442—624. He returns finally to lead Mankind, who in the meantime has been led astray by Titivillus, further into a life of dissipation, and with this object in view, admits him into his „Court of Mischief“, 625, seq.

The accomplices of the Vice, Nought, Newguise and Nowadays, may be called minor Vices, they correspond to some extent to the Deadly Sins, they act independently: they contend with Mercy and scoff at him, — 152. They are satirical against the Church, 134, 137. They use obscene and coarse expressions in attempting to lead Mankind away from his work only to receive in turn a sound beating with a spade, — 135. They dance, 78, sing, 323, seq., and are quite witty. In common with the Vice, they are active in calling up Titivillus, they support the Vice in his Court of Mischief and also in the scene where Mankind is tempted to hang himself, — 797.

4. *Nature.* — The Vice-rôle is here divided between the Vice, on the one hand, the Seven Deadly Sins and four other figures, on the other. The activity of the Vice, Sensuality, consists in his claiming before the World and Reason the gardianship of Man and in securing the service of Pride for Man, — 922[I]. After Man has been led astray by the World and Pride, Sensuality conducts him to the inn, and later reports what happened there, 1113—1158[I]: he is silent, or absent, during the actual temptation-scenes, 567—655, 689—709, 923—1035[I]: it is only in the second temptation of Man that he plays the part of a real tempter, but is again absent during

the scene between Bodily Lusts, Pride and Man, 165—318^{I}. The minor Vices participate independently in the action of the piece, especially in the first part, Mundus brings Man first into temptation, — 588^{I}, W. Aff. introduces the Man to the Vice, Sensuality, 710^{I}, and Pride plays quite independently a good Vice-rôle; he seeks with the help of the Vice to ingratiate himself into the favor of Man, — 840^{I}, and is especially hostile to the Good; he makes taunting remarks in the presence of Man concerning his association with Reason etc., and, with the help of Wordly Affection, provides a fashionable dress for Man, — 1105^{I}. Bodily Lusts figures as a messenger and go-between, — 220, — 291^{II}, Man sets him to keep together „all my company", 634^{I}, that is, the Seven Deadly Sins. In the second part the Deadly Sins enter, more or less well characterized, and make preparations for the attack on Reason. Particularly interesting in this scene is the passage in which Envy praises Wrath, — 763^{II} and makes a fool of Pride, — 892^{II}.

The unified Vice-rôle. — That the earlier Moralities should contain so great a number of Vice-figures, each acting more or less independently, is due to the nature of the source from which their material was drawn; in the religious and didactic poetry in epic form, it was a very easy matter to handle a large number of allegorical persons, but on the stage, the difficulty of characterizing and distinguishing in the same piece between a number of persons of the same general type is almost insurmountable, as in *Castle of Perseverance, Mary Magdalene, Mankind* and *Nature.* Sins, human weaknesses, vices, are in the last analysis abstractions from the same idea, and, for the sake of unity, can be welded into one figure, namely, the Vice. That such a process of combination and elimination took place is at once made clear by an inspection of Table IV. This unification was completed at the end of the fifteenth century and is the basis of the distinction between the first and second group of Moralities.

The relationship of the Vice to the other evil powers is testified to very clearly by the Moralities themselves. A table of the genealogy of the Vice can indeed with considerable accuracy be made out. The Deadly Sins, for example, are

called in *Castle of Perseverance,* 1400, the children of the devil. Again the personified Vice, Folly, in the *World and the Child,* 1506, is expressly designated as a summation of the Seven Deadly Sins, as the following passage proves. Conscience in instructing Manhood says:

„Sir, keep you in charity,
And from all evil company,
For doubt of Folly doing".

Manhood: „Folly! what thing callest thou Folly?"
Conscience: „Sir, it is Pride, Wrath and Envy,
Sloth, Covetise and Gluttony,
Lechery the seventh is,
These Seven Sins I call Folly", p. 258.

He then warns him to beware of Folly and Shame, p. 259, whereupon the Vice enters; after a short conversation with Manhood, Manhood asks him his name; Folly answers,

„I wis, hight both Folly and Shame".

Manhood: „Ah, ah, thou art he that Conscience
did blame, when he me taught", p. 263.

Already in *Cursor Mundi,* 10109, the Deadly Sins have been designated collectively as „folies".

A second stage in the process is found in the *Lusty Juventus,* 1550, and the *Like Will to Like,* 1568. Here the Vice is called the son of the Devil; in the *Conflict of Conscience,* 1563, an „imp" of Satan: In *Mary Magdalene*[2], Infidelity is called the son of Satan and he describes himself as being „the serpent's seed":

„Look in whose heart my father Satan does me sow,
There must all iniquity and vice needs grow", B ii.

In *All for Money,* Sin is the son of Pleasure and grandson of Money and himself the father of Damnation; of himself he says: „No sin can be without me", B iii, and then enumerates the Seven Deadly Sins. Furthermore he explains his own nature to the minor Vices, „as either of you contain one sin particularly, even so I contain all sins generally".

In the controversial dramas of the reformation, a peculiar origin is assigned to the Vice in that he is made the son of the pope, *King John,* p. 8, *King Darius,* 770.

The devil and the Vice. — The matter stands thus: the devil does not become the Vice nor is the Vice simply a devil, as has been so frequently assumed; we must not confuse things which are so clearly distinct. The devil and Vice are, indeed, related in so far as all evil in society originates with the devil, but, as dramatic figures, they are distinct. The devil is essentially a theological-mythological being; he is the antithesis of divinity and sanctity, the friend of hell: as a dramatic figure, he has remained throughout almost unchanged.

The Vice, on the other hand, is an ethical person, he is an allegorical representation of human weaknesses and vices, in short the summation of the Deadly Sins: he is the antithesis of piety and morality and is the friend of an unrestrained worldly life. As a dramatic figure, he possesses in consequence of his composite origin, great versatility: he can, at pleasure, assume the rôle of a tempter or of a particular phase of vice or of vice in general. The specific human character of the Vice is shown in the various human rôles which he plays: Mischief, in *Mankind,* represents himself temporarily as a farm laborer, later as a judge in his „Court of Mischief", Hickescorner is a sailor, Sedition, in *King John,* and Hypocrisy, in the *Conflict of Conscience* are ecclesiastics, Sensual Appetite, in the *Four Elements*, represents himself as a tinker, also as a courtier, Hypocrisy, in the *Lusty Juventus,* at first, as a butcher, Ambidexter, as a gentleman, a lawyer, a student, Infidelity, in the *Mary Magdalene*[2], is a gentleman and a Pharisee, Riot, in the *Interlude of Youth,* is a criminal and ruffian, etc., etc. This conception of the Vice, Sensuality, in *Nature,* as a necessary factor in the human make-up, is suggested by Professor Brandl in his remarks on *Nature, Quellen,* XLIII: cf. also Symonds Shakespeare's Predecessors, p. 150.

The names of the Vices are almost never the names of specific vices: but are more or less general expressions, as for example, Mischief, Sensuality, Folly, Riot, Iniquity etc. These expressions are not, however, the most general expressions; they can all be generalized into a yet higher expression, namely the word, vice: Latin, vitium. This last step in the process of generalization was first made by Lydgate in

the *Assembly of the Gods,* written in the early part of the sixteenth century, about 1520, where he describes a certain character as the bastard son and agent of Pluto, in complete armor, riding a serpentine, fire-breathing steed and followed by a huge retinue of vices of all sorts, the chiefs of whom are the „seven chief captains“, the Deadly Sins, Sensuality, Folly and Temptation; the name of this character is „Vice“, 602. But Lydgate's example has not been followed in the Moralities. Strange to relate, „The Vice“, as a designation for this allegorical figure, is first found in the Morality, *Respublica,* 1553, although the word vice in its ordinary signification, is uncommonly frequent in the Moralities[1]).

The Vice-names. — The Vice has no special proper name, but the various Vices are given various allegorical names which we may call Vice-names. Repeated use of any given name is not unusual; e. q. Folly (Stultitia) appears in the *Castle of Perseverance,* in the *World and the Child* and in *Magnificence,* Sensuality (Sensual Appetite), in *Nature,* in the *Mary Magdalene*[1] and the *Four Elements,* Mischief, in *Mankind* and *Magnificence,* Inclination, in the *Trial of Treasure* and in *Tomas More,* Hypocrisy, in the *Lusty Juventus* and the *Conflict of Conscience.* For the rest, the Vice-names, except in the case of some secondary Vices, appear but once.

As has already been said, the Vice-names are allegorical. Even the name Hickescorner (the stupid scoffer), Nichol Newfangle, Newguise, Haphazard (chance), Ambidexter, Courage (impudent boldness), are to be allegorically understood and have more or less a satirical colouring. The allegorical-satirical character of the Vice-names establishes at once and beyond question a fundamental distinction between the Vice, on the one hand, and clowns and fools, on the other. These latter, in contradistinction to the Vice, have ordinary proper names or pet names, as Boy, Man, Mouse, etc.

„The Vice“. — The Vice has some times a double name, the first part of which is the usual allegorical designation, as Hypocrisy, and the second, the added expression „The Vice“,

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[1]) Pollard's remark is certainly strange, namely, that the Vice has no place in the Moralities, English Miracle Plays, LIII.

e. q. „Avarice, the Vice of the play". Regarding the occurrence of this term in the lists of the players, stage-directions and text, the following observations can be made.

a) In the early Comedies. 1. In Heywood's *Play of the Weather,* about 1533, the expression „the Vice" occurs for the first time, and that in the list of the players. 2. The same is true of *Jack Juggler,* about 1562; 3. In Heywood's *Play of Love* the expression occurs once in a stage-direction, „Here the Vice cometh in running", etc. Brandl, *Quellen,* p. 200; (The list of players in this piece is lacking).

b) In the Moralities. 1. *Respublica,* 1553, is the first Morality containing the expression „the Vice". In the list of the players the character is given as follows: „Avarice, alias, Policie the Vice of the Play". Otherwise in this play this character is called simply Avarice. The word „vice", however, occurs frequently in this play and is so used that it is not clear whether it is meant to be a person's name or an abstract noun. For example, Verity says to Respublica; „whom thowe chosest are vices to be refused,

— — — — — — — — — — —

Than he y^t was Policie — — —

— — — is most stinking and filthie Avarice. — — —

(he) cloked eche of these vices with a vertuous namme", *Resp.,* V, 3, 32—40; Respublica to Avarice:

„The best of youe is a detestable vice,
And thow for thie parte arte mooste stinking Avarice".
Avarice replies,
„Jesu! when were youe wonte so foule moothed to bee,
To geve suche nieck names?"

Resp., V, 6, 49—53. 2. In *King John* Sedition, the Vice, occurs in the list of the players, but was added by Collier, the Editor. 3. In the *Trial of Treasure,* 1567, Inclination the Vice occurs in the list of the players, and three times in the stage-directions. In one stage-direction the first component of the name is lacking, for example, „Gape, and the Vice gape" p. 273. In two other stage-directions, simply the first component of the name is used, as „Enter Inclination", p. 287. 4. *In Like Will to Like,* 1568, Nichol Newfangle, the Vice, occurs in the list of the players and in one stage-direction,

otherwise simply Nichol Newfangle. 5. In Wit and Wisdom, 1579, occurs once the stage-direction „enter Idleness, the Vice", otherwise Idleness. 6. In Thomas More, 1590, which has a play within it, the expression „Inclination, the Vice" occurs in the text. 7. In *Mary Magdalene*[2], 1567, Infidelity, the Vice occurs in the list of the players and once in a stage-direction at his first entrance, otherwise simply Infidelity. 8. In *All for Money,* 1578, the stage-direction at his first entrance reads thus: „Sin being the Vice" etc. In one stage-direction occurs: „Sin, the Vice" and in three others simply „the Vice", otherwise, in the list of the players etc., simply, „Sin". 9. In the *Tide tarrieth for no Man,* 1576, „Courage, the Vice" occurs in the list of the players and in the stage-direction at his first entrance, otherwise simply Courage. 10. In the three Wit-plays, the character, Idleness, which is common to all three, is designated as Vice only in the latest, — the *Contract of Marriage between Wit and Wisdom,* 1579, Shakespeare Soc., 1846, p. 12.

c) In the tragedies. 1. In *King Cambyses,* 1561, „the Vice" does not occur in the list of the players, but does occur in four stage-directions, and that without the first component, as „enter the Vice", p. 176, „the Vice run away", p. 185, otherwise simply „enter Ambidexter", p. 186 etc. etc. 2. The same is true of *Appius and Virginia,* 1564, in the case with Haphazard. 3. In *King Darius,* 1565, „the Vice" occurs but once, and that for the first time in the text, namely, in the *Prologue,* thus, „The Vice is entering at the door" with this stage-direction following: „the Prologue goeth out and Iniquity cometh in"; Brandl, *Quellen,* p. 362. 4. In *Horestes,* 1567, the case is entirely different; here we have the expression „the Vice" consistently used throughout, in the title, the list of the players, and rubric; in the text, however, the expression does not occur.

Origin of „the Vice". — From the foregoing facts it is evident, first, that the expression „the Vice", excepting in *Horestes,* is nowhere consistently used throughout in the list of the players, text or stage-directions, and cannot, therefore, be original with the authors, otherwise we should expect greater consistency in the use of the term; and, second, that

the term occurs in comedies and is used of characters which are, in reality, not all vicious, and is consequently again to be regarded as not original. But the question still remains, how came the term to be applied to the buffoon in John Heywood's *Play of the Weather*? It has been maintained, for example, by Swoboda, *John Heywood als Dramatiker,* p. 60, that Heywood borrowed the character of his buffoon from the Moralities. Perhaps so, but certainly not the name, for as already shown, the name first occurs in a Morality twenty years later. Further, it is observed, first, that the term occurs irregularly, first 1533, then 1553, then again 1561, after 1561, more frequently, but yet irregularly; the question arises, why this irregularity? And second, that in the text itself of the plays in question, no reference whatever to the Vice as a character is to be found, except in the one passage, in the prologue to *King Darius*; therefore, we must certainly conclude that the authors had nothing to do with the expression. It were certainly to be expected, had the authors themselves given the name to this figure, which is really the chief figure of these plays, that greater consistency in the use of the term would be found and that references to „the Vice" as such would occur in the text. The ordinary names of the Vice, as Hypocrisy, Folly, etc. are often referred to and played upon, why do we find no such references to Vice? The Vice often says, for example, in giving his name, „I am Folly" and „I am Ambidexter", etc., but nowhere does he say „I am Vice". The first unmistakeable reference to the Vice as a character in a play occurs in Shakespeare: „The formal Vice, Iniquity", and again, „The old Vice . . . with dagger of lath", and in Ben Jonson's prologue to „the *Devil's an Ass*", where the word is punned upon: „this tract will ne'er admit of our Vice, because of yours."

In so far as the extant plays can warrant a conclusion, this much is certain, that the term „the Vice" is not original in any play before *Horestes.* An hypothesis which admirably explains all the phenomena of the use of the term as set forth above, is, that it is the invention of the actors. The Moralities were, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, frequently acted: see for example the list in the repertoire of

the company in the play of *Thomas More.* In all these plays there occurs a character which is in reality always one and the same, and that the chief character, but under various names: Folly, Hypocrisy, Iniquity etc. This character has been named by the actors as a matter of convenience „the Vice“, and by them the term has been inserted here and there in various plays; that is to say, the actors have done that which the authors have neglected, they have generalized the Vice-names.[1] As this occurred in the period of deterioration of the Moralities, probably after 1560, at the time when the serious rôle of the Vice had fallen into the background and the farcical rôle was more and more on the increase, the term Vice came to be simply a synonym for buffoon. Hence the old definitions of the word: cf. Puttenham: „These Vices or buffoons in plays“; similarly, Cotgrave, under *mime*: „A Vice, a fool, a jester, scoffer“; and Dr. Samuel Johnson: „The fool or punchinello of the old shows“, and refers to Twelfth Night.

Earlier explanations of the word. — The occurrence of the word vice in Shakespeare has given rise to many explanations and notes; Douce is, however, undoubtedly correct in saying that the word „must be taken in its literal and common acceptation“, *Illustr. of Shakespeare*, I, 469.[2])

The function of the Vice and the Critics. — The earliest mention of the Vice as a special figure is in Stubb's *Anatomy*

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[1]) In Sir David Lyndesay's Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaits in commendation of Vertew and Vituperation of Vice (first acted 1540?) Flattery, Falset and Dissait, three of the numerous Vice-figures enter, l. 601. seq.; they are first designated Vices in a stage-direction, p. 406, l. 838. Lyndesay uses the word vice only in the ordinary sense as the opposite of virtue.

[2]) Flögel, *Hofnarren,* 1789, p. 57, derives the word in the following manner; French vis d'âne < vis dase > vice = ass's head: similarly, Hanmer. Stevens derives the word from the French vis a mask, similarly, Brewer. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas,* 13, p. 3, regards the word as the same as Latin *vice,* that is the vice is the devil's representative, „Des Teufels vice Teufel“. Theobald, *Shakespeare's Works,* Vol. V, 239, offers tentatively the following explanation: vice < O. E. jeck < GK. *εἰκαῖ ι. ε. Ϝικαῖ* = *Ϝεἰκ* = „formal character, to put on the semblance of a better character, that is, to hide his cloven foot; he must put on a formal demeanour, and so moralize and prevaricate his words“. Warton explains the word as a derivation from device > vice = „a puppet moved by machinery“.

of Abuses, 1583; „For who will call him a wise man that playeth the part of a fool and a vice". Other early notices are in Puttenham's *Art of Poesie,* 1589, p. 97; Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night* and *Richard III,* Harsnett, 1603, Ben Jonson, 1610, Cotgrave, 1611. The famous passage in Harsnett's *„A declaration of egregious popish impostures . . . under the pretence of casting out devils"* etc. etc. 1603, is as follows:

> „And it was a pretty part in the old church plays, when the nimble Vice would skip up like a jack-on-apes into the devil's neck and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so vice-haunted".

We may also compare with this passage the song of the clown from *Twelfth Night:*

> „Like to the old Vice . . .
> . . . who with dagger of lath,
> In his rage and wrath,
> Cries aha to the devil".

It is very questionable whether the account by Harsnett [1]) should be regarded, as has been universally assumed, as applying to the Vice in general, for this passage describes new traits; the Moralities and the Tragedies give no indication whatever of any hostile relations between Vice and devil. Furthermore, Harsnett is here speaking of „Church plays", why is it that he does not use the then usual expressions „Moral Plays" or „Interludes?" The term „Church plays" can hardly be applied to Moralities. The above quoted passage from Harsnett must refer either to some lost Morality in which the Vice maltreats the devil, — but which, let it be noticed, must have been, in this respect, a very decided exception to all the extant Moralities — or to „Punch and Judy", which

[1]) Samuel Harsnett, 1561—1631, was Archbishop of York; he was a bitter polemist especially against the Roman Catholic Church, and against the conjuration of devils. Besides the above mentioned work, he wrote a similar one entitled *„A discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrel . . . detecting . . . the deceitful trade in the latter days, of casting out Devils,* 1599.

was common in England on feastdays and was, perhaps for this reason, regarded by Harsnett as a „Church play“. It is not improbable that a late Mystery, which was customary to be played at York or in that neighbourhood, may have contained such a Punch-scene, as that referred to by Harsnett. The earlier history of Punch is rather obscure and requires an investigation.

In Punch and Judy we find a furious character carrying on a bitter feud with the devil. That Harsnett, as well as Shakespeare, should designate this figure as a Vice need not surprise us. They simply followed the fashion of the times; their use of the word simply indicates to what extent this character had deteriorated in the latter part of the sixteenth century. This interpretation of the Punch-Vice of Shakespeare has long since been hinted at by Jonson in Malone's edition of Shakespeare'sWorks in a note to „The roaring devil in the play“ in *Henry,* V; he says, „in modern puppet-shows, which seem to be copied from the old farces, Punch sometimes fights the devil, and always overcomes him: I suppose the Vice of the old farce, to whom Punch succeedes, used to fight the devil with a wooden dagger“, Shakespeare's Works, V, 566, Note 1; similarly again in a Note to *Twelfth Night,* IV, 95, Note 8. Compare also Dr. Samuel Johnson's definition already given, who, as do Shakespeare and Harsnett, appears to identify Punch and the Vice.

These old explanations of the functions and character of the Vice, are to this extent deficient, that they tend to represent the Vice simply as a buffoon. This, however, may be due to the fact, that during the second half of the sixteenth century, both the allegorical figure of the Good, the Vice's opponent, and that of Humanity, as the object of strife between the Good and the Evil, disappear from the stage. The real function of the Vice, as the opponent of the Good and the corrupter of humanity, i. e. the serious trait of his character, must also fall into disuse and naturally be forgotten. Thus there remain only the farcical traits of his character, and his name and title come then to be applied to the whole category of buffoons including Punch, but that Punch is a successor of the Vice or that Punch is to be identified with the Vice,

follows by no means from this fact. Such an hypothesis would be even as great an error as to identify the Vice and the devil. The opinion of Roskoff, *History of the Devil,* I, 386, that the fool was evolved from the devil, and the clown („deutscher Hanswurst") from the fool, is a purely fanciful statement, for which no proofs are furnished. The formula, devil became Vice and Vice became clown, does not apply to the facts in the case.

Harsnetts's works were certainly widely read; according to Theobald the „Discovery" was Shakespeare's source for the names of fiends in *King Lear.* This work was certainly used by Jonson: cf. „Did you ne'er read Sir, little Darrel's tricks?", The Devil's an Ass, V, 3; and it is not impossible that „the wooden dagger" really owes its origin to the *„Declaration",* although a reference to a wooden dagger occurs much earlier in *Like Will to Like.* It is really unfortunate that the entire learned world has so misunderstood Harsnett's account of the Vice and, without further examining into the matter, has up to the present time, persisted in applying his account to the Vice in general. All the authorities follow Harsnett almost verbatim, and vary in their accounts from one another hardly at all[1]). Some quote the passage in full, others refer to Harsnett, still others paraphrase or translate Harsnett without citing the source.

The Nature of the Vice-rôle. — The Vice-rôle is most intimately and vitally connected with the nature and structure

[1]) Theobald, (1767), *Works of Shakespeare,* V, 239.
Malone, (1790), *Works of Shakespeare,* I, pt. II, 20.
Douce, (1807), *Illus. of Shakespeare,* II, 305.
Sharp, (1828), *Dissertation,* p. 58.
Gifford, (1816), *Works of Ben Jonson,* II, 214.
Collier, (1831), *Hist. of Dram. Poetry,* II, 265, 270.
Ten Brink, *Gesch. d. engl. Litt.,* II, 318.
Klein, *Gesch. des Dramas,* XIII, 3.
Wright, *Hist. of Caricature and Grotesque,* 283.
Ward, *Hist. of the Engl. Drama,* I, 60.
Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors,* 160.
Johnson's *Dictionary.*
Nare's *Glossary.*
The Century Dictionary.

of the Morality itself. The Morality consists essentially of three parts and has three principal persons: the first part consists of the convention between the Good and Man: the Man is generally good and industrious, and dutifully receives instruction and admonition. The second part is the Vice-rôle proper; the Vice, for the purpose of corrupting Man comes between Man and the Good. He slanders the Good, ingratiates himself with Man and entices him into a life of pleasure and sin, in which he also takes an active part. This work accomplished, he drops out of the play before the scene of the conversion of Man, — the third part. The formula for the Morality may be represented diagrammically thus, Good-Vice-Man, that is, the Vice is as an entering wedge between the Good and Man, and not as according to Brandl, Good-Man-Vice, that is, Man between the two powers of Good and Evil. As regards action, the Vice is the chief person of the Morality; all revolves about him as a centre of activity, in his unwearied efforts in causing mischief. His speeches and acts are from beginning to end seasoned with coarse humor and satire. The Vice-rôle is, accordingly, three-fold: first as the opponent of the Good, second as the corrupter of Man, third as the buffoon.

The Vice in various groups of plays. — Should the ground plan of a Morality vary from the plan above given, there generally follows a corresponding change in the Vice-rôle, e. q. *Hickescorner:* Here the temptation-motif is lacking from the simple fact that the representatives of Man are already corrupt. Further in *Nice Wanton,* a Morality constructed according to the French plan (Bien Avisé et Mal Avisé, and others): Here there are two representatives of Man, the one good and the other bad. The temptation-motif naturally is wanting.[1])

In the later Moralities and especially in the political Moralities, the rôle of the Vice suffers considerable modification. The reason for this is, that in these two groups of plays, excepting the *Trial of Treasure* and *Mary Magdalene*[2], the construction of the play is more or less incomplete, i. e. either the allegorical Good or Man is lacking. In the later

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[1]) Creizenach, *Gesch. des mod. Dramas,* I, 470, errs in saying that there is no English Morality constructed according to the French plan.

Moralities the figure of the Good practically disappears and the allegorical man is replaced by typical characters from various classes in real life, clowns and ruffians; this is particularly the case in *Like Will to Like, Tide* and *All for Money.* The part of the Vice in these plays consists in conducting the various bad characters to their fates, that is, he is a sort of nemesis; for example, Nichol Newfangle, while ringing the changes on the motto of the play, „like will to like", brings Tom Collier and the devil together, and then, in the drinking-scene, Tom Tosspot, Philip Fleming and Hance. In a later scene he circumvents Cuthbert Cutpurse, Pierce Pickpurse and Ralph Roister and distributes to each, according to his deserts, a hangman's cord and a beggar's garb, as symbols of the natural results of a life of sin and dissipation. This didactic purpose of the play is essentially emphasized in the *prologue:*

> „Herein, as it were in a glass, see you may,
> The advancement of virtue, of vice the decay,
> To what ruin ruffians and roysters are brought, etc."

In *All for Money* the Vice officiates at the court of All for Money, he ushers in the suitors, asks the necessary questions, and reports each case to the judge. Those whose claims have been rejected, he covers with jibes and taunts. In the *Tide tarrieth for no Man,* Courage rings the changes on „the Tide tarrieth for no Man", and incites the various characters good and bad, Greediness, Courtier and the girl anxious to have a husband, to action.

In the political Moralities of the reformation period characters like *King John* or the widow England take the place of the Good and Man, but cannot be said accurately to correspond to them. In these plays the Vice is intentionally used for satirical purposes, to chastise the opposite political or church party or to lampoon evil conditions in the affairs of the Kingdom; the Vice-motifs, of hatred, slander, temptation, assume various new forms, or may be entirely lacking. The comic element is weak. The Vice, however, remains the principal character. In one play of this group, *King Darius,* there are two plots, side by side, one a Morality and one a Mystery,

having really no relation to each other. The Vice in the Morality plot, strange to relate, has nothing whatever to do with the King and the chief persons in the Mystery-plot.

The Vice-Tragedies. — The rôle of the Vice is further modified in *King Darius, Appius and Virginia* and *Horestes.* Naturally in the tragedies the allegorical Man has no place whatever, the same is also true of the Good. The Vice here furnishes material for action, but is no longer the chief person in the plot. The mixture of the serious and the comical in the tragedies is, of course, not new, as we have already had it in the Moralities, and earlier still, in the Mysteries.

The function of the Vice in the Tragedies is two-fold; first, that of a tempter and deceiver, the objects of his deception being persons of high rank, kings, princes, judges; these he incites by means of fallacious arguments, to the commission of tyrannical acts. In regard to this function, the Vice may be regarded from two points of view, first: as having been borrowed from the Moralities, adapted, of course, to suit the changed conditious, or, secondly, he may be regarded simply as the personification of the evil that is in the hero, in accordance with the old idea which personified human faculties and passions. This view makes the Vice of the Tragedies to originate in the Tragedies themselves, subject perhaps to modifying influences of the Morality-Vice. The second function of the Vice is the buffoon of the play, in that he plays jokes, and fights with the clowns.[1]) Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwicklung der engl. Tragödie,* p. 34, has entirely misunderstood the Vice of the Tragedies. Ambidexter, in *King Cambyses*, he calls, e. q. „the first clown". To determine how nearly correct this is, one has only to compare Ambidexter with Hob and Lob and Snuff and Ruff of this play in order to perceive the mouth-piece of the poet, in that the poet makes the Vice to weep for the Queen, but Fischer here has overlooked the fact

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[1]) The romantic Comedy, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes,* printed 1599, contains a character called Subtle Shift, in one place named the Vice. He puns on his name and serves by turn the two principal characters, misleads, however, no one, and, as far as the plot is concerned, is entirely subordinate.

that this weeping on the part of Ambidexter is pure burlesque, see below.

As examples of the Vice-rôle in later times, the black Ithimor and Mephistopheles in Marlowe, and Aaron and Iago in Shakespeare, have already in a general way been pointed out by Professor Brandl, *Quellen*, XCIV, but why not also add to these Edmund in *Lear*, Richard III, Don John in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and Antonio in the *Tempest*? These characters are all typical villains as well as those mentioned above. But until the Shakespearean villains have been satisfactorily investigated and classified, it seems idle to say whether these types are historically connected with the Vice or not. As possible forerunners of the villain-type are Lyon and Rewfyn in the *Conspiracy of the Jews*, in the Coventry Mysteries; Froward, servant of the Tortores in the *Buffeting Play* in the Townley Mysteries, and perhaps Brewbarret, (Strife-brewer) Cain's Servant, in the York Mysteries. The passage in the York plays containing this character is an interpolation of the middle of the sixteenth century: cf. Lucy T. Smith, York Plays, p. 37.

It is further to be remarked that the deed of revenge to which the Vice drives the hero in *Horestes*, although it may be, as Professor Brandl remarks, *Quellen*, XCIV, according to the conviction of the poet, a just act, is, nevertheless, thoroughly unnatural and cruel; indeed, Nature enters and attempts to dissuade him from it. In so far as this Vice here plays the rôle of a good counselor, he stands alone; the giving one's master good advice is not, as Professor Brandl would have us believe, a trait of the Vice, but of the trusty servant, an entirely distinct type: Compare, for example, Stephano in *Damon and Pythias*, written about the same time, the capital character, Will, in *Wit and Science*, 1570, and the fool in *King Lear*.

The Vice negatively considered. — Some negative considerations concerning the Vice are at this point appropriate and will serve further to define the character in question. 1. The Vice is not gluttonous. Eating and drinking play a very insignificant part in his actions; although much is said on these subjects, it is only to entice Man into the inn. Gluttony in

Nature, a minor Vice, appears, indeed, with a bottle and a cheese as his weapons, but this is exceptional. 2. Bodily exposure and the disgusting, in general, are notably absent, excepting perhaps in *Mankind,* 133 and 770, 773. 3. He never plays the husband. 4. The various social classes, such as laborers, peasants, the poor, the unfortunate, are never made the object of his satire and mockery, excepting monks, lawyers and the rich. 5. He is never stupid; he is full of conscious humor; he perverts and corrupts words and phrases, but always purposely and with satirical intent, but clownish misunderstanding is not characteristic of the Vice. Indeed, he sometimes betrays himself, for example, when his remarks have reference to himself, or when, as a result of bad habit, he swears at the wrong place. Furthermore, ineptitude and bungling in acting are unusual; the case of Ambidexter and *King Cambyses,* p. 234, is an exception. 6. The Vice has no peculiar or set mode of speech, verses with middle and end-rhymes, which, according to Puttenham, *Art of Poesie,* p. 97, is a style particularly suited to the Vice, are to be found only in one song by Nichol Newfangle, *Like Will to Like,* p. 232, 233, and in the speeches of the parasite, Hardy Dardy, and of the three Vices, Pride, Adulation and Ambition in *Queen Hester.* 7. The Vice in the Moralities is never the servant of Man, except temporarily where he offers his service in order to win the good will of Man: for example, in the *World and the Child,* p. 263. In the tragedies; indeed, he assumes a quasi lackey position, in *King Cambyses,* p. 238, he figures as a messenger of the king, similarly in *Appius and Virginia,* p. 150, 151; in *Horestes,* at the close of the play he offers himself as a servant seeking a master, like the fool Cacurgus in Misogonous, Act. 4, sc. 3.

III. The Character of the Vice.

The Vice as a dramatic figure may be considered under two main heads, first: the character of the person as such and, second: as a dramatic figure simply. Under these heads may be collected and classified the various Vice-motifs, that is, all that the Vice does and says on the stage. (In this classi-

fication those motifs which the Vice has in common with other figures, such as oaths, obscenities, proverbs, phrases from foreign languages, and which are, therefore, not characteristic, are omitted). The character of the Vice is three-fold, according to his three-fold function: A. as an enemy of the Good, B. as the tempter of man and C. as a comical person.

A. The Vice as enemy.

The object of the Vice's persistent hatred is the allegorical representation of the Good.[1] This character, the Vice's counterpart, named Reason, Pity, Mercy, Conscience, is an honorable exalted personage, dressed usually in a long cloak and wearing a long flowing beard. The animosity of the Vice towards this person finds expression in slander, mockery, threats and abuse of all sorts, including bodily assaults. Significant of this marked trait of the Vice is the meaning of some of the Vice-names, as Detractio, i. e. backbiter, and Hickscorner, i. e. scoffer. Since the Vice first gains an influence over man by destroying the influence of Reason, Pity or Mercy, it is clear that these two motifs, hostility on the one hand and temptation on the other, are intimately connected.

Other objects of the Vice's enmity, besides Reason. Mercy and the like, are the church and various social institutions and customs, and moral ideals, especially temperance, industry, piety. None of these are spared the lash of his satire. It is, however, to be noted that the Vice does not act from motives of revenge or the wish to populate hell; his attacks appear never to have ulterior aims.

Hostilities to the Good: Malice.

a) *Mockery:*

1. *Of his words* — [Man., F. El., K. J., K. D.].

Mischief interrupts the highflown speech of Mercy:

„Ye are full of predycacyone", Man., 47.

Similarly, Sensual Appetite with Studious Desire:

„Hast thou done thy babbling". F. El. p. 19.

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[1]) For want of a better, handy designation for the opponent of the Vice and the friend of man, the expression „the Good" is used.

Iniquity says of Equity because of his long speech:

„He hath so many wordes in store". K. D., 470.

Mischief mocks the exalted style of Mercy:

„Ye are all to gloryende in yowur termys", Man., 760.

Similarly also Newguise:

„Yowur body ys full of englysh laten". Man., 121,
i. e. latinized words.

Sedition to King John in relation to England:

„For they are not worth the shaking of a peartree,
When the pears are gone; they are but dibble dabble,
I marvel how ye can abide such bibble babble". K. J., p. 7.

2. *Of his teachings.* — [Nat., F. El., W. C., L. J.].

Mundus designates them as „foly" Nat., 635^I,

Sensuality, as „folyshe counsell", Nat., 72^{II}.

Sensual Appetite, as „foolish cunning", F. El., p. 43, as „sooth saws", F. El., p. 20.

Folly does not value the teachings of Conscience very highly:

„He cannot else but preach . . .
I would not give a straw for his teaching". W. C., p. 264.

Hypocrisy to Juventus, who is on his way to hear a sermon:

„Tush . . . He will say that God is a good man".
[L. J., p. 73.

3. *Of his person.* — [Man., Nat., F. El., A. V., K. D., M. M².].

Mischief despises Mercy's store of wisdom:

„Yowur wytt ys lytyll, yowur hede ys mekyll", Man., 47,
also: „Yowur leude wndyrstondynge", 58.

Similarly Mundus with Reason:

„For he can neither good nor evil,
Therefore he ys taken but for a dryuyll", Nat., 637^I.

Nowadays taunts Mercy on account of his asceticism:

„Ye make no sporte", Man., 257.

Iniquity taunts Equity on account of his piousness:

„Whoo! have we more blessed scome to ye towne?" K. D., 291.
„This fellow is to good for mee", K. D., 468, and:
„Such another godsone", K. D., 499.

Sensual Appetite slanders the reputation of Studious Desire:

„I promise you he hath a shrewd smell . . .
He savoreth like a knave“, F. El., p. 20.

Similarly Iniquity to Charity.

„Ha, knave . . .
Thou lookest like ancient father and a old . . .
Tell mee one thynge, how doeth thy mynion?“ K. D., — 54.

Infidelity to Knowledge of Sin:

„The devil is not so ill favored
Corrupt, rotten stinking and ill favored“, M. M[2]., E. iii.

Haphazard says mockingly to Appius:

„Conscience was careless and sailing by seas
Was drowned in a basket and had a disease
For, being hard-hearted, was turned to a stone“.
„For gifts they are given where judgment is none,
Thus judgment and justice a wrong way hath gone“,
[A. V., p. 129.

4. *Opprobrious or taunting epithets.*

α) In his presence. — [Man., H., F. El., Y., T. T., K. D., M. M.[2]].

„Worshipful clerk“, Man., 122.
„Jentyll Jaffrey“, Man., 151.
„Gentle Harry“, K. D., 1094.
„Yowur name ys do lytyll“, Man., 251.
„My prepotent father“, Man., 759.
„This churl Pity“, H., p. 169.
„This caitiff“, H., p. 171.
„This fellow“, H., p. 172, K. D., 468.

Sensual Appetite says to Studious Desire:

„Now good even, fool, good even,
It is even thee, knave, that I mean“, F. El., p. 19.
„Knave“, F. El., p. 22, 36.
„Horeson knave“, K. D., 124.
„Jackdow“, F. El., p. 20.
„Whoreson“, F. El., p. 36, Y., p. 26.
„Good John — a — peepo“, Y., p. 25.
„Sir John“, Y., p. 25.
„Master Charity“, Y., p. 27.
„Ill favored lout“, T. T., p. 294.
„Master Just“, “Goodman Just“, T. T., p. 278.
„Goodman Hobal“, T. T., p. 277.

„Brother Snaps", T. T., p. 278, (with reference to the bridle).
„This gentleman", K. D., 110.
„Piss burned Cuckold", K. D., 418.
„Tom Narrownose", K. D., 848.
„Peter Turneup", K. D., 915.
„Nyck Candlestycke", K. D., 927.
„John Puddingmaker", K. D., 935.
„Thou pouchmouth knave", K. D., 973.
„False harlot" (Christ), M. M.[2], Fii.
„Beggarly fellow" (Christ), M. M.[2], Gii.
„Beggarly fool" (Christ), M. M.[2], Gii.
„Thief" (Christ), M. M.[2], Hii.

β) *In his absence.* — [Nat., W. C., F. El., T. T., K. D.].
„He is but a boy", Nat., 658[I].
„Knave", Nat., 979[I].
„These knaves", F. El., p. 43.
„daw", Nat., 1011[I], W. C., p. 264.
„a straw", Nat., 1012[I],
„a dryuyll", Nat., 637[I].
„That bitched Conscience", W. C., p. 264.
„lousy lout", T. T., p. 295, (at parting).
„Master Just with his cankered courage,
What and old doting Sapience", T. T., p. 277 (at parting).
„Pyseburnd knave", K. D., 250.
„Shytten knave", K. D., 547.
„Peter Blowbowle", K. D., 174.
„Thys olde heretyke", K. D., 473.

5. *Nonsensical tasks and problems.* — [Man., F. El., K. D.]. Mischief proposes a nonsensical problem to Mercy:

„But, sir, I pray this question to clarify,
Dryff, draff, mysse masche —
Sume was corne and sume was chaffe", Man., 48—50.

Nowadays does the same:

„Now opyne yowur sachell with Latin wordes
And sey me þis in clerycall manere" etc., Man. 125.

Sensual Appetite, in order to entrap Experience, desires that he spell the word „Tom Cooper", F. El., p. 36. Nought

imposes an obscene penance upon Mercy. Man., — 137. Iniquity proposes as an appropriate office for Equity that „He shall go play with my mother's pussy cat", K. D., 304; but Partiality is of the opinion that that were far too agreeable, he should rather be made to sell puddings, 308.

b) *Hatred and slander.*

1. *The Vice finds the person of his opponent uncongenial.* — [Nat., Man., H., F. El., T. T., K. D., M. M.[2]].

Sensuality says to Reason, while contending with him about Man:

„Forsoth, I trow about neyther we be good felowys", [Nat., 311[I].

Sensual Appetite to Humanity:

„Though I do him (Studious Desire) despise", F. El., p. 20.

Sensual Appetite to the audience:

„For, by the mass, I love him not;
We two can never agree", F. El., p. 21.

Sensual Appetite to Studious Desire:

„Avaunt, knave, I thee defy", F. El., p. 22.

As Studious Desire comes into the inn, Sensual Appetite says to him:

„What art thou here! I see well, I,
The more knaves the worse company", F. El., p. 35,

the same is true of Inclination and Sapience, T. T., p. 277. Hickescorner makes peace between Freewill and Imagination so, that they all three may attack Pity. H., p. 169.

2. *The Vice seeks to drive his opponent away.*

The Vices wish that Mercy would go away:

„þe sonner þe leuer", Man., 250.

Inclination to Visitation:

„Will ye be packing", T. T., p. 294.

Iniquity to Equity:

„Go git thee home and talke with thy wenche", K. D., 420.

The *King Darius* in fact fairly swarms with such expressions:

„get thee away", 124,
„If thou go not hence to thee it will be death", 126.

Infidelity to Christ:

„It is best for you out of this coast to walk“, M. M.², Fiii.

Sensuality rejoices as Innocence goes away, Nat., 656^I, similarly again, Nat., 66^II, K. D., 170, 224 etc.

Iniquity takes measures to guard against being further molested by the Good:

„I must myself bestir
In my wrath and ire,
That they shall come no more“ etc., K. D., — 561.

c) *Curses: imprecations.* — [Nat., W. C., H., F. El., T. T., M. M.², K. D.].

Sensuality:

„Let him go tho the deuyll of hell“,

(i. e. Innocence), Nat., 657^I.

Worldly Affection:

„Reason! Mary, let him go play
To the deuyll of hell“, Nat., 1339^I.

Folly to Manhood:

„A cuckoo for Conscience“, W. C., p. 264.

Hickescorner:

„Yet had I liever see him (Pity) hanged by the chin“, [H., p. 171.

Infidelity wishes the same of Christ, M. M.², Gii.

Sensual Appetite to the audience:

„The devil pull off his skin:
I would he were hanged by the throat“, F. El., p. 21.

Sensual Appetite:

„I beshrew thy father's son“, F. El., p. 20.

Inclination:

„May the devil go with you and his dun dame“, T. T., [p. 279.

„Farewell, in the devil's name“, T. T., p. 295.

Infidelity:

„A poison take thee“, M. M.², Fii.

Iniquity:

„I would you were in your graves“, K. D., 1076.

d) *Threats: abuse.* — [Man., Nat., W. C., H., F. El., Y., T. T.].

Newguise to Mercy:

„My brother wyll make you to prawnce“, Man., 88.

Nowadays to Mercy:

„Beware, ye may soon have a buffet“, Man., 106 and [„trefett“, 110.

Nought to Mercy:

„If ye say þat I lye, I xall make yow to slyther“, [Man., 109.

Sensuality to Reason:

„Thou shalt auoyd myche sonar than thou wenuyst“, [Nat., 267I.

Pride:

„I shall give him a lift“, Nat., 851I.

Folly:

„Had I that bitched Conscience in this place,
I should beat him with my staff,
That all his stones should stink“, W. C., p. 264.

Hickescorner: „This churl Pity
Shall curse the time that ever he came to land“, [H., p. 169,
„And thou make too much I shall break thy brow“, [H., p. 169,
„With this dagger thou shalt have a clout“, H., p. 171.

Sensual Appetite:

„I shall make yonder knaves twain,
To repent and be sorry“, F. El., p. 37.

Infidelity:

„We will rid this knave hence,
Or else of his life I will soon make him weary“, M. M.2, Fi.

Iniquity to Equity:

„Get thee away or I will thee slay“, K. D., 50, 75, etc. etc.
„Or with my dagger I will thee slay“, K. D., 105,
similarly also T. T., p. 278, etc.

Riot:

„I will lay him the visage“, Y., p. 16; M. M.2, Fii.

Riot:

„Have on the ear
And that a good knock“, Y., p. 32.

Hickescorner:

„We will lead him straight to Newgate", H., p. 171.

Riot:

„We shall set him in the blocks" (stocks), H., p. 16, also p. 25. Pity is actually put into the stocks, H., p. 172, likewise, Charity, Y., p. 26, 27.

In *King John* the hostility of the Vice takes a peculiarly ecclesiastical turn. In this play one hears a great deal about excommunication and interdict. Armed with full power from Rome, Sedition covers the King and England with imprecations:

„Hold your peace, ye whore, or else . . .
I shall cause the pope to curse thee as black as
[a crow", p. 4, also p. 66.
„Out with the popes bulls and curse him down to hell",
[p. 26. Compare further, p. 10, 25, 37, 38, 74.
„I am Sedition plain . . .
Having you princes in scorn, hate and disdain", p. 18.

Dissimulation participates also in this hatred:

„A Johanne Rege iniquo, libera nos, domine", p. 25.

Since England is a woman, Sedition reveals his foul thoughts:

„What you i i alone! I will tell tales . . .
And say that I saw you fall to lechery", p. 3.

Note. — Hostility towards Humanity. — [Y., N. W., K. C., M. M.[2]].

The Vice is in the rule friendly towards man. It is only when the Vice has failed in his designs to demoralize man, that he turns against him; herein he shows the meanness of his character.

Iniquity (aside), as Ismael is being led to execution: „Hang him" etc., „Let me be hang man" etc. N. W., p. 178. The Vice fears in this case Ismael's testimony against him. Infidelity is especially villainous in his treatment of the repentant Mary Magdalene; she creeps humbly to the Savior, Infidelity remarks complainingly:

„A sinner, quod he, yea, she is a wicked sinner,
A harlot she is" etc., M. M.[2]

Ambidexter addresses the dead King:
„How now noble King . . .
The devil take me, if for him
I make any moan", K. C., p. 245.

Riot imprecates Youth who has turned his back upon him:
„Fie on thee, caitiff, fie", Y., p. 38.

e) *Satire is the Vice's most strongly marked trait.*

1. *Against the institutions and usages of the church.* — [Man., Nat., W. C., F. El., L. J., K. J., M. M.², M.].

α) *Monks.* — Newguise, perverting the words of the Bible and at the same time quoting the devil: „Ecce quam bonum . . . quod þe deull to the frerys — Habitare fratres in vino" (instead of unione), Man., — 315, the same, in the perversion of the ordinal name: „Of the demonycall fryary" (instead of dominical), Man., 144.

Sensuality in the joke at the expense of the cloistral life: „She (Margery) hath entred into a relygyous place", meaning a house of ill repute, Nat., 119ᴵᴵ.

Infidelity explains why his eyes are so crooked: „Like obstinate friars I temper my look, which hath one eye on a wench and an other on a book", M. M.², Ci.

Sin says, Sir Lawrence is no doctor except in the science of „ducking women", further, that Sir Lawrence knows neither Latin, Greek nor Hebrew, but can admirably „discharge oaths" and can read playing cards to perfection, Diii, that he can also drink, and, if need be, deal with the „Potter" — a reference, evidently, to the Friar Tuck of the Robin Hood Ballads. Money, Ei.

Folly pretends to have dwelt for years among monks and, indeed, to have been crowned their king, W. C., p. 263.

β) *Indulgences and papal avarice.* — Nought: „Here ys a pardone bely mett (be-limit i. e. belly-measuring, as explained by Professor Brandl),

„Yt ys granted of pope pokett", Man., — 135. He then prescribes an obscene penance, — 137.

γ) The clergy and the church in general. —

Sensuality: „(Covetise) dwelled with a prest, as I heard say, For he loveth well

Men of the chyrche, and they him also“, Nat., 999[II].

Infidelity likewise remains true to the church:

„The bishops, priest and pharisees do me so retain“, M. [M.[2], Ci.

Courage accuses the preachers of a lack of charity, he says to Greedines: „Not a preacher of them all in thy need will uphold thee, Try them who will, their devotion is small“. Tide, Fiiii. The Vices ridicule the church music: they sing a mock anthem: „It is wretyne with a coll“ etc., Man., 324, 328.

Similarly also Ignorance: „Give me a spade“ etc., F. El., p. 48; he calls it a „peevish prick-eared song“.

Sensual Appetite imitates mockingly the manner of the priests, probably, in this case, suiting action to words:

„Benedicite! I grant thee this pardon
And give thee absolution
For your sooth saws“ etc., F. El., p. 19.

Similarly Iniquity to Equity: „Gods blessing, my son, I do thee give“, K. D., 501, and to Charity: „Farewell, gentle Harry, I commit thee to God“, 1095.

Avarice seeks a refuge under the protection of the clergy:

„Is then never a goode chaplaine in all this towne
That will, for awhile hide me under his gowne?“
[Res., 344—84.

Sedition describes the church orders and scourges the ignorance of the priests: „. . . Some to sing at the lecturn with long ears like an ass“, K. J., p. 27.

Sedition describes the profits which the church is to derive from the interdict in England:

„Our holy father now may live at his pleasure,
And have habundance of wenches, wyues and [treasure“ . . .
„Now shall we (the clergy) ruffle it in velvets, gold [and silk,
With shaven crowns, side gowns and rochets white as [milk“, K. J., p. 65.

δ) Saints. — Sedition mentions St. Antonius' hog, K. J., p. 99.

Sedition, while being led to execution, says: „Pray to me whith candles, for I am a saint already", K. J., p. 99.

ε) Relics: The catalogue-motif. — Sedition exhibits his collection of relics, giving a complete inventory of all sorts of repulsive and impossible objects. The list begins with „a bone of the blessed trinity" etc., K. J., p. 47.

Hypocrisy describes likewise a long list of relics and sacred things of the Roman catholic church:

„Holy cardinals, holy popes,
Holy vestments, holy copes" etc., L. J., p. 65.

This effective satyrical method was first made use of in English by Chaucer, in the *Prologue to the Pardoners Tale,* and was borrowed from him by Skelton.

2. *Against social institutions and usages:* — [Nat., W. C., H., Y., T. T., L. W. L., Res., A. V., K. C., O., M. M.[2]].

α) Women and marriage. —

Sensuality describes Margery's life in the nunnery, i. e. in a house of ill repute:

„Wedded, quod a, no, . . .
They wyll not tary therefore,
They can wed them selfe alone;
Com kys me Johan, gramercy Jone;
Thys wed they ever more,
And it is the more to comend,
For if a woman hap to offend,
As it is theyre gyse", etc., Nat., 147[II].

Hickescorner pretends to have traveled in „Land of Women, that few men doth find", H., p. 161—2.

Inclination pretends that love may be bought: „As for Venus . . . she is bought and sold always with treasure", T. T., p. 282.

Inclination hints that the women are immoral:

„If ye chance to tell any tales of these gentlewomen,
With flesh-hooks and nails you are like to be rent" etc.,

T. T., p. 287; likewise Haphazard, A. V., p. 124, and Courage, Tide, Dii.

Ambidexter scourges shrewish women:

„. . . I have heard some say, —
That ever I was married now cursed be the day!
„Those be they that with cursed wives be matched,
That husband for hawks' meat of them is up snatched" etc.,

K. C., p. 232, likewise Haphazard and the Vice in O. and refers to the story of Socrates and Xantippe. O., 1084—1114. In M. M.[2] marriage is especially condemned; Infidelity to Mary Magdalene: „For many incommodities truly be in marriage", Cupidity agrees with him in this and Carnal Concupiscence proposes „free love" as the proper moral standard: „Take you now one, and then another". M. M.[2], Di.

Pride suggests to Youth, that it were really wise for him to marry, but Riot, when he hears this, is of a very different opinion:

A wife? nay . . .
The devil said he had liever burn all his life
Than once to take a wife", Y., p. 19.

The Vice is here, as he always is, the enemy of marriage, not because the man by that means may be led to a moral life, but because marriage is a sacrament of the church: cf. Mephistopheles, Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, 581.

β) The legal profession. — The law, as an object of satire, is always brought into connection with the poor and the oppressions, which they have to suffer.

Folly:

For I am a servant of the law,
Covetise is mine own fellow, — — —
And poor men that come from upland", etc., W. C., p. 262.

Similarly Sensuality, Nat., 999[II], and Res., V., 9, 32.

γ) England and especially London. — Folly, as well as his ancestors, have from time immemorial lived in England, he himself was born in London, W. C., p. 262; Hickescorner relates that he sailed about the world in a ship called the „Envy of London", H., 165. Among the passengers on this same ship were all sorts of criminals, who had sworn always to live in England, H., p. 164.

δ) *The rich.* — Against the rich but very little is said.
Inclination:

„The property of rich men undoubtedly he hath,
Which think with money to pacify God's wrath,
And health at their pleasure to buy and to sell".
[T. T., p. 295.

ε) *Against Fashions in dress the Vice has likewise surprisingly little to say.* In *Nature,* 748—781[I], Privy Counsel describes, just as Curiosity does in M. M.[1], his fine clothes; the colors are staring, the material rich and costly, the sleeves of his cloak are of themselves large enough to make a doublet and coat for some lad. His hair receives special attention day and night. To complete his out-fit he has a dagger and a sword so heavy that he requires a page to carry it.

Nichol Newfangle, whose Name, newfangle, means fond of what is new, relates what he, as an apprentice of Lucifer's, had learned to make: „gowns with long sleeves and wings";

„I learned to make ruffs like calves chitterlings,
And especially breeches as big as good barrels" etc.,
[L. W. L., p. 310.

In M. M.[2] the Vices are careful to instruct Mary Magdalene in the newest styles; first, her hair:

„In Summer time now and then to keep away the flies,
Let some of that fair hair hang in your eyes.
With a hot needle you shall learn it to crispe".

Pride:

„By your ears sometimes with pretty tusks and toys
You shall fold your hair like tomboys".

And when her hair at last begins to fade she must learn to dye it yellow:

„If the color of your hair beginneth to fade
A craft you must have that yellow it may be made",

and indeed „goldsmith's water" is peculiarly adapted to this purpose. Second, the use of cosmetics: Infidelity notices that Mary Magdalene has little pock-marks on her nose and that her complexion is too brown, but all this can be artificially remedied. Third, dress;

Pride naturally takes this matter upon himself:

„Upon your forehead you must wear a bon grace,
Which like a penthouse may come far over your face“.

In front her dress must cut low, „That your white paps may be seen“, so that, as Cupidity suggests, young men may see her white bosom and become incited to love. Carnal Concupiscence adds that he has seen men actually bleed at the nose at the mere sight of beauty. Further, according to Infidelity's advice she must straitly lace herself:

„Let your body be pent and together strained,
As hard as may be though you thereby be pained“.

And finally besides cosmetics, laces, wires and the like, Infidelity recommends perfumery:

„Let your garments be sprinkled with rose-water,
Else your civet, pomander, musk . . .
That the odor of you a mile off a man may smell“.

3. *Against morality in general.* — [H., F. El., L. J., T. T.].

Hickescorner reports how a large number of good pious people were drowned in „the Rase of Ireland“, H., p. 164.

Sensual Appetite would rather be dead than

„To pray, to study, or be pope holy“, F. El., p. 20.

Riot thinks that the new learning on the part of the reformers is a perversion of the natural order of things:

„Wilt thou set men to school
When they be old? . . .
Now every boy will be a teacher,
The father a fool and the child a preacher,
This is a pretty gear“, L. J., p. 76.

He also scoffs at the puritanical custom of carrying Bibles about:

„At his girdle he hath such a book
That popish priests dare not on him look“, L. J., p. 80.

Inclination (solus) discourses thus about truth and friendship:

„He that can flatter shall be well beloved;
But he that saith thus saith Christ,
Shall as an enemy be openly reproved.
Friendship consisteth now in adulation;
Speak fair and please the lust of thy lord“ etc.
. . . „Behold how a lie can please some folks diet“, etc.,
[T. T., 287, 288.

B. The Vice as the tempter and demoralizer of men.

Towards the person who represents man: Mankind, Manhood, Man, Humanity, Youth and the like, the Vice shows an entirely different phase of his being. The Vice appears as the embodiment of worldliness and sensuality, he is free from all restraints of religion and from all bonds of moral ideals. He is concerned only for one thing, that humanity shall give free rein to his inclinations, not however that a soul may be by this means ruined, but that man may be led to enjoy an existence of freedom and pleasure, the vicious ideal of happiness being in every sense the reverse of the spiritual.

a) *The Vice attempts to ingratiate himself with man who is at first unwilling and suspicious.* — [W. C., F. El., L. J.].

In these three plays humanity appears especially innocent, and, since he is just come from the instruction of the Good, he is particularly strict about all matters of piety. In W. C., p. 260, Folly greets Manhood in a jolly familiar manner. Being questioned concerning his occupation, he pretends among other things to be a great fighter and challenges Manhood to a bout. But as soon as Manhood learns that his name is Folly and Shame, he will have nothing more to do with him, the Vice begs to be taken into Manhood's service, and that simply for his keeping. As he finally consents to be called simply Folly, Manhood accepts him. It is interesting to note in this connection how slyly Folly manages; although the name of Conscience is frequently mentioned, Folly says nothing against him until he finds himself assured of Manhood's favor. In F. El., p. 20, 22 the matter of the temptation takes the form of a discussion. At first Humanity resents the slanderous attacks on Studious Desire: „Sir, he looketh like an honest man". The Vice continues to vent his opprobrium, but turns suddenly to Humanity with these words: „I am content, sir, with you to tarry" and „You cannot live without me" etc. Being asked, he explains his origin and function in the world thus: „I comfort the wits five", p. 21.

In L. J., p. 71, seq. Hypocrisy accosts Juventus and pretends to have known him in the past. Juventus at first

does not recognize him. It is only after relating events from the early history of Juventus, that Hypocrisy succeeds in gaining a hearing: „Yes, I have known you ever since you were bore“ etc., and „you and I many a time have been full merry“. Being asked his name he gives an assumed name, Friendship, and goes then so far as to claim relationship with Juventus, who naturally enough is very glad to find an old friend again.

In M. M.[2] Infidelity in like manner claims old acquaintship:

„I wis, mistress Mary, I had you in my arm,
Before you were iii years of age“. Bi.

He then officiously interests himself in her present affairs. Mary Magdalene is much worried about her dress, Infidelity blames the tailors. Mary is taken by surprise, whence all this knowledge about tailors and dressing? The motif, flattery is not uncommon with the Vice, but is peculiarly appropriate in this play, since, in this case, humanity is represented by a vain young woman. Infidelity offers advice, and suggests, as she is so beautiful and so rich and of such noble birth, that she should take special care to dress well and to live well.

b) *The Vice makes taunting remarks about Humanity's Manner of life.* — [Nat., W. C., F. El., L. J., Y.].

1. *On account of his dependence.*

Pride:

„Me semeth ye saue not your honeste
. . . a man of your behauyng
Shuld haue alway suffycynt conyng
Of worldly wyt and polycy . . .
And not to be led by the ere,
And beg wyt here and there
Of every jak and pye“, etc., Nat., 952—962[I],
„I se well ye be but a very lad“, 988[I];

Pride pretends to have thought Man at first worthy of some consideration, but now he repents having ever made his acquaintance, he becomes vexed and calls Man plainly a fool: „I wys ye ar but an ydeot“, 1004[I].

2. *On account of his old fashioned dress.* —

Pride: „I fayth, I lyke not your aray“, Nat., 1004[I].

3. *On account of his association with the Good.* —
Sensual Appetite is unable to understand how such a person as Man can have anything to do with Studious Desire:

„Now, by my troth, I marvel greatly,
That ever ye would use the company
So much of such a knave", F. El., p. 22.

Similarly Sensuality:

„Jesu, how may ye this life endure", Nat., 67[II].

4. *On account of his piety.*

Sensuality:

„Where ys your lusty hart becom? . . .
. . . I haue great maruell how ye may
Lyue in suche mysery" etc., Nat., 73, 76[II],

similarly, Riot:

„He would have the a saint now,
But a young saint, an old devil" etc., Y., p. 31,

and Pride:

„He would . . .
Make you holy ere ye be old" . . .
„Thou wert a stark fool to leave mirth", etc., Y., p. 32, 33.

Hypocrisy says to Juventus, who is on his way early to church with a prayer book under his arm:

„A preaching, quod a? Ah! good little one
By Christ, she will make you cry out of the winning" etc.,
[L. J., p. 72.

Juventus is shocked at such words and attempts to defend the Christian doctrine, Hypocrisy mockingly replies:

„Well said, master doctor, well said,
By the mass, we must have you into the pulpit.
... Let me see your portous, gentle Sir John", L. J., p. 74.

W. Aff:

„Why haue ye suche a spyced conscyence" . . .
„I am sory and ashamed truely", Nat., 1050—1053[I].

5. *On account of supposed cowardice.* — Folly challenges Manhood to fight, Manhood hesitates, being doubtful of the Vice's ability to fight.

Folly:

„No, sir, thou darest not, in good fay,
For truly thou failest no(w) false heart“, W. C., p. 261.

Riot roughly threatens Charity; Youth asks him to desist, Riot turns immediately on Youth: „He turneth his tail, he is afeard“, Y., p. 26. Abh. Living to Juventus:

„Who, you? nay ye are such a holy man,
That to touch one ye dare not be bold;
I think you would not kiss a young woman,
If one would give you twenty pound in gold“, L. J., p. 83.

c) *The Vice leads Humanity into dissipation, after Humanity has surrendered himself to the worldly life.* — [Man., Nat., F. El., W. C., Y., T. T., M. M.[2]].

In *Mankind* Mischief opens his „Court of Mischief“ and makes Mankind take vows to steal, murder and the like, Man., — 702. The usual method is for the Vice, in such cases, simply to invite Humanity to go to the inn. Sensuality to Man: „. . . let us .ii. go

To some tauern here bysyde“, Nat., 1038[I].

What there took place, he relates afterwards, — 1144[I]. In F. El., p. 23, Sensual Appetite says to Humanity:

„Well, then, will ye go with me
To a tavern“, etc., etc.,

Humanity agrees, the Vice thereupon calls the taverner and orders the dinner, not without indulging with the taverner in some coarse jokes; the taverner distinguishes himself creditably in this encounter. It now occurs suddenly to the Vice that more company is necessary, he proposes to bring in some women of the town: „Then we will have Little Nell“, etc., F. El., p. 26: again, p. 43, 44. Humanity does not appear to be adverse.

In Y., Riot says to Youth:

„Youth, I pray thee have ado
And to a tavern let us go,
And we will drink divers wine,
And the cost shall be mine . . .
Yet thou shalt have a wench to kiss“.
[Y., p. 16: again, p. 23.

As in M. M.[1] so in M. M.[2], Mary Magdalene is led to the inn,
Infidelity:

„Will you resort with me unto Jerusalem,
A banquet they have prepared for you", M. M.[2], Diii.

In W. C., p. 265, the invitation of the Vice assumes a peculiar form in that the Vice takes occasion to express his malice behind Manhood's back; Manhood proposes to drink to his new acquaintance. Folly says to him: „Marry, master, ye shall have in haste", and turning to the audience says:

„Ah, sirs, let the cat wink,
For all wot not what I think;
I shall draw him such a draught of drink,
That Conscience he shall away cast".

He then encourages Manhood to throw all restraints aside:

„Have, master, and drink well,
And let us revel, revel,
For . . . I would we were at the stews".

He does the same later when he makes his exit:
Folly:

„Ah, ah! master, that is good cheer,
And ere it be passed half a year,
I shall thee shear right a lewd frere,
And hither again thee send", p. 266.

In T. T., p. 272, the invitation to dissipation is represented allegorically; the vices are all present as persons, Inclination formally introduces them to Humanity:

„Well, master Lust, first join you to me Inclination;
Next here with Sturdiness you must you acquaint;
Turn you about and embrace Elation;
And that wealth may increase without restraint,
Join you with Greedy-gut here in our presence".

Lust is then suddenly seized with a violent cramp, Inclination explains this simply as a sign of his power over men.

The Vice, Mischief, suggests to Man in his desperation that he hang himself and brings a rope and pole, Newguise encourages him and shows him practically how it is done:

„Lo, Mankind, do as I do, þis ys the new gyse,
Gyff þe roppe just to thy neke þis ys my avyse".
[Man. 791—92.

This suggestion to commit suicide is not, in this case, wholly original with the Vices. The thought had apparently already occurred to Man.

That Newguise really hanged himself at this time is clear from verses 795—97. Suicide as a mean of tempting men to destruction is ancient: cf. the old block-book, *Ars Moriendi* — first picture; there a devil is represented as calling the hopeless man's attention to one who had killed himself, the devil points also to the scroll „interficias te ipsum".

A desperation — scene occurs also in Skelton's *Magnificence*, 2312—52; Despair holds up the man's sins before him and intimates that faith, hope and mercy are now in vain and that the time for repentence is past. Mischief brings a halter and a knife: cf. the knife in *Ars Moriendi.* A similar scene occurs also in *Tide,* G i, Courage holds up before Wastefulness his sins and Despair enters „in some ogly shape".

d) *The Vice stills man's reviving conscience.* — [W. C., L. J., Y., T. T., Confl., A. V., M. M.[2], Tide].

Manhood, just as he is about to begin reveling and drinking, expresses the fear that Conscience might yet find him;

Folly says:

„Tush . . . Conscience cometh no time here,
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
For Knowledge have thou no care", W. C., p. 265.

Youth expresses his fears in the same way: „I would not that Charity should us meet", whereupon Riot threatens to give Charity a sound trouncing, Youth a second time becomes fearful just as he is going into the inn, Riot plies his victim thus:

„Let us go again betime,
That we may be at the wine,
Ere ever that he come".

Pride helps the matter on and declares himselt ready to pay the costs of the feast. Youth bravely seats himself at the table, but is suddenly seized with a peculiar fit; he says:

„Hark, sirs, how they fight". Thereupon Riot, referring to the inner struggle between inclination and conscience, advises:

> „Let not thy servants fight within thee,
> We will go to the ale", Y., p. 23.

Juventus is fearful lest his friends find him in the society of Hypocrisy; Hypocrisy quiets him, teaching him how to play the hyprocrite thus:

> „What are those fellows so curious
> — — — — — — — — — — —
> Bid them pluck the beam out of their own eye,
> — — — — — — — — — — — — —
> Call them papists, hipocrites" etc.,
> „Let your book at your girdle be tied
> — — — — — — — — — —
> And then will be said... Yonder fellow hath
> An excellent knowledge", L. J., p. 77.

Hypocrisy in Confl., p. 99 manages in the same way.

In T. T., p. 271, Lust has fear of death and judgment, he had been reading Cicero and Paul, but such thoughts do not trouble him excessively; Sturdiness on the contrary suffers greatly on that score: „They cumber me pestilently". Inclination proposes a remedy:

> „Well, master Lust, such dumps to eschew . . .
> . . . become a disciple of doctor Epicurus",

and further offers to bring in some jolly company, Elation and Greedygut.

In A. V., p. 128, Judge Appius is halting between two opinions: „How am I divided" . . . „Conscience he pricketh me" etc., Haphazard quiets him, „tut man, these are but thoughts, Conscience has long since been drowned, you need concern yourself no more about him."

Mary Magdalene is much concerned about her reputation and is doubtful about the propriety of free love, Pride undertakes to clothe the matter with a certain glamor, she should associate only with rich gentlemen who wear mantles with velvet collars, D i. After Mary Magdalene had indulged in sin, she hears the „Words of the Law" and becomes repentant:

„O! Prudence, hear you not what the law doeth say,
Exceedingly it pricketh my conscience“, Eiii.

Infidelity makes an obscene joke and tries to lead Mary away: „Come away“ and „Are you so mad him (the Law) to believe?“

„These things are written to make folks afraid“.

He argues further:

„He speaketh of men, but no women at all,
Women have no souls“, Eiii.

As the Law goes out, Infidelity feels of her pulse and pronounces her sound, Mary says her body is sound but her conscience is very sick. Infidelity is then about to discuss this subject of conscience, when Christ enters; there is then nothing left for the Vice to do but to scold: „Do you love me?“, „You have a wavering wit“ etc. Similarly in *Tide,* Bii, Courage scolds Greediness, who had been listening to a sermon and as a result was complaining of remorse of conscience.

This motif — the stilling of the conscience of man, is a characteristic Vice-trait. It is also made use of in *Richard* III, I, 3, in the case of the two murderers, who resemble the Vice in many ways. The Second Murderer hears accidently the word conscience and is afraid, the other says mocking, what are you afraid! After a little while he asks again how it is with him; his pal confesses that he still feels some traces of conscience, but this is all finally put effectually to flight when he is reminded of the reward.

e) *Arguments.* — [Nat., W. C., F. El., Y., L. J., M. M.2.] The Vice resorts to the use of arguments to lead man astray, as Lucifer does in W. But, as a rule, this cannot be said to be a marked trait of the Vice. Serious Arguing does not agree very well with mockery and buffoonery, and it presupposes further an antagonism which, as between himself and man, the Vice seeks above all things to avoid. The Vices may, accordingly, from this point of view, be divided into two classes, those who are more serious and argumentative: type, Sensualiy in *Nature,* and those who do not argue at all: type, Mischief in *Mankind.*

1. *Religion and studiousness are to be rejected.*

Sensuality:

„Without ye take some other wayes,
By my throuth yt wyll shorten yonr dayes“, Nat., 79[II].

Sensual Appetite:

„It will you bring
At last into your grave“, F. El., p. 22.

Infidelity:

„Never attend you to law nor prophecy,
They were invented to make fools afraid“ — —
„God? tush, when was God to any man seen?“
„Homo homini deus.“ M. M.[2] Cii.

Idleness in her song is especially opposed to study, W. Sc., p. 374.

2. *Our fathers were certainly in the right.* — This argument is especially resorted to in fighting the reformation.

Hypocrisy to Juventus:

„Was not your father as well-learned as ye?
And if he had said then as you have now done,
I-wis he had been like to make a burn“. L. J., p. 74.
He repeats this argument, p. 75, 76.

3. *There is always time enough to repent.* —

Pride to Youth:

„I trow that he would
Make you holy, ere ye be old; — — —
It is time enough to be good,
When that ye be old“. Y., p. 32;
„Thou art not certain of thy life;
Therefore thou wert a stark fool
To leave mirth and follow their school“, p. 33.

Infidelity:

„You shall never be younger“. M. M.[2], Bi.

4. *The Vice recommends himself.* —

Folly says of himself that he is everywhere highly respected, and therefore is not to be despised:

„For Folly is fellow with the world
And greatly beloved by many a lord". W. C., p. 264.

Sensual Appetite explains the doctrine of sensuality, his fundamental proposition is this: „Ye cannot live without me", F. El., p. 21, for the five senses are essential to life and the peculiar office of Sensual Appetite is this: „I comfort the wits five". Infidelity recommends himself to Mary Magdalene as a trusty counsellor: „You cannot trust a wiser", M. M.², Bi.

5. *Worldly prudence.* Suggestion maintains that Paul, Christ and David dissembled in order to save themselves from their enemies, Confl., p. 109, further, that we must be wise in the choice of evils and trust God, who is merciful rather than men, p. 111.

6. *The argumentation in the Tragedies differs from that of the Moralities in that it lies, as it were, partly in the names of the Vices.* Thus Ambidexter says to Sisamnes, it is very stupid of you to be so conscientious, no one will dare to impeach you, the opportunity is favorable, double dealing is all that is necessary: „Can you not play with both hands and turn with the wind?" and explains to him a plan whereby his brother's crown may be gained. K. C., p. 187, 188.

Haphazard proceeds in the same way; as he hears the complaints of the lovelonging Appius, he urges him to try his chances:

„Why, cease, sir knight, for why perhaps of you she shall [be bedded" — —
There is no more ways, but hap or hap not" etc., p. 127;

Conscience and Justice appear, Appius is sore afraid, Haphazard resorts once more to his argument of chance:

„It is but in hazard and may come by hap;
Win her or lose her, try you the trap". A. V., p. 132.

He then proposes the wicked plan of kidnapping Virginia. In O. the Vice pretends to be a messenger of the gods, gives himself the name of Courage and then says to Horestes spurring him to action with those words: „Seke to dystroye, as doth the flaming fier", etc., O., 287.

f) *The Vice reminds man of former delights.* — [Nat., F. El., Confl.]

Schould the man in the course of the play repent, it becomes necessary for the Vice to retain control over his victim. Sensuality reminds Man of his old companions: „Meny a good felow wold make great mone“, Nat., 81^{II}, and he goes even so far as to weep because Man has so shamefully neglected them, 82^{II}. The weeping and the news of the old friends appear to have effect, the Vice seizes then the favorable moment to remind Man of his old flame, Margary. Sensual Appetite in F. El., p. 43, in a similar way, reminds Humanity of the happy times spent in tavern:

„Wether thought you it better cheer,
At the tavern where we were ere,
Or else to clatter with these knaves here“. F. El., p. 43.

In Confl., Hypocrisy, who is to be regarded as an inquisitor, tries zealously to persuade Philologus to recant, first, he expresses great sympathy, promising him mercy if he will only yield; then he holds up before him the horrible consequences of such persistency: „Your zeal is too hot; which will not be quench, but with your heart blood“. Confl., p. 87. Sensual Suggestion aids Hypocrisy in this matter, thus he relates in the hearing of Philologus how, as he came through the streets, he heard a certain woman, the mother of several helpless innocent children, wailing because of the persistent, stiffnecked conduct of her husband - this was of course the wife of the victim, Philologus, Confl., p. 93.

C. The Vice as a comical figure.

The purpose of humor in the serious dramas is not infrequently adverted to in the prologues and the admixture of the comical element explained and justified; since the common man listens very willingly to the comical, he may, therefore, be induced to hear the serious also, if it be interlarded with fun. This is clearly expressed in the prologue to the *Four Elements*:

„This philosophical work is mixed
With merry conceits to give men comfort

And occasion to cause them to resort
To hear this matter".

Cf. further, among others, the prologue to *Trial of Treasure* and *Like Will to Like.* Thus the authors introduce the comical intentionally and seek to justify this on utilitarian grounds.

The frequent expressions in these prologues: „mirth", „merry conceits", and the like, refer unmistakably to the Vice and his rôle as a comical person. Sometimes the Vice says of himself that he has come purposely to create fun. But this humor of the Vice is not without a tinge of the maliciousness, which is an essential part of his make-up, the Vice is not a purely humorous character. One feels that what he says and does has always a background of maliciousness and satire. The Vice's witticisms are:

a) *Playing upon-words.* — Both the number and the variety of the punnings in the earlier serious dramas are not great, especially in comparison with Shakespeare.

1. *Playing upon the sound chiefly.* — [Man., L. J., Y., K. J., L. W. L., Res., A. V., O., M.]

Nought invents the word „trefett", Man., 110 to match „bofett" (a blow), 106; „trefett" is perhaps a tripple blow. Nought makes a similar play with the word „shett", Man., 773, referring to the preceding „shott" as is evident by his remarks: „I am doyng my nedyngs", 770 „I haue fowll arayde my fote", 771.

Sedition will „with the pope hold so long as I have a hole in my breech", K. J., p. 4; again Sedition: „It were folly such louce ends for to lose", K. J., p. 74.

Hypocrisy: „breakfast" > „pie-feast". L. J., p. 78.

Avarice attempts to teach the stupid Adulation the name Reformation, thus: „Ye shall learn to (do)-sol-fe-re-for-ma-tion. Sing on now; re-for-" etc., Res., II, 4, 68.

Riot, bringing a chain: „Is not this a jolly ringing?" Y., p. 27. Referred to the preceding „a pair of rings", „ringing" acquires the significance to put in irons.

Tom to Nichol Newfangle: „Your presence hath made my heart light".

Nichol replies: „I will make it lighter“, L. W. L., p. 347 referring to the hanging which awaits Tom.

Sin to Moneyless: „Thou art sure shortly to play sursum corda“, Money, Di.; cord(a) = 1. the hangman's rope, 2. the hearts; Sursum = upward, i. e. hanged.

Haphazard: „He never learned his manners in Siville“, A. V., p. 151; Seville = 1. a city in Spain, 2. civil, polite: cf. the Taverner's: course > coarse, F. El., p. 25.

Etymological punnings are rare. — Avarice, being addressed as „founder“, answers snappishly, „Founder me no foundring“, Res., I, 3, 50.

Haphazard plays upon his name thus: „Therefore hap and be happy“, A. V., p. 151, so also,

„When he hazards in hope what hap will ensue?“ — —
„A ploughman — — May hap be a gentleman“ — —
— — „Hap may so hazard“, etc., p. 124,
— — „but hap or hap not,
Either hap or else hapless“ — —, p. 127,

also p. 129, 130, 147, etc., cf. also:

Hempstringe:

„Hange me no hanginge“, O., 372.

2. *Misinterpretations; the Vice is fond of distorting words by substituting syllables similar in sound to produce a satirical effect.* — [Man., K. J., Res., K. D., Confl., T. T., L. W. L., M.]

a) Chiefly single words. — Newguise: „bely mett“ (belimit), Man., 134: see above p. 110 β; „demonycall“ (dominical), Man., 144; „in vino“ (in unione), Man., 315; „Yowur neglygence“ (your reverence), Man., 445.

Dissimulation to Ursurped Power:

Your horrible holiness“, K. J., p. 34.

Sedition betrays himself thus:

„I have a great mind to be a lecherous man —
I would say a religious man“, K. J., p. 12.

Likewise, Hypocrisy:

„I speak mischievously —
I would say in a mystery“, Confl., p. 46;

„desolation — — — consolation“, Confl., p. 66;
„I will be the noddy —
I schould say the notary“, Confl., p. 79.

Iniquity attempts to claim relationship with Equity because of the similarity of their names, but in vain; he therefore remarks: „That preposition *in* is a pestilent fellow“, K. D., 838.

β) Meaningless words and phrases, echoes. —

Lucifer says to Nichol Newfangle:

— — — „that thou adjoin like to like alway“.

Nichol replies: „That I eat nothing but onions and leeks alway“, L. W. L., p. 312, 313.

Lucifer requires the Vice to salute him with the words: „All hail, o, noble prince of hell“, Nichol Newfangle twists this into the following: „All my dames cows tails fell into the well“ etc. etc., L. W. L., p. 316.

Dissimulation sings the litany:

„Sancte Dominice, ora pro nobis“,

Sedition overhears him, aside; „Sancte pyld monache, I beshrow vobis“. K. J., p. 25.

The following interesting stage-direction occurs in *All for Money*, Ciii, „Here the Vice shall turn the Proclamation to some contrary sense every time All for Money hath read it, and here followeth the proclamation“; but the Vice's misinterpretations, in this case, are not given. Here it is thus expressly provided that the Vice shall improvise — a custom on the part of clowns against which Hamlet later so vigorously protests. The Garcio, Cain's servant, twists the words of his master's proclamation in the same way, Townley Plays, *Mactatio Abel*, 418—438.

γ) Malicious side-remarks, the Vice utters bitter truths, his words generally rhyming with those of his opponent; mimesis.

Lust to his mistress Lady Treasure:

„My lady is amorous and full of favor“,

Inclination: „I may say that she hath an ill favored savor“.

Lust: „what sayest thou?"

Inclination: „I may say she hath a loving and gentle behavior". T. T., p. 292: Other examples, T. T., p. 288, 289, 291, Confl., p. 77, K. D., 266, *Marriage of W. and W.*, p. 19. Shakespeare makes use of this motif, Rich. III, III, 1: Gloucester makes a mysterious remark, the little prince asks what he means, Gloucester replies with words of a similar sound but different meaning explaining then to himself: „Thus like the formal Vice, Iniquity, I moralize two meanings in one word". The word „formal", here, is equivalent to dealing with expressions of similar sound, that is, equivocating.

3. *The Vice uses a single word in a double sense, and that but once.* — [F. El., L. J., Y., Res., T. T., L. W. L., A. V., M. M. 2.)

Sensual Appetite:

„Well hit, quoth Hyckman, when he smote
His wife on the buttocks with a beer bottle". F. El., p. 19.

Hit = 1. met, 2. struck.

Riot:

„The devil said he had liever burn all his life
Than once to take a wife". Y., p. 19.

Riot here refers to the doctrine of Paul, *I. Corinthians* VII, 9, and to the fire in hell.

Inclination:

„I must tune my pipes first of all by drinking", T. T., [p. 274.

Pipes = 1. musical instrument, 2. oesophagus. Tune = to put in order.

Nichol Newfangle presents to a spectator a playing card, namely, the knave, saying: „Stop, gentle knave, and take up your brother". L. W. L., p. 309. He also uses „hole" in two senses, p. 311.

Inclination:

„For having this minion lass,
You shall never want the society of Pallas". T. T., p. 282.

Want = 1. to lack, 2. to need.

Haphazard: „At hand, quoth pick-purse, here ready am I", A. V., p. 129.

The ambiguous expressions, *double entendre* proper, are especially characteristic of Res.: Adulation: „We ... travaile for your wealth“ etc., Res., III, 2, 7; Avarice: „And this is all yours“, namely the money which he had embezzled, Res., V, 9, 107; other examples, II, 3, 29, IV, 4, 81, seq.

Similar expressions occur in M. M. 2; Carnal Concupiscence says to Mary Magdalene with reference to the action of Infidelity: „He hath been diligent about your cause“. Also in a bad sense; Hypocrisy says to Abhominable Living: „Be good to men's flesh“ etc., L. J., p. 85, Infidelity to Mary Magdalene:

„They had liefer have you naked —
— — Than with your best holy day garment“. M. M. 2.

The style of Mary's dress had just been the subject of discussion.

4. *In dialogue; complex puns.* — [Man., F. El., Y., K. J., K. C., K. D., Res., T. T., M. M.[2], M.].

α) The Vice purposely uses a word ambiguously, but not being understood, he is asked to explain his meaning; his answer completes the pun. Examples are infrequent. Sensual Appetite wished to order from the Taverner small birds, they are „light of digestion“, since they are „continually moving“. As soon as the Taverner understands the joke, he rejoins, I know of a still lighter flesh, a woman's tongue, „for it is ever stirring“. F. El., p. 25.

Sedition makes an obscene pun in the form of a riddle on the words hole, holy, K. J., p. 35. Likewise Newguise, on the word „marriage“, but proceeds with the explanation without waiting for intermediary question, Man., 331.

β) A player intentionally uses a word ambiguously, the Vice takes up the jest and developes it farther. Examples are not frequent.

Riot describes his experiences as a thief and murderer; Youth opines:

„— — — thou didst enough there,
For to be made knight of the collar“.

Riot:

„Yea, sir I trust — — —

At the next sessions to be dubbed a knight", Y., p. 15. Collar = 1. Collar of an order, 2. Hangman's noose. Sessions = 1. Sessions of Parliament, 2. sessions of the court.

γ) A player uses a word in the ordinary sense; the Vice, however, gives the expression an other meaning based upon some association of ideas. Catching-up.

Mischief catches-up Mercy's words: „The corn xall be sauyde þe chaff xall be brente", Man., 43, and gives them a ridiculous interpretation; the word „corn" suggests „thresher", „bread" and „baking", on the one hand, and, on the other, „horse" (which eats straw), „fire" (straw being used for fuel) and „cold", the contrary of warmth, fire. In a similar manner Newguise catches-up Mercy's words: „Yf a man haue a hors and kepe him not to hye", etc., Man., 230, applying them to his family life: „I haue fede my wyff so well" etc., 235.

Sedition pretends to misunderstand the words of the king: „So thou powder it with wisdom" etc. (i. e. season your conversation with wisdom); Sedition replies: „I am no spicer" (dealer in spices). K. J., p. 3. Similarly: „fed with . . . ceremonies" > „they eat both flawns and pygyn pies". K. J., p. 4.

Dissimulation says: „At last I have smelled them out". Sedition replies: „Thou mayst be a sow, if thou hast so good a snout". K. J., p. 30.

Iniquity catches-up Charity's words: „A fervent love we keep in store", he replies, yes, he would surely do that, namely, keep a tight hold on his money". K. D., 86.

Ambidexter gives an obscene meaning to the word „corner". K. C., p. 178, so also, Infidelity, to the expression „pricke of conscience", M. M.[2], Eiii.

Money asks Sin about his ancestry: „from what stock you are descended?", but Sin understands stocks: „The last stocks I was in was even at Bambury". Money Ciii. — Stock = family, race; stocks = an instrument of punishment.

Adulation to the other Vices: „Yea we must all hold and cleave together like burres.

Avarice remarks maliciously: „Yea, see ye three, hang and draw together like furres“, Res., I, 3, 132.

Lust to Lady Treasure: „I love thee, in faith, out of measure“.

Inclination (aside): „It is out of measure, indeed, as you say“. T. T., p. 289.

b) *Naïve, self-evident answers.* — [Y., T. T., L. W. L., Res., K. D., O.]

On Riot's first appearance Youth asks him: „Who brought thee hitherto“? Riot replies naïvely and literally: „That did my legs“. Y., p. 13. The same sort of witticism is used by Titivillus, Man., 439, and by the First Murderer, Richard III, I, 3.

Nichol Newfangle after being beaten by the rogues, asks: „tell me am I alive or am I dead?“ L. W. L., p. 351.

Avarice asks Oppression, who seems to be weary: „Where have you lost your breath“. Res., III, 5, 3.

The Vice, as he contemplates attacking the clowns, remarks prudently: „(It is) good sleepinge in a whole skynne“, O., 103.

Iniquity: „Why, man, it is yellow“, namely, the „yolke of an egge“, K. D., 955; again: „Two dishes maketh a platter“, 890.

Inclination: „To it, and I will either help or stand still“. T. T., p. 292.

Nichol Newfangle: „An owl is a bird“. L. W. L., p. 332, again: „knaves flesh is no pork“, p. 332.

Courage: „Needs knaves you must go, for so you came hither“. Tide, Diiii.

Profit, one of the minor Vices, replies in the same tone: „But here we found thee most knave of all and so we leave thee“.

Idleness explains his name: „I am ipse, his even the same“. W. W., p. 16.

c) *Nonsense.* — Nonsense, or lack of connection in discourse, is, according to Professor Child, a distinctive characteristic of the Vice. This variety of witticism consists generally of the combinations of irrelevant matters and furnishes the

speeches of the Vice, that fantastic element, which corresponds to the grotesque in his costume.

1. *Alliterating and rhyming words.* — [Man., K. J., L. J.]

Mischief: „dryff, draff, mysse masche". Man., 49.

Sedition: „dibble, dabble, bibble babble". K. J., p. 7. With these words the Vice, means to imply that what his opponent says is of no consequence.

Haphazard, seeing the servants fighting: „What culling and lulling ... what tugging, what lugging, what pugging", A. V., 120.

Hypocrisy, as he sees Juventus kissing the wench, cries out jealously:

„What a hurly burly is here,
Smick, smack — — — You will go tick, tack", L. J., p. 85.

2. *Irrational speeches.* — [H., F. El., A. V., K. C., T. T., Tide, W. W.]

Hickescorner mentions among the many lands which he has visited:

„The land of Rumbelow
Three mile out of hell". H., p. 162.

Rumbelow is a fantastic word taken from the refrain of an old sailors' song: cf. Halliwell.

Similarly, Inclination weaves an absurd remark into his otherwise rational speech:

„I can remember since Noe's ship
Was builded on Salisbury Plain". T. T., p. 267.

Talking nonsense, in vaunting their exploits, is a marked characteristic of those Vices, who would play the Miles Gloriosus.

Sensual Appetite:

„I was at a shrewd fray — — — I have slain them [every man,
Save them that ran away". F. El., p. 41.

Courage:

„Where good wife Gull broke her good man's pate
In came her man to make up the number

Who had his nose shod with the steel of a skumber.
But, in fine, these three began to agree,
And knit themselves up into one trinity — — —
For very love they did kill one another,
And they were buried, I do well remember,
In Strawnton's strawn hat vii mile from December.
They had not been dead the space of a day,
But four of those three were thence run away,
The Constable came — — —
And because they were gone he did them kill.
I was twice smitten to the ground,
I was very sore hurt but a had no wound", Tide, Bi.

Inclination wishes to give Lust and Sturdiness an impression of his own importance: „Look on this leg — — — I can remember when it was no greater than a tree". T. T., p. 269: Query; how big is „a tree"?

Ambidexter, whose character reminds one of Thersites, boasts of that which he is about to do:

„I am appointed to fight against a snail — — —
If I overcome him, then a butterfly takes his part,
His weapon must be a blue speckeled hen.
If I overcome him, I must fight with a fly,
And a black pudding the fly's weapon must be".
[K. C., p. 176.

Haphazard's account of himself, at his first entrance, contains a string of nonsense, extending through some 36 verses, for the most part alliterative, he tells what he is:

„A lawyer, a student or else some country clown,
A louse or a louser, a leek or a lark" etc., A. V., p. 118.

Also p. 124: As peacocks sit perking by chance in a plumtree", p. 130: „And geese shall crack mussels", and p. 134: Run for a ridduck" etc.

In F. El., p. 49, the speech of Ignorance consists of 24 lines of absurdities. In W. W., p. 49, in the midst of much that is nonsensical Idleness reports seriously the misfortunes which have befallen him since the last scene.

The talking of nonsense is used to a very different purpose by Haphazard; in the midst of much nonsense, to which

he gives expression, is an element of truth; thus, as in the confused speech of Hamlet, which this passage strongly resembles, Haphazard's speech follows immediately upon the evil determination of Appius, „I will have Virginia", and effectively presages the coming catastrophe, namely, the approaching execution of Appius, Claudius and Haphazard:

„I came from Caleco the same hour,
And Hap was hired to hackney in hempstrid:
In hazard he was of riding on beamstrid.
Then, crow-crop, tree-top, hoist up the sail,
Then groaned their necks by the weight of their tail:
Then did Carnifex put these three together,
Paid them their passport for clust'ring thither".

Appius answers in great surprise:

„Why, how now, Haphazard, of what dost thou speak?
Methinks in mad sort thy talk thou dost break" etc.

The expression „these three" has reference evidently to: 1. hempstrid (hangman's rope), 2. beamstrid (beam, or tree), 3. hoist up the sail (to hang).

3. *Irrelevancies.* — [Man., Nat., F. El., L. J., Y., K. J., K. C., A. V., K. D., L. W. L., T. T., M. M.², M., Tide.]

Related with the preceding are many expressions, the humor of which depends upon irrelevancy of the combined ideas; the Vice assigns reasons for his actions, which have logically nothing to do with the matter in hand.

Mischief will heal the broken heads of the minor Vices thus: „I xall help þe of þi peyne : I xall smytte of þi hede", etc., Man., 420.

Nought complains of pain:

„I haue such a peyne in my arme,
I may not change a man a ferthing". Man., 376.

Similarly, Ambidexter: „O, o, my heart, O my bum will break", K. C., 243. Likewise, Inclination:

„My little finger is spitefully sore;
You will not believe how my heel doth ache".
[T. T., p. 294.

Sedition refuses to tell his name:

„I am windless, good man, I have much pain to blow".
[K. J., p. 95.

Sensuality offers an excuse which has nothing to do with the case: „I shall (come) anon had I wypt my nose", Nat., 1122[I], similarly, Riot:

„Fain of him would I have a sight,
But my lips hang in my light". Y., p. 13.

Haphazard: „For Conscience — — — Being hard hearted was turned to a stone". A. V., p. 129. Other examples: Hypocrisy: „Cover your head; For indeed you have need to keep in your wit". L. J., p. 74.

Carnal Concupiscence: „That with talking and beholding, their noses will bleed", M. M.[2], that is, simply the sight of a white bosom will make a man's nose bleed.

Sin says to Damnation: „Your going grieves me so much that the snot drops out of my nose". Money, Bii.

Sedition makes a senseless comparison:

„It is a great pity to see a woman weep
As it is to see a silly dodman (snail) creep,
Or, as ye would say, a silly goose go barfoot",
[K. J., p. 7.

Iniquity: „As is not betwixt this and hell", K. D., 238, again: „I had rather then my new nothing, I were gon". K. D., 1106.

Courage says inconsequently:

„The best are but shrews,
But I will not say so". Tide, Ciii.

On the other hand the Vice is often captious and logical to a nicety, but only that he may pick a quarrel.

Nichol Newfangle calls Tom Tosspot a knave; Tom replies: „Knaves are Christian men, else you were a Jew". Thereupon Nichol remarks threateningly: „He calls me knave by craft". L. W. L., p. 323. The same witticism occurs also in F. El., p. 20: „He calleth me knave again by policy".

c) *Euphemism. — The Vice is very prone to the use of euphemism and circumlocution.* [Man., H., F. El., L. J., Y., Res., A. V., Confl., O., T. T., L. W. L., K. J., K. D., K. C., M., Tide.]

1. *For the sword.*

da pacem, Man., 699.
sheathe your whittle, H., p. 168.
sharp arguments, Confl., p. 50; similarly, p. 59.
wood-knife, L. W. L., p. 350.

2. *For the indecent.*

„my privyte“ (sexual organ), Man., 414.
„doynge my nedynges“, Man., 770.
„The kind heart of hers
Hath eased my purse“, L. J., p. 79.
„Kiss where it doth not itch“, K. J., p. 5.

3. *For hanging.*

„St. Andrys holy bende“ (hangman's rope), Man., 614.
„A runnynge rynge-worme“ (a skin disease, i. e. here the mark made by the rope), Man., 616.
„St. Patrykes wey“ (Purgatory, put for death here by execution, Man., 600.
„Hanging stuff“ (a criminal, a person to be hanged), Res., I, 4, 34.
„leap at a daisy or put out the *i* of misericordia“. Res., V, 2, 112, 113.
„To preach at Tyburn“, Y., p. 15.
„Silk lace“ (hangman's rope), A. V., p. 153.
„Hoist up the sail“ (to hang), A. V., p. 147.
„the two legged mare“ (the gallows), L. W. L., 352.
„for-letting my drink“, A. V., p. 152.
„look through a rope“, K. C., p. 216.
„to play sursum corda“, Money, Di.
„hanging fare“, Tide, Diiii.
„Beware thy arse break not thy necke“, O., 679.

4. *Miscellaneous.*

„A relygyouse place“ (brothel), Nat., 119^{II}.
„I beshrew thy father's son“, F. El., p. 20.

„Thou shalt have a knaves skin" etc. (i. e., you are a veritable knave), F. El., p. 34; Similarly, T. T., p. 271.
„To heal his sore shins", Y., p. 17.
„Try you the trap", A. V., p. 132, (i. e., try it, make the venture.)
„Have with ye to Jerico", A. V., p. 138, (i. e., away with you).
„My melodie" (happy frame of mind)., Res., III, 6, 72.
„A Journey into Spain", L. W. L., p. 357 (to go to hell with the devil).
„They have sauce both sweet and sour", K. J., p. 10.
„Thou shalt have a mess of pease", K. D., 981.
„Like to make a burn", (i. e. at the stake), L. J., p. 74.
„I shall teach you your liripup to know" (manners), L. W. L., p. 322, Similarly, Tide, Biii.
„I cleft their cushions" (= heads), Tide.
„He hath increased a noble unto a ninepence", L. W. L., p. 344.
„Grumble seed" (money), Res., II, 2, 5.
„A bag of rie" (money), Res., V, 9, 70.

d) *Foreign words and phrases are used by the Vice in much the same way as by the other players. Expressions especially characteristic of the Vice are infrequent.* [Man., Nat., Res., T. T., M. M.[2].]

1. *Translations.* — Infidelity utters malicious side-remarks in Latin; as Mary praises her parents he says: „Puella pestis indulgentia parentum", M. M.[2], Bi; again, as she thanks him for his good advice: „Verba puellarum foliis leniora caducis", which he thus translates: „So fair a word truly changeth maids minds".

Sensuality translates „radix viciorum" ironically thus: „rote of all vertew", Nat., 841[1]: cf. Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*: Mulier est hominis confusio, Madame, the sentence of this Latin is, woman is man's joye and all his bliss".

Mercy, searching for Mankind, asks: „Ubi es"?

Newguise answers:

„Hic, hic, hic, hic, hic, hic, hic, hic,
þat ys to say, here, here, here", Man., 761, 762.

2. *Hybrid words: Mixture of Latin and English in phrases and sentences: feigning of foreign languages.* —

Mischief: „Corn seruit bredibus, chaffe horsibus, straw fyrybus", Man., 57, again:

„Here ys blottybus in blottis,
Blottorum blottibus istis", etc., — 667.

Nought: „in spadibus", 383, „hedybus", 384, „in nomine patribus choppe", 425, in manus tuas qweke", 502.

Nowadays: „He ys noli me tangere", 498.

Infidelity, singing:

„Salvator mundi Domine kyrieleyson,
Ita missa est, with pipe up alleluya,
Sed libera nos a malo and let us be at one", M. M.[2]

Avarice fittingly names Adulation „flaterabundus", Res., I, 3, 29, and „ait-aio", „negat-nego", 32.

Sedition mocks his companion who is reading the litany: „ora pro nobis", with „I beshrew vobis", K. J., p. 25.

Inclination attempts to escape from his enemies by pretending to be a foreigner: „Non point parle françois, non, par ma foy", and since this does not help his case, he tries again: „Ick en can ghene english spreken von waer", T. T., p. 277.

f) *Humorous Comparisons.* — [Man., Nat., Res.].

Occasionally the Vice shows a more genial side of his character by indulging in humorous comparisons. These good natured witticisms are rather infrequent.

Nought says depreciatingly of himself:

„I was never worth a pottfull of wortes sythyn I was [borne,
My name ys Nought, I love to make mery", Man., 261—2.

Bodily Lusts makes perhaps the best joke of this type. When man commissions him to keep his dissolute company together, he says bravely:

„Mary, I shall do what I can thereto,
— — — But I shall tell you what,
I had leiver kepe as many flese,

Or wyld hares in an opyn lese,
As undertake that", Nat., — 642[II].

This recalls the speech of Puck, who also had to undertake a task impossible of accomplishment: „I would sooner keep fleas within a circle" etc., Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass,* V, 2.

Avarice in *Respublica* is one of the best characterized of the Vices, his remarks possess this sort of humor in an eminent degree; the irony lies in the contrast between his name and his words:

„Nowe a wheale on such noses — — —
That so quicklye canne sent where hidden golde dothe [lye". Res., I, 3, 10.
„An ye looke at my bags, ye marre my melodie", III, 6, 72.
„I can goe nowhere now, in citie neither towne,
But Piers Pickpurse plaieth att organs under my gowne", [V, 2, 38,

and his moneybag he calls „a bag of rie", V, 9, 70, etc. etc.

g) *Under punishment the Vice is generally defiant, occasionally, however, he is witty.* — [K. J., A. V., Tide, M.]

Haphazard: „It would grieve a man having two plows going (i. e., it grieves one who has great enterprises in hand):

„Nay, stay and let the cat wink,
It is nought in dry summer for-letting my drink"

(i. e. what a pity to hinder my drinking right in summer time); Thereupon he makes his will:

„I will set, let, yield, permit and promise
All the revenues to you of my service", p. 152,

and protests once more:

„Why this is like to Tom Turner's dole:
Hang one man and save all the rest", A. V., p. 153.

Sedition regards himself a martyr who is already canonized: „Pray to me with candles, for I am a saint already", K. J., p. 99.

Courage pretends that he is not the guilty party whom Authority is seeking, and since he knows the criminal very well he offers to go and fetch him:

„So, sir, I thought you did me mistake,
I know right well the man whom you do mean,
. . . Yea, I will fetch him", Tide, Giii

Under similar circumstances Courage asks:

„Is there no man here that hath a cursed wife,
If he in my stead he shall end his life", Tide, Giii.

In *All for Money* Sin describes the stocks in which he had been sitting: „They be wormeaten, which shows them ancient to be", Money, Ciii.

h) *The Vice makes sport of his associates, especially those of inferior rank.* — [Res., O., K. D., L. W. L., Tide, M.].

Avarice 'says mockingly to Adulation: „What is your brainpan stufte with all, wool or sawdust?" Res., I, 4,2.

In O. the Vice is greatly amused because the fight Hodge is so concerned about his new hat: Ha, ha, he, mar his hat quoth he . . . for the blose he set not a pyn." O., 56.

Nichol Newfangle makes merry at the expense of the devil by playing on the motto-title of the play „Like Will to Like", he conducts the devil to Tom Collier, the clown. p. 314.

In *All for Money* Sin makes a great joke at the devil's expense; he says to the spectators: „You may laugh well enough that Sin and the devil be fallen out, But we will fall in again or ever it be long", Bii. Later as the minor Vices thank him for having comforted the devil, this important question occurs to him: „If the devil had died, who should have been his heir?" Biii.

In L. W. L. the drunken clown furnishes the Vice an opportunity for much merriment, p. 328, 329, 330.

Importunity calls Iniquity „Peter Pinchfist", 750, Iniquity retorts in like manner:

„What, John Coppersmith, otherwise called butterflie",
[K. D., 751.

Avarice has great enterprises under consideration, Adulation becomes importunate and officious, Avarice says to him:

„Who buzzeth in my ear so? What, ye saucy Jack.
What clawest thou mine elbow, prattling merchant?
[walk.

Ye flatterabundus you, you flyering claw-back, you,
You John-hold-my-staff, you what-is-the-clock, you,
You ait-aio, you negat-nego you.“ Res., I, 3, 32.

Courage inspirits the pickpocket: „If you are lucky, it is well, if not — oh, then the hanging doesn't last long („It is but an hours hanging“), Tide, Diiii.

IV. The Vice as a dramatic figure.

a) *Entrance.* — In the Moralities, the Vice enters, as a rule, after the first principal act, that is, after the scene between man and the Good. His appearance on the scene is an important event in the plot of the play. His entrance is equivalent to the introduction of new life and spirit, and is generally characterized by noise and bluster. As the various Vices enter, however, in accordance with no fixed method, it will be necessary to describe each entrance for itself.

Folly: „What ho! care away!
My name is Folly“ etc.

Then he turns to the audience:

„Ah, sir, God give you good eve.“ W. C., p. 260.

Hickescorner: „Ale the helm“ etc. He enters with a sailor's expression and thereby motivates the following talk about ships and travelling, H., p. 161.

Sensual Appetite: „Well hit“ etc. and turns immediately to Studious Desire: „Aha! now good even, fool“ etc. F. El., p. 19.

Hypocrisy: „O, O, quoth he, keep again the sow.“ He is summoned by the devil but as he sees the devil's shaggy figure he pretends to be frightened. L. J., p. 63.

Riot: Hufa, huffa, who calleth after me? I am Riot, full of jollity.“ He is summoned by Youth. Y., p. 13.

Iniquity: „Lo, lo, here I bring-a“ etc. He enters singing with Ismael and Dalilah, N. W., p. 168.

Avarice: „Now goddigod everychone“ etc. He opens the play and greets the audience, (goddigod = „god give you good' [day]“, Brandl) Solus, Res., I, 1.

Hypocrisy: „God speed you all“ etc. He represents himself as a priest. Solus, Confl., p. 45.

Ambidexter: „Stand away, stand away — — — — Harnessed I am“ etc. He enters as a blustering soldier, miles gloriosus, and demands more room. K. C., p. 176.

Haphazard: „Very well, sir, very well, sir, it shall be done“. He acts evidently as if there were some one behind the scenes, with whom he is talking, in all probability the devil, he says: „Who dips with the devil, he had need have a long spoon.“ Solus, A. V., p. 117.

Iniquity: „How now my maisters,“ etc. He opens the play and greets the audience. Solus, K. D., 35.

The Vice: „A, sirra! nay soft, what?“ He is a sentry, overhears the conversation of the clowns. Solus, O., 1.

Inclination: „I can remember since Noe's ship“ etc. Solus, T. T., p. 267.

Nichol Newfangle: „Ha, ha, ha, ha! now like unto like . . . Stop gentle knave and take up your brother.“ He enters laughing, opens the play, plays a joke on a person in the audience by offering him a card, the knave. Solus, L. W. L., p. 309.

Infidelity:

„With high down, down and down a down a,
Salvator mundi Domine Kyrieleyson,
Ita Missa est, with pipe et alleluya,
Sed libera nos a malo and let us be at one.“

He opens the play and sings mockingly a medley of church songs. Solus, M. M.[2]

Sin is represented as being vomited up by Pleasure as is directed by the stage-direction „Here he shall make as though he would vomit and Sin being the Vice shall be conveyed, finely from beneath as Pleasure was before,“ Money, Ciii.

Courage opens the play, sings (?) and describes his ship. Solus, Tide.

b) *Exit.* — The Vice makes his exit usually in the Moralities before the conversion of man, in this scene a Vice would manifestly be in the way. The dismissal of the Vice is not very skillfully or artistically brought about; as a rule, he is simply left out, as for example in W. C., H., L. J., etc. But sometimes the Vice is retained during the conversion-scene,

Since the conversion is the undoing of his work, he is, naturally, not pleased; he gives expression to his displeasure mostly by scolding and threatening, as in Y., an M. M.[2] In the Tragedies and later Moralities, on the other hand, a decided advance has been made in the dramatic art; the fate of the Vice, as it should, here forms an important part of the closing scene, justice is dealt him according to his deserts, as in K. J., A. V., T. T., etc. The various modes of the Vice's exit are classed thus:

1. *He simply leaves the stage.*

The Vice runs away of his own accord, Man., p. 68, H., p. 173, M. M.[2]

He marches off to London, W. C., p. 267.

He seeks a place of refuge, Nat., p. 146.

He goes away singing, F. El., p. 48, L. J., p. 89.

He is called out by Sir Lawrence to drink with him. Money, Ei.

2. *The Vice takes formal leave of the audience.* Y., p. 38, Confl., p. 115, K. C., p. 245, L. W. L., p. 357, W. W., p. 58, Money Ei (?).

3. *The Vice is led away to punishment* (*to prison, the gallows*, etc.). — K. J., p. 99, N. W., p. 176, Res., p. 357, A. V., p. 153, T. T., p. 297, Tide, G iii. In K. D., p. 403, fire is thrown on to Iniquity to indicate his destruction.

4. *The Vice is carried off by the devil in only one play.* — L. W. L., p. 357.

c) *Costume.* — A reliable source of information regarding the Vice's costume is the old wood-cuts; these are unfortunately rare, but possibly others may yet be brought to light. As a sort of frontispiece to *Hickescorner*, Dodsley's Old Plays, I, 147, and to *Jack Juggler*, Dodsley's Old Plays, II, 104 are two old wood-cuts, which represent the various persons in the respective plays. Hickescorner himself is dressed as a fine gentleman. Note that in this picture the Vice has no sword, although in the play he mentions his dagger, p. 171.

The picture of Jack Juggler is quite the reverse of that of Hickescorner; his dress consists of a short jacket with a belt, a loose cape about his shoulder and a slouch hat on

his head. He has no sword. Jack Juggler is expressly designed in the list of players as the Vice. The play *Jack Juggler* is, it is true, a farce, not a Morality, but for this very reason, the picture in question is all the more valuable as showing that the costume of the fool was not the universal dress of the comical person, be he the Vice or the clown. Klein, Pollard and others apparently assume that, as a matter of course, all these characters appear dressed as fools.

In this connection mention may be made of the portrait of Tarlton, the famous clown, who, indeed, according to Fuller, was at one time a court fool of Queen Elizabeth's. He played the part of Derike in the *Famous Victories of Henry V*; in scene II special reference is made to his costume. According to the portrait, reproduced in Fairholt's *History of Costume,* and in *Tarlton's Jests*, Shakespeare Soc., 1844, the costume consists of a soft hat, a short jacket with a belt and long loose pantaloons; the pantaloons were regarded, in those days of buckle shoes and hose, as being especially countrified. A drum, a pipe and a large pocket or wallet at his belt completes Tarlton's out-fit. This is probably the „clown's suit" which he willed to his successor, Armin, see Jests, p. 23.

The stage-directions in so far as they contain descriptions of dress and equipment of the players, are a second source of information for the costume of the Vice, but the amount of information derived from this source is limited: Heywood's *Play of Love* (Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 200): „Here the Vice cometh in running suddenly about the place among the audience with a hye copyn (huge coppyr, Fairholt) tank on his head full of squibs fired" etc. Belial in the *Castle of Perseverance* was similarly accoutred, see above p. 40. The *King Cambyses*, Dodsley, IV, 176, gives a detailed description of Ambidexter's out-fit: „Enter the Vice with an old capcase on his head, an old pail about his hips for harness, a scummer and a potlid by his side, and a rake on his shoulder." He enters in full armor, his costume in keeping with the warlike tone of the play, but his armor is grotesque; his helmet is an old hat-box, his coat of mail an old pail, his sword a ladle, his shield a potlid, his spear a rake.

The situation in O. is similar to that in K. C., that is, a war is imminent, but whether Ambidexter enters armed or not, is not indicated. He mentions his sword, 60, and says in his song „to wares I muste“, 672.

In *All for Money* nothing is said about the out-fit of the Vice excepting his sword. This is the more surprising as the costumes of the other figures are described with minuteness, for example,

Money comes in white and yellow,
Science, as a philosopher
Theology, as a prophet,
All for Money, as a magistrate.

The two minor Vices are dressed as devils: „Here cometh Gluttony and Pride dressed in devils apparel“, M., B ii and „Damnation shall have a terrible visard and his garments shall be painted with flames of fire“, M., B i; similarly Judas and Dives.

That the Vice in this play asks the devil for a piece of his tail and his mask, indicates nothing regarding the Vice's costume, at any rate he does not secure the courted articles.

A change of Costume is sometimes provided for according to the stage-directions. Thus in O. the Vice appears first as a messenger from God and as a herald of war, then dressed as beggar, and, finally, as Revenge, but it is only once indicated how he dresses himself for the different rôles; the direction for this last entrance is: „Vice entereth with a staff, a bottle or dish and wallet“, followed by the further direction: „Put off ye beggars coat“ etc., p. 532.

In W. W. Idleness appears once as a rat-catcher, p. 39, and once as a priest, p. 57, each time in order to deceive the constable.

Avarice in Res., carries on his back, but on the inside of his coat, a number of pockets or bags, I, 1, 46. Later he is forced by Verity to turn this coat inside out and expose his secret pockets, V, 9, 91.

In the case with Infidelity in M. M.[2] the change of costume is very carefully provided for; as he first goes to Mary Magdalene he puts on a special dress: „Infidelity put

on a gown and a cap", Ci, and asks Pride if it sits well, Cupidity is of the opinion that there is yet one thing necessary, Infidelity should do something to disguise the foolish expression of his face. Mary as well as others remark his changed appearance. On another occasion he says: „Among the pharisees I have a pharisees gown, And among publicans and sinners another I use", Ei, and accordingly, as he prepares to go to the banquet at Simon's house, he puts on the dress of a pharisee: „Well remembered, yet I must provide a garment, Against that I come to master Simon, About the which the precepts of the Testament must be written", Eii.

Allusions to dress. — Another source of information for the nature of the costume, is furnished by the references to it in the text of the play; these, however, in order to be reliable, must in each case be clear and unmistakable. If, for example a person says „I have played the fool", one is not necessarily justified in concluding that he is dressed as such.[1]) In the words of the players themselves, however, are found occasionally references especially to particular articles of costume.

1. *Spectacles.* — In K. J., p. 30. Dissimulation says: „With my spectacles vadam et placebo"; in T. T., p. 269, Sturdiness wears a pair of large spectacles for the purpose of frightening the Vice. Spectacles are a peculiarity of the costume of Nobody: cf Shakespeare Jahrb. XXIX, XXX).

2. *The Sword.* — The sword or the dagger is mentioned more frequently than any other article, especially where the

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[1]) The dramatists make use of many expressions which are to be understood as figurative or as mere epithets, for example: „fancy in a fool's case", Mag., 1058 (case = skin: Cf. „In case my lady do threaten my case", A. V., p. 123). „Play the fool without a visor", Mag., 1192. „Who spake to þe, foll?" Man. 132. „I pleyde so longe þe foll", Man., 264 (Otherwise, Brandl, *Quellen,* XXXIII). „I gave him a blow with a foxtail." K. D., 192 (i. e. to get the better of one to make a fool of him, Halliwell). „Learn to keep that cockscomb of thine", O., 154. „For a wyntur corne threscher, ser, I have hyryde", Man., 54. (Brandl concludes from this that Mischief was dressed as a farm hand, *Quellen,* XXXIII, but this does not necessarily follow. The passage in question is merely a play on words, see above, p. 107, γ.

Vice indulges in threats or wants to fight. Sin is born armed with a sword, Money, Bi; See below.

That the sword of the Vice was of wood, can be established by at least one citation.

Nichol Newfangle says:

„Lest I stick you with this wood-knife,

— — — — — — — — —

Body of me, they have ta'en away my dagger",

[L. W. L., p. 350.

The Hangman's rope. — Newguise enters, as a gallows-bird or an escaped captive:

„. . . þe halter brast a sondre; Ecce signum,
The halff ys abowte my neke", Man., — 603.

Mischief likewise, as is evident from Nought's remarks:

„Me semyth ye have scoryde a peyr of fetters."

[Man., 628.

Under similar circumstances Riot enters, Y., p. 15. He explains that he has just come from the gallows; whether he wears a rope or fetter is not mentioned.

3. *The Bridle.* — In T. T., p. 278, a bridle, the recognized symbol of self-restraint, is put on Inclination, the Vice, thus showing how tendencies to evil must be curbed.

4. *Masks.* — In none of the extant plays is the Vice ever spoken of as wearing a mask. A mask is mentioned only once, in W. W., p. 38, where Irksomeness is deprived of his head, that is, his mask. Irksomeness, however, is hardly to be considered a Vice.

5. *The fool's costume.* — Indubitable references to the fool's costume, in connection with the Vice, are not frequent. Neither the Moralities nor the Tragedies justify the opinion that the fool's costume was so generally used as many, Pollard, Klein and others, suppose. It is only in the two earlier Wit plays that the fool's costume comes into prominence, but it is not there the dress of the Vices but of their fools. Idleness and her fool dress the sleeping Wit in a fool's costume.

6. *Fashions.* — Haphazard says of himself:

„Yet a proper gentleman I am . . . .
Yea, that ye may see by my long side-gown."

[A. V., 118.

He speaks ironically, however, for he represents himself as a student, teacher, fisher, butcher, thief, hangman, etc.

In Y. Pride would be a gentleman in spite of his shabby clothes, p. 25. „Light apparel" means generally, simple citizen's dress, as opposed to uniform. In K. J., p. 34 it refers to the dress of a rogue; and in *Albion Knight* to that of a fool, as the use of the word „foxtail" indicates. In M. M.[1] Curiosity is a gallant cavalier, a dandy, a „Kleidernarr", according to Brandl, *Quellen*, XLI. In M. M.[2] Infidelity enters first as a cavalier, then as a pharisee.

7. *Deformities.* — There are very few references which indicate that the Vice is represented as physically deformed. In O. the clowns call the Vice a hedgehog, „this little hourchet", 46, but this is probably only an epithet. In K. C., the Vice is perhaps hunchbacked like Punch, at all events his appearance makes a strong impression upon the clowns. Huff says of him: „Such a deformed slave did I never see," p. 178. The appearance of Infidelity must have been very revolting; he was squint-eyed, as is evident from the speeches of the other players. Cupidity speaks of his „foolish countenance" and says: „Thou lookest like one that had lost his remembrance," and carnal Concupiscence says expressly: „With one eye over much thou useth to wink." M. M.[2], C i.

Thus it is evident, that the Vice enjoys the greatest freedom in the matter of dress; he is not confined to any stereotyped costume; he represents the soldier, beggar, priest, vagabond and fool; and in fact, seems to prefer the irregular and grotesque. His costumes show moreover, that the Vice is a person of great versatility, but the opinion that he is always or usually dressed in a fool's costume, has absolutely no justification. Such a supposition rests upon an entirely false conception of the Vice-figure.

d) *Song and Dance.* — In all the extant Moralities and Tragedies, excepting Nat., H., Money, the Vice either sings, or mention is made of songs. His singing usually is simply an expression of mirthfulness; occasionally, however, it is more closely connected with the subject of the plot, or assumes some particular form.

In Man. Nowadays proposes „a crystemes songe“, and Nought invites the spectators to join with them in the singing:

„Now I prey all þe yemandry þat ys here
To synge with us with a mery chere,
Yt ys wretyne with a coll“, Man., — 324.

This song is a shocking parody of an anthem.

This motif is especially developed in the F. El.; soon after his entrance Sensual Appetite trills the following words, which clearly show him to be a gay and genial person:

„With a huffa gallant sing terl on a berry,
And let the wide world wind,
Sing, frisky jolly, with hey trolly lolly,“ p. 20.

He next proposes amusements, namely dancing, laughing, and merry songs. Later he goes to outfind singers and dancers. Since an instrument is lacking, he sings without accompaniment. For his performance on this occasion he is highly praised by Ignorance. The stage-directions for this scene are more definite than usual: „Then he singeth and danceth withal and evermore maketh countenance according to the matter; and the others answer likewise“, p. 47. A similar direction is found in L. W. L., p. 315.

In A. V., p. 122, 134, Haphazard sings and dances with the players of lower rank, servants etc. Nichol Newfangle does the same especially with the clowns and the devil. He requires also a guitar, L. W. L., p. 315. In A. V. the songs play upon the name of the Vice Haphazard, in L. W. L. upon the title of the drama. In N. W., p. 168 the Vice sings with Ismael and Dalilah.

In L. W. L., p. 332, Nichol Newfangle in his song refers to preceding events in the play: „Now these knaves are gone“ etc. Similarly, „the Vice“ in O., 648, 850, Confl., p. 78, Tide, Diii, Eiiii. In a song Nichol praises the things he has furnished to Tom and Ralf, namely, the hangman's rope and the beggar's staff and wallet etc. He sings „Trim merchandise“ etc., etc. L. W. L. p. 344. Avarice and the other Vices in Res. sing appropriately: „Hey, noney, nony, houghe for money“ etc. Res., p. 318.

e) *Fighting.* — Quarrelsomeness is one of the most prominent traits of the Vice. This motif is lacking in F. El., L. J., Y., K. J., Res., M. M.[2], Money.

1. *The threatening and the abuse of the Good, at the hands of the Vice, has already been discussed, see above,* p. 83, d.

2. *The Vice is only too friendly disposed towards man to wrangle with him, and when he does quarrel with him, it is generally only a temporary matter.* [Man., W. C., N. W., T. T., Tide.

In Man. the three minor Vices receive a vigorous beating with a spade by Mankind, as a punishment for their rough teasing; strangely enough they offer no resistence, p. 52.

In W. C. occurs a good fighting-scene. The Vice, who professes great ability as a fighter, tauntingly challenges man to a bout with the sabers. The fight turns out favourably for Manhood, as is to be expected, for Folly's only purpose in proposing the fight is to get acquainted with him, p. 261—2.

Hickescorner earnestly, but greatly to his own disadvantage, seeks to allay the strife between Imagination and Freewill. As in the wellknown story of the Irishman and his wife, the opposing parties lay aside their own quarrel, in order to make a common attack on the peacemaker, Pity; Hickescorner gets a broken head, p. 168.

In N. W., after Iniquity, with Dalilah's aid, has won all of Ismael's money, he quarrels with the girl about their common winnings. He accuses her of cheating and finally gives her a box on the ear, p. 172.

In T. T., fisticuffs take place between Lust and Sturdiness and Just in the scene before the entrance of the Vice. While Lust and Sturdiness are boasting about their treatment of Just, the Vice enters and tries to outdo the two men in bragging; but as soon as they threaten him with a sword, and look fiercely through their spectacles, he shows the white feather, p. 269.

Courage strikes the courtier soundly on the back, to attract his attention, says, by way of excuse, that he has made a mistake in the person, Tide, Ei.

3. *With the clowns.* — [K. C., A. V., O., L. W. L.] — The appearance of clowns in the later plays occasions the Vice much surprise and trouble. Vice and clowns can in no way live in peace with one another, their quarrels generally turn out badly for the Vice.

α) The clowns attack the Vice. The three ruffians, Huff, Snuff and Ruff, are engaged in a lively conversation about the war, Ambidexter mingles in the talk, but they soon become suspicious of him. Huff says to Ruff: „Do you know him?" Ruff answers: „No! I never see him before", Snuff proposes that they shove him against the wall; Ambidexter, of course, gets angry: „Ah, ye knaves, I will teach you how to deride me." The stage-direction here requires that he shall give them a good trouncing: „Here let him swinge them about", K. C., p. 179. Although Ruff and Snuff beg for mercy, he begins pummeling them again; but this time they draw their swords. Ambidexter now declares himself ready for peace: „Let us agree", and they shake hands.

Ambidexter has still another fight; Hob and Lob, two rustic clowns are on the way to market. Ambidexter meets them as they are discussing the cruel acts of the king. He leads them on to make some treasonable remarks, and then threatens to report them. In order to prevent his doing this, they give him cakes and a goose as bribes. Hob and Lob then begin to quarrel with each other. Ambidexter observes his opportunity and says aside: „I will cause them to make a fray", and then to Lob: „Yea, Lob, thou sayest true, all came through him." Then Hob and Lob come to blows, as the Vice desired. The stage-directions are: „Here let them fight . . . the Vice set them on as hard as he can; one of their wives come out, and all to beat the Vice, he run away." Hob and Lob make peace, but the fisticuffs are not yet over. Marian, the wife of one of the clowns and Ambidexter engage in a rough and tumble fight, and this, indeed, for the sole purpose of creating merriment: „Here let her swinge him down and he her down, thus one on the top of another make passtime." K. C., p. 224.

The circumstances in O. are the same as those we have just considered in K. C. The Vice overhears Rusticus and

Hodge discussing the king's affairs; he finally joins them, but they are greatly incensed at his presence; they are of the opinion that, as he is such a little fellow, they could soon make away with him. In the scuffle which follows, the Vice staves in Hodge's new hat: „Hold, good master, ye mar my new hat". This strikes the Vice as being so funny that he is compelled to laugh, his merriment continues until Hodge inadvertently distorts the Vice's pretended name, changing „Patience" to „Past shame". This makes the Vice so angry that he resolves within himself to take revenge, which he does by causing a fight between the two clowns; to one of them he says: „Sirra, you, goodman Rusticus, marke what I saye — — — this dyd I see, a hoge of thyne wearyed to be", 108.

Rusticus is naturally aroused and wants to know whose dog it was that worried his hog; the Vice says slyly:

„Ha, ha, ha — — — it was a very shame,
For thy neighbor to let it".

The clowns then begin to quarrel; Hodge pretends, by way of an excuse, that his neighbour's hog had ruined his garden: „My rye and my otes, my beanes and my pease". They soon come to blows; „— — — but Hodge smit first; and let y[e] Vice thwacke them both and run out", p. 498. This passage recalls a similar one in *Nature*, where the Vice, during the fight between Man and Reason knocks the latter on the head.

In A. V. Mansipulus, a servant, with much foul language, attacks the Vice, Haphazard, the latter ably defends himself; but finally Mansipula takes a hand in the difficulty; this is too much for the Vice: „Nay, sure I have done when women do speak", p. 121.

β. The Vice attacks the clowns. — The two clowns, Tom Tosspot and Ralph Roister, contend with each other, as to which is the greater rascal; Nichol Newfangle acts as umpire: „I will sit in this chair and give sentence on the same", etc. Nichol begins by blaming them both, first, because they have the audacity to remain before his judgment stool, with their hats on, secondly because they address him

as „Nichol“ simply, instead of „Master Nichol Newfangle“. He proceeds energetically to teach them better manners: „I shall teach you both your liripup to know“. Thereupon follows this stage-direction: „He fighteth“, and again: „He fighteth again“, L. W. L., p. 322. Later Nichol Newfangle tries to play a practical joke on these same clowns, and succeeds so well that they turn upon him, they give him a sound thrashing and take his wooden dagger away from him, p. 350.

4. *With his accomplices.* — Quarrels between the Vice and the minor Vices are infrequent, but sometimes the Vice adopts stringent measures in order to establish or to maintain his own priority. Generally these affairs result in nothing but words, as for example between Envy and Pride, Nat., 824^{II}, seq., and in Money, Bii, iii, especially in the latter case, Sin lays claim to precedence among the Vices. In K. D. the Vice plans an attack, and that without any apparent cause, on Partiality and Importunity: „With one blow on this side and one on that“ etc., 179. But they are not willing to fight; again he tries to quarrel with them, because they take exception to his abusive language.

In Confl., Hypocrisy tries to play the rôle of the Good, with the purpose probably of testing his accomplices, but they see through his pretentions, and give him a sound thrashing, p. 52, seq.

In Tide, Courage attempts forcibly to retain a minor Vice, who is about to go away, Courage draws his sword, a third Vice intercedes and peace is soon restored. Much more serious is the contest between Courage and Help, he demands a portion of their ill-gotten gains, Help refuses to give it him, whereupon Courage seizes him. The stage-direction is as follows: „And fighteth to prolong the time while Wantonness maketh ready“, Eii. Thus fighting is used to fill out the time.

f) *Cowardice.* — [Man., L. J., K. C., O., L. W. L., T. T., M. M.², Tide].

Fully in keeping with the traits of the Vice's character as already described, particularly, quarrelsomeness and boastfulness, is that of cowardice.

1. *The sudden appearance of the Good* causes Mischief and the other Vices to take to their heels, Man., p. 68.

Infidelity is at first greatly frightened when Christ enters. He says:

„Benedicite, Art thou come with a vengeance?“ M. M.[2] [Fii.

In Tide, Courage and Greediness pretend not to see Christianity, Fiii, and later when Christianity appeals to God, Courage simply goes away, Fiiii. As a rule the Vice is afraid of the Good only where, at the end of the play, he is about to receive punishment; for example, Inclination tries to escape from Sapience, naively remarking that he has no heart to meet him: „My courage is spent, I have no more“. T. T., p. 277. In Tide, Giii, short work is made of the braggart, Courage; the stage-direction is simply as follows: „Courage catches him“. How effectively this was done, may be judged from Courage's cry of consternation: „O, God's passion, wilt thou break my neck?“

2. *In the presence of the devil.* — Hypocrisy in L. J., p. 63, and Nichol Newfangle in L. W. L., p. 311, show temporarily signs of fear because of the devil's frightful appearance, but as soon as they see that the devil is not a bear or a hog, they confidently approach him.

3. *With the Clowns.* — The Vice in his conflicts with the clowns proceeds with extreme caution. In O. the Vice wishes to punish Hodge and Rusticus, but it occurs to him, that, in this case, it is a matter of two against one: „two is too many“, 78. He considers the matter and finally comes to the conclusion that it is „good sleepinge in a hole skynne“, 103.

Often in these fighting-scenes the Vice coward-like runs away. Ambidexter, for example, describes afterwards the conflict between Meretrix and the ruffians:

„I may tell you I was in such a fright . . .
I made no more ado, but avoided the thrust,
And to my legs began for to trust“. K. C., p. 186.

On two other occasions he does the same:

„The Vice run here for fear“, p. 185, also p. 222.

4. *By means of the spectacles and a sword* Inclination is quickly silenced, T. T., p. 269. Ambidexter imposes upon the clowns in a very domineering manner, but as soon as they draw their swords he cowers: „O the passion of God, I have done“, K. C., p. 180.

g) *The Vice as a braggart.* — [F. El., K. J., K. C., K. D., O., T. T., L. W. L., M. M.², M., Tide].

The exploits of the Vice are, according to his own words, for the most part grotesque and absurd.

Thus Sensual Appetite describes his action in the fight:

„Yea I have slain them every man,
Save them that ran away“,

but it soon becomes apparent that all had run away except one, whose leg he cut off; he would have cut off his head, but some one else had already done that, F. El., p. 41.

Similarly; Courage:

„I was twice smitten to the ground
. . . But I had no wound“. Tide, Bi.

Ambidexter:

„I am appointed to fight against a snail,
To be a man my deeds shall declare“. K. C., p. 176.

Iniquity brags in the presence of his companions, how he succeeded in putting Equity to flight:

„But the knave was glad to take hys flyght,
He durst tary no longer in my syght,
By this you may know I was a bolde man“, K. D., 528.

The fact of the matter is, that as we know from the play, it was all just the reverse; Equity's departure was wholly voluntary, he left because of disgust, at the same time warning Iniquity what he might expect.

Sedition brags of his strength:

Ye cannot subdue me
„though were as strong as Hector and Diomedes“,
[K. J., p. 9;

Inclination tries in the same way to impose upon the clowns:

„It was I . . . Which brought to confusion both
Hector and Alexander“ etc., T. T., p. 268—9.

In L. W. L., p. 321, Nichol Newfangle assumes the dignity of a judge: „Where learned you to stand capped before a judge?" Ambidexter assumes the dignity of a great man, K. C., p. 233, and Sin does the same, *All for Money*, Bii. In O., the Vice pretends to be a great warrior:

„But in this stower who beare the fame
But onley I?" O., 664.

h. *Sensation.* — That the Vice possessed a spirited manner of playing, and that he indulged freely in gestures, and made faces, and played all sorts of pranks, is rather suggested than directly stated in the plays. The stage-directions and references in the speeches of the players illustrating this point are not abundant. [Man., F. El., N. W., K. J., K. C., Confl., T. T., L. W. L., M. M.[2], Tide].

1. *Singing accompanied by gestures*, F. El., p. 47,

2. *Court-scenes*: Court of Mischief, Man., 651 ff., L. W. L., p. 321, seq.

3. *Playing dice*: „He casteth dice on the board", N. W., p. 169 (In Y., p. 34, various games of hazard are mentioned).

4. *Mimicry*: Greedy Gut opens his mouth wide, the Vice does the same: „Gape and the Vice gape", T. T., p. 273.

The Vice plays that he is a horse, whinnies, and kicks when bridled, T. T., p. 278, 281, 297, 299. The Vice plays the priest, Confl., p. 45, 51, K. J., p. 25, 45, 46.

5. *Noise*: „Sedition extra locum" creates a disturbance: „Alarum tro, ro, ro", etc., „thomp, thomp" etc., K. J., p. 53, similarly, Infidelity and the expelled devils, M. M.[2].

6. *Stupid tricks*: Ambidexter while trying to help deck the table, stumbles and falls with a dish of nuts: „Let the Vice set a dish of nuts and let them fall in bringing them in". K. C., p. 234.

Courage enters behind a courtier and slaps him on the back, to attract his attention: „And smiteth the gentleman", Tide, Ei: Cf. „Well hit", F. El., p. 19.

7. *He is carried on the back of others*, K. J., p. 31.

i) *The giving of information is one of the most common traits of the Vice, there is scarcely a play in which it is wholly lacking.*

1. *The Vice gives his name, either voluntary or on demand.* (*Lacking in H.*, N. W.).

„My name is Folly", W. C., p. 260.
„I am Riot", Y., p. 13.
„My name — — — I have forgot it
Ha, ha, now I have it,
My name is Ambidexter", K. C., p. 177.
„My very true unchristian name is Avarice",
[Res., I, 1, 11,
„Courage contrarious or Courage contagious,
That is my name", Tide, Ai.

Other examples: F. El., p. 21, Man., 112, K. J., p. 8, K. D., 358, A. V., p. 118, M. M.[2] Bii.

In O., the Vice has two distinct names: „Amonge the godes celestiall, I Courage called am", 207, „and I, Revenge", etc., 1047.

Often the Vice gives an assumed name for the purpose of deception.

Instead of „Folly and Shame" he pretends to be merely „Proper Folly", W. C., p. 264.
The devil names Hypocrisy Friendship, and this false name is used by the Vice himself in the presence of Youth, Y., p. 68.
Riot calls himself Friendship, L. J., p. 71.
Pride calls himself Worship, Nat., 939[I].
Avarice: „I will my name disguise
And call my name Policie instede of Covetise".
Res., I, 1, 22.
Infidelity tells Mary that his name is Prudence, M. M.[2]

In similar manner the names of the minor Vices are distorted. It is generally the principal Vice himself, who attends to this.

2. *The Vice often gives information concerning his lineage, character, vocation, etc.* — [Man., F. El., W. C., L. J., K. C., T. T., Confl., M. M.[2], Tide].

From a mere reference to a vocation, however, the conclusion that the Vice wore a costume corresponding to the

same is not warranted. The Vice may pretend to be a farmer, butcher etc., but generally this has no further purpose than to give point to a witticism or a satirical allusion.

Mischief alludes to the words of Mercy:
„For a wyntur corne threscher I am hyryde", Man., 54.

Folly:
„Yea, sir, I can bind a sieve and tink a pan" etc.,
W. C., p. 261. He is therefore a tinker; he is also „a servant of the law", p. 262.

Hypocrisy:
„For by my occupation I am a butcher". L. J., p. 63.
He at first mistook the devil for a hog.

Ambidexter explains the meaning of his name:
„I signify one
That with both hands finely can play". K. C., p. 177,

Likewise Courage:
„Courage contagious,
When I am outrageous
In working of ill, and Courage contrary,
When that I do vary,
To compass my will". Tide, Ai.

Hypocrisy describes his nature:
„We Mercurialists, I mean hypocrites", Confl., p. 47.

Similarly Sensual Appetite, F. El., p. 21, and Infidelity, M. M.[2], Bii.

Inclination, recalling his past, says:
„I can remember since Noe's ship" etc. T. T., p. 267.

Similarly, Nichol Newfangle, who had been before his birth a pupil of Lucifer, L. W. L., p. 309.

Nought says of himself depreciatively:
„For I was never worth a potfull of wortes", Man., 261.

Hypocrisy boasts that he is a good servant of the devil:
„Trudge, Hypocrisy, trudge
Thou art a good drudge,
To serve the devil". L. J., p. 69.

3. *The Vice narrates his experiences as a traveller.* [W. C., H., L. W. L., M.].

Folly has travelled over all England and has visited the brothels of London as well as the English cloisters, W. C., p. 263.

Hickescorner recounts a long list of countries which he has visited, H., p. 1612.

Nichol Newfangle has travelled over the whole world, L. W. L., p. 310.

Sin, between his first and his second entrance, has visited many nations:

„I have been since I was here in many a nation".
[Money, Ciii. Cf. also K. J., p. 8, 9.

4. *Of experiences before his birth.* — [T. T., L. W. L., M.].

Inclination:

„I can remember since Noe's ship . . .
Since Paradise gates were watched by night" etc.,
[T. T., p. 267.

Nichol Newfangle:

„First, before I was born, I remember very well,
That my grandsire and I made a journey into hell" etc.,
[L. W. L., p. 310.

Sin tells about his birth:

„I was afraid of nothing but only my dagger,
Lest at the time of my birth it would have sticked my
[father", Money, Bi.

5. *Of his criminal experiences.* — [Man., H., Y., M. M.[2], Money].

Hickescorner travelled with a great company of all sorts of criminals, H., p. 164.

Riot:

„I came lately from Newgate" — — —
„Verily, sir, the rope brake,
And so I fell to the ground, . . .
By the way I met a courtiers lad,
And twenty nobles of gold in his purse he had". Y., p. 15.

Mischief likewise:

„Of murder and manslawter I have my bely fyll" Man., 626.

Infidelity:

„Much woe had some of us to escape the pillory".
[M. M.[2], Aiii.

Sin also similarly, Money, Ciii.

6. *The Vice announces his plans and that generally without attempting to be comical or satirical.* This motif is not especially prominent in Man., Nat., H., F. El., L. W. L., T. T., N. W.

Folly, aside:

„I shall draw him such a draught of drink,
That Conscience he shall cast away". W. C., p. 265.

Hypocrisy to the devil:

„I warrant you, let me alone,
I will be with Iuventus anon
— — — — — — — — — —
I will infest him with wicked company", L. J., p. 68.

Infidelity would deal similarly with Mary Magdalene; M. M.[2], Bii.

Ambidexter: „by the mass, I will cause them to make a fray", K. C., p. 221. Likewise the Vice in O., 105:

„Well forwarde I will for to prepare
Some weapons and armour" etc., O., 6.

Avarice:

„I have a hive of humble bees swarmynge in my brain",
[8, — — —
„And nowe ys the tyme come that — — —
Een to make up my mouth and to feather my neste".
[Res., I, 1, 29, 30.

Ambidexter:

„For while I mean with a soldier to me,
Then give I a leap to Sisamnes the Judge" etc.,
[K. C., 177.

Iniquity:

„I must myself bestir,
In my wrath and ire,
That they shall come no more
Which have me sore vexed". K. D., — 561.

Hypocrisy gives a detailed account of his activities, Confl., p. 61.

Courage announces the destination of his ship:

„Therefore we sail
To the devil of hell". Tide.

j) *The Vice addresses the audience.* —

The barrier between the audience and the players did not then exist to the same extent as now, least of all for the Vice.

1. *The Vice to the audience in general.*

„Lo, sirs". W. C., p. 266.
„Ah, ah, sirs". W. C., p. 265.
„Well, sirs". Tide, Diiii.
„Ha, ha, lo, masters", K. D., 524.
„Masters", Money, Ei.
„My masters", L. W. L., p. 357.
„My masters". K. C., p. 245.
„Make room, sirs". F. El., p. 20.
„Take heed that none of you hit my left heel". Money, [Ciii (i. e. as he kneels).
„You may laugh" etc., Money, Bii.
„Syrs, who is there that hath a stoole?
I will buy it" etc., K. D., 109.
„Is there no man here that hath a cursed wife". Tide Giii.
„Is theyr neare a man that a servant doth lacke". O., 1053.

Nought invites the audience to join in the singing:

„Now I pray all the yeomanry, that is here,
To synge with us with a mery chere". Man., — 323.

Ambidexter makes a pun on his name and at the same time calls the attention of the audience to the action of the play:

„How like you Sisamness for using of me?
He played with both hands" etc., K. C., p. 209.

Similarly, Sin calls attention to the influence of money in the world: „Do you not see how all is for money?" Money, Ei: Cf. also Courage, who makes a pun on his name and on the word „incourage".

2. *To the women.* —

Ambidexter:

„How say you, maid? to marry me will you be glad?“
[K. C., p. 232.

Inclination:

„Nay, for the passion of me, be not so moved“. T. T., p. 287.

Nichol Newfangle:

„How say you, woman, you that stand in the angle
Were you never acquainted with Nichol Newfangle?“
[L. W. L., p. 309; again:
„What sayest thou to it, Jone with the long snout?“
[p. 317: again:
„How say you little Meg“, p. 355.

Courage:

„How say you wives“, Tide, Ciii; again:
„How say you virgins“, Tide, Dii.

The Vice:

„God morrowe, mystres Nan! — — —
— — — Nay, may I be so bold at your lyppes to have
[a lycke“ etc., O., 871—873;
again: „gentle woman“, 1054.
again: „Ye, faull to it good wyues“, 1089.

3. *To individuals.* —

Upon entering, the devil addresses Nichol Newfangle, who, as if he were not the one addressed, says to a spectator: „He speaketh to you, sir“ etc., and at the same time points out a person in the audience, L. W. L., p. 311.

Similarly asks Hypocrisy, when threatened by Tyranny, Confl., p. 52.

Nichol Newfangle on entering offers a playing card to one of the spectators, at the same time making a comical allusion to the proverb „Like Will to Like“, he says: „Stop gentle knave and take up thy brother“ (the card is called knave) L. W. L., p. 309; again: „Why, gentle boy, how likest thou this play?“ p. 355.

4. *To the pickpockets.* —

Ambidexter:

„But is not my cousin
Cutpurse with you in the meantime?
To it, to it, cousin; and do thy office fine“. K. C., p. 209;

again: „But cousin, — — —

Frequent your exercises, a horn on thumb“ etc., p. 235. Other examples, A. V., p. 124, 129; O., 676, 1120, L. W. L., p. 334.

k) *Reflecting the action, somewhat in the manner of the ancient chorus, is a marked trait of the Vice* (*lacking in H.*).

1. *The Vice tells what is going to happen.* — [Confl., Res., K. C., A. V., O.].

Hypocrisy:

„What shall become of this foolish goose, I mean Philo- [logus — — —

He shall not long continue so“ etc., Confl., p. 115.

Ambidexter:

„He will not be quiet till his brother he killed“ etc., [K. C., p. 215; again:

„If the king use this gear he cannot live long“, p. 218;

and „I lay twenty thousand pound

That the king die by some wound“, p. 244;

The wounded king enters and dies.

Haphazard describes a number of impossible conditions under which Appius may obtain Virginia, A. V., p. 130.

Avarice says sententiously:

„A daughter eke he (time) hath, called Verity — — —

She bringeth all to light, some she bringeth to shame“. [Res., III, 6, 85. (Verity enters for the first time, V, 3).

The Vice, aside, as soon as Horestes has obtained the king's consent:

„In revenging the wronge his mynd he hath set,

It is not Idumaeus that hath poure to let

Horestes from sekinge his mother to kyll“. O., 256.

2. *The Vice likes to talk about his own deeds.* — [Man., Nat., K. C., A. V., L. W. L., Tide].

Mischief:

„Alasse þat euer I was wrought — — —

I, Mischief, was here at þe begynnynge of þe game,

Ande arguyde with Mercy“, Man., 402.

Sensuality:

„I have brought thys man to his old gyse“, Nat., 322[II].

Haphazard describes how much he had to do for judge Appius:

„Why — run sir knave, call me Claudius,
Then — run, with a vengeance, watch Virginius,
Then — ride, sirrah; is Virginia at church" etc., A. V., p. 150.

Ambidexter comments upon his capability as a deceiver:

„Marry, sir, I told him a notable lie.
Thereby you may perceive I use to play with each [hand", K. C., p. 215.

Courage, likewise, Tide, Dii:

„My words have set her in such a heat".

Nichol Newfangle describes his fear of the devil, L. W. L., p. 317; likewise Ambidexter relates how frightened he was, while the clowns were fighting, K. C., p. 186.

3. *He exhibits much satisfaction at the results of the action of the play and particularly the success of his own malicious mischief-making.* — [K. J., K. C., A. V., Confl., T. T., M. M.², Tide].

Hypocrisy: „Such chopping cheer as we have made, the like hath not been seen", Confl., p. 115.

Sedition: „Is not this a sport? K. J., p. 65.

similarly, Inclination, T. T., p. 276.

Haphazard: „By our Lady Barefoot, this bakes trimly". A. V., p. 137.

Ambidexter: „Doth not this gear cotton". K. C., p. 215.

Hypocrisy: „Ha, ha, ha! marry, now the game begins". Confl., p. 65; similarly also

Infidelity: „Ha, ha, ha! laugh, quod a". M. M.².

Courage:

„Now you may see how Courage can work,
And how he can incourage both to good and to bad",

i. e. the Courtier and Greediness:

„Ah, sirrah, I cannot choose but rejoice", Tide, Ciii.

4. *The Vice reports the entrances and exits of the various players.* — *Lacking in* W. C., H. A few examples will suffice.

Mischief on the sudden appearance of Charity:

„Tydyngs, tydyngs, I haue a spyede one;
Hens with yowur stuff", Man., 708.

Sensuality calls man's attention to the arrival of Pride (Pry. Co?), Nat., 717[I]; again, Riot, Y., p. 17.

Sensual Appetite, as he again finds man: „For yonder, lo, — — — see where the mad fool doth lie“, F. El., p. 42.

Hypocrisy, as he sees the devil: „Sancti amen, who have we there?“ L. J., p. 63, also

Nichol Newfangle: „Sancte benedicite, whom have we here?“ L. W. L., p. 310.

Infidelity says the same, as Christ enters, M. M.[2].

Haphazard announces: „Judge Appius is come“, A.V., p. 131.

Ambidexter announces the approach of Sisamnes, K. C., p. 187, of Smirdis, p. 210.

Infidelity announces, „Yonder cometh Mary“, M. M.[2].

Inclination (aside): „What, old doting Sapience here“. T. T., p. 277.

Sedition observes Dissimulation who sings the litany as he enters: „I trow here cometh some hogherd calling for his pigs“, K. J., p. 25.

Iniquity notices the approach of his accomplices: „I marvel who they be I see coming here“. K. D., 175, again, as Equity departs: „Lo! he is gone“. 524.

The Vice to Horestes: „. . . but harke, at hand Egistus draweth nye“ etc., O., 753.

Ambidexter calls the king's attention to the arrival of the musicians. H. C., p. 236.

5. *The Vice reports what occurs behind the scenes.* — [Man., Nat., K. C., A. V., Confl., O., T. T., Tide].

Mischief:

„He (Mercy) hath taught Mankind, wyll I haue been [frame,
To fyght manly ageyne hys fone“. Man., 404—5.

Sensuality reports the fisticuff between man and Reason, including his own participation therein, Nat., — 1169[I], also the employment of the man whom he had led astray:

„He ys besy, harke in your ere, with lytell Margery“, [etc., Nat. 338[II];

Inclination likewise:

„Cogitation and he in one bed doth lie“. T. T., p. 277.

Hypocrisy:

„Such chopping cheer as we have made — — —
And who so pleasant with my lord as is Philologus?"
[Confl., p. 115.

Haphazard:

„Claudius is knocking with hammer and stone,
At Virginius' gate as hard as he can lay on", A. V., p. 134.

The Vice: „The marriage celebrated at the church I did see", O., 1074.

Ambidexter brings this motif to a high state of development. In many monologues he reports the actions, which have just taken place, but which have not been represented on the stage. First, the mourning at court, for Smirdis, who has been killed by the order of the king; the murder itself took place on the stage: „O, the passion of God, yonder is a heavy court: Some weeps, some wails, and some make great sport". K. C., p. 217. Then he too weeps and makes remarks about the king: „But hath not he wrought a most wicked deed?" p. 218. Secondly, the festivities at court upon the occasion of the king's marriage:

„O, the passion of me! marry, as ye say, yonder is a
[royal court,
There is triumphing, and sport upon sport, ××××
Running at tilt, justing, with running at the ring,
Masking and mumming, etc. ××××
Such dancing and singing etc., ××××
O, there was a banquet royal", etc., p. 231, 232.

With this he unites remarks about the expense of banquet and also about marriage in general.

Thirdly, about the mourning for the queen, whom the king has caused to be killed:

„Ah, ah, ah, ah, I cannot choose but weep for the queen,
Nothing is worn now but only black" etc., p. 243.

He also weeps, but only in burlesque, for he says:

„O, o, my heart, my heart: o, my bum will break".

In this monologue he recounts all the cruelties of the king:

„Cambises put a judge to death; that was a good deed;
But to kill the young child was worse to proceed;

To murder his brother, and then his own wife!
So help me God and halidom, it is a pity of his life". p. 244.

Courage enters weeping:

„Out alas, this tidings are ill,
My friend Greediness hath ended his days,
Despair upon him hath wrought his will,
Yes, truly he died and went with the tide-boat straight
[into hell,
And some said that he died of the new sickness", Tide, Gii.

6. *The Vice makes side-remarks about his fellow-players; these remarks are generally sarcastic.* — [W. C., Confl., M. W., L. W. L., M. M.[2]].

Folly after getting Manhood wholly in his power, says:

„Ah, ah, sirs, let the cat wink, ×××
I shall draw him such a draught of drink ×××
Lo, sirs, thus fareth the world away". W. C., p. 265.

Hypocrisy says, as Philologus yields to the temptation:

„We have caught him as a bird in lime". Confl., p. 99.

Iniquity says, as Ismael is brought in as a bound captive:

„Ye be tied fair enough for running away", N. W., p. 176.

Similarly, Nichol Newfangle says as Cuthbert, Cutpurse and Pierce Pickpurse are being led away:

„Ha, ha, ha! there is a brace of hounds — — —
Behold the huntsmans leadeth away". L. W. L., 355.

Infidelity exhibits an ugly disposition; as Mary Magdalene yields to his persuasion and thanks him for his advice, he comments thus: „Verba puellarum folliis leniora caducis". M. M.[2]. These words he translates and explains.

Resumé. The chief facts shown in the foregoing pages are the following:

I. Of the devil.

1. In the non-dramatic literature the devil-scenes, excepting in the Legends, are restricted to certain biblical precedents.
2. The same is largely true of the Mystery-cycles.

3. In the Digby Plays and Noah's Ark the figures of the devils are the same as those of the Legends.
4. The character of the devil on the stage has not been developed in a popular sense; he is comical or satirical only to a limited extent.
5. The devil ceased to be an important person on the stage as early as 1500.

II. Of the Vice.

1. The figure of the Vice is not derived from that of the devil but rather from the Seven Deadly Sins.
2. The character of the Vice is three-fold:
   - α) As an enemy of the Good and as a satirist.
   - β) As a tempter of man.
   - γ) As a buffoon.
3. The Vice is distinct from the clown and the fool.
4. The Vice disappeared from the stage with the disappearance of the Moralities.
5. The figure of the Vice has been introduced into the Tragedies only to a very limited extent.
6. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the name „the Vice" came to be applied to the buffoon simply.

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Printed by EHRHARDT KARRAS, Germany, Halle a. S.



STUDIEN

ZUR

ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

LORENZ MORSBACH,

O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN.

Heft VII.

ERIK BJÖRKMAN:

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

HALLE a. S.

MAX NIEMEYER.

1900.

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS
IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

ERIK BJÖRKMAN, Ph. D.

PART I.

HALLE a. S.
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1900.



Preface.

The present work forms the first part of a treatise on the Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English, which will appear in complete form in the course of next year.

The difficulties of the problem — which I hope to have fairly illustrated in the Introduction — must necessarily cause a work on the subject in question to fall far short of ideal requirements. My chief aim has been to collect and — as far as circumstances would allow — to sift the material which has been accessible to me during the course of my studies in English philology.

To solve the innumerable problems involved in these investigations would be the work of a lifetime; but I trust that my attempts in this direction will prove of assistance to those who wish to pursue the subject.

The next volume will be accompanied by a list of abbreviations used, and also by an index of the words dealt with in the work.

I hope that the abbreviations will, as a rule, be readily understood — even without the list in question; and such of them as refer to editions of Middle English texts are, with few exceptions, those employed in Stratmann-Bradley's Middle English Dictionary.

I may be allowed to state that the numerous errata in some thirty pages of the work are mainly due to an accident beyond my control.

In conclusion, I have to ackowledge my obligations to all those friends whose encouragement and help have aided me in my work; and first to my teachers, Professor Adolf

Noreen and Professor Axel Erdmann, of the Upsala University, whose valued friendship I have enjoyed for many years. My best thanks are also due to my friend, Professor Evald Lidén, of the Gottenburg University, who has kindly assisted me in the reading of the proof-sheets, and from whom I have received many valuable hints. I have also to state my indebtedness to F. B. Lamburn, Esq. B. A. (of London) and to R. Edwards, Esq. (of Bath), who kindly undertook the toilsome work of revising my treatise from the point of view of the treatment of the English language.

Last, but not least, I would tender my heartiest thanks to Professor Lorenz Morsbach who by his ever ready advice and valuable criticism has been of the greatest assistance to me, not only when a student at the Göttingen University but throughout the whole time I have been engaged in my work.

London, April 1900.

Erik Björkman.

Introduction.

§ 1. The problem of the Scandinavian loan-words in English has already several times been more or less deeply dealt with by scholars. The first work of importance bearing on the subject was Johannes Steenstrup's historical treatise 'Normannerne' Copenhagen 1876—82, especially the fourth part entitled 'Danelag' Copenhagen 1882, in which the invasion of England by the Northmen in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries and the influence of this invasion on English legislation, jurisdiction, administration, manners and customs as well as on the development of the English language in general and of the English terminology of legislation, jurisdiction, navigation, warfare etc. in particular, are most skilfully treated of.[1]) His material is chiefly taken from Old English and the transitional period between Old and Middle English.

In his article 'Nordische Lehnwörter im Orrmulum' (published in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X, also as an academical treatise Upsala 1884) the Swedish scholar Erik Brate gives an account of the loan-words occurring in one of the most important early M. E. texts, the Orrmulum, and deals with several phonological and etymological questions connected with the subject. Brate's work, which has proved extremely useful for the knowledge of the Scand. influence on the English

[1]) Worsaae's Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Skotland og Irland, Copenhagen 1851 and his Den danske Erobring af England og Normandiet, Copenhagen 1863 deal to some extent with our subject, but are, as far as the question of loan-words is concerned, surpassed and rendered superfluous by Steenstrup's work. The list of 100 Danish and Norse words selected from the folk-speech North of Watling-street, Worsaae Minder p. 113—122, is now antiquated.

language, is based exclusively on philological principles and in this respect is distinguished from that of Steenstrup, who treats the matter principally from a historical point of view.

In his well-known and instructive work 'Principles of English Etymology' I Oxford 2nd ed. 1892 p. 453—480, Skeat gives an introduction to the study of the Scandinavian element in English together with a discussion of some phonological questions and word lists illustrating the same.

Kluge's 'Geschichte der Englischen Sprache' in Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie I, Strassburg 1891 contains (p. 785—792) a short account of Scandinavian influence upon English; it is chiefly based on Brate's and Steenstrup's researches, but offers many new facts and points of view, throwing a new light on the subject. In the second edition of Paul's Grundriss now in progress, the article dealing with the Scandinavian element in English (p. 931—942) has undergone several alterations and has also been considerably enlarged.

The Scandinavian element in the English dialects has recently been dealt with by A. Wall in Anglia, Vol. XX, p. 45—135. The material collected by Wall is very rich and of great value for further researches into the subject; but, as the problem entered upon by Wall involves a great many difficulties most of which will perhaps never be satisfactorily solved,[1] his results are in many points more or less unreliable. This is especially the case concerning phonological questions.

In this connection may be mentioned a paper read by myself at the meeting of the 'Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Upsala' (Philological Society of Upsala) in December 1898, concerning the question whether any of the Scandinavian loan-words in English can be distinguished as being of West-Scandinavian (Norwegian-Icelandic) or of East-Scandinavian (Danish-Swedish) origin. This paper was subsequently printed in 'Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Upsala Förhandlingar'

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[1]) Thus *e. g.* it is very often impossible to draw any conclusions from words occurring in English dialects if we are not able, by means of researches into the history of the sounds of the dialects where the words occur, to trace the M. E. ground-form of the words in question, and this is in many cases very difficult, even if possible.

(Transactions of the Phil. Soc. of Upsala) 1897—1900, under the title of 'Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen'.

Much knowledge of the Scandinavian loan-words may be derived from the etymological Dictionaries of the English language, especially from those of Skeat ('An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language', 'A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language' and his 'List of Words the etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic'), Kluge and Lutz (English Etymology, Strassburg 1898), and, above all, from the 'New English Dictionary on Historical Principles', edited, partly by Murray, partly by Bradley. Also Stratmann's 'Middle English Dictionary', edited by Bradley, Oxford 1891, gives valuable etymologies of M. E. words. Useful also is the word list in Sweet's History of English Sounds, 2nd ed. Oxford 1888, p. 280—372 where words which in the author's opinion are of Scand. origin, are marked by a special sign. Some articles in philological and literary reviews deal with particular English words of Scandinavian origin but must here be omitted.

§ 2. Although a complete knowledge of the Scandinavian loan-words cannot be obtained without a careful examination of the English language of all periods after the invasion and of all English dialects, there are several reasons for basing the study of the Scandinavian loan-words in English principally on Middle-English.

As for the Scandinavian element found in Old English, it is very scarce: Sweet's Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon, Oxford 1897, which contains the words of the English language before 1100 (cf. Sweet l. c. p. VII) offers only about 50 words marked as Scandinavian, and it is not probable that many of the other words given in this Dictionary are of Scandinavian origin. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss² I, p. 932 ff. gives a list of words of Scandinavian origin found in English before 1150, many of which belong, of course, to Transition or Early Middle English, and yet this list contains only about 150 words, although, it seems to me, the Scandinavian origin of some of these words is more or less doubtful. This is to be accounted for in the following way. The O. E. literature, which has come

down to us, is, for the most part, written in the West-Saxon dialect and represents the language of the parts of England in which the Scandinavian influence, from well-known historical reasons, cannot be considered to have been very important. We know no English literature, worth speaking of, written in the language of the parts of England where the Scandinavian influence has proved to have been, in later times, of such great importance, dating earlier than the 13th century, and we therefore cannot with any certainty ascertain how many Scandinavian loan-words were to be found in these dialects at different times before the 13th century. Nevertheless, there are some reasons for believing that the stock of loan-words in these English dialects was not so large, say, in the 10th or 11th century as it was in later times. It is to be remembered that the dialects spoken by the Scandinavian settlers continued, for a long time, living a life of their own side by side with the English dialects and that the Scandinavians were for a long time looked upon by the English population as foreigners,[1]) speaking a language looked upon as a foreign one although not very different from the dialects spoken by the English themselves.[2]) During the periods of the existence of Scandinavian dialects spoken on English soil, many Scand. words were introduced into English, owing to the intercourse between the two nationalities, and it is also to be assumed that the Scandinavians themselves adopted many words from English into their own language.[3]) In this way the two languages were gradually

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[1]) Although this is a well-known fact, attention may here, by way of exemplification, be called to a very interesting O. E. charter (A. D. 962), containing 'Secular ordinances of King Eadgar for the government of the English, Danes, and Britons, principally in relation to trade in live cattle' (Gray Birch Cart. Sax. No. 1141); there is a passage reading as follows: *Ic wille þæt woruldʒerihta mid Denum standan be swā gōdum laʒum swā hȳ betste ʒecēosan mæʒen.*

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 931 f. The passage in Gunnlaugs Saga (ed. Mogk) p. 11: *ein var tunga í Englandi ok Noregi, aðr Vilhiálmr bastarðr vann England* etc., if of any consequence, cannot show more than that Northmen and Englishmen could without difficulty make themselves understood to each other in their own languages.

[3]) Thus it is not in the least improbable that many English words adopted by the Scandinavians and pronounced by them according to the

amalgamated into one language which was chiefly of English character but very rich in Scandinavian elements. This process may have been facilitated by means of intermarriage between English and Scandinavian families; it is worthy of note that there are many Scandinavian proper names of persons to be found in O. English and early M. English charters and other documents and that many of these persons are not expressly said to have been of Scandinavian nationality. Orrm, himself, although an Englishman, had a Scandinavian name, which leads to the supposition that some of his ancestors or perhaps even his father or mother was of Scandinavian nationality. All considerations of such a kind make it probable that the English language which was the result of the amalgamation of Scandinavian and English dialects, was much richer in Scandinavian elements than the English of the periods, when the Scandinavian language was still alive and looked upon by the English as a foreign one. In fact, a careful examination of the Scandinavian elements found in English before the M. E. period will prove these elements to be of quite a different character from the main part of the traces of Scandinavian language found after, say, the year 1200. Such words as *barda* 'beaked ship', *cnear* 'small warship', *fylcian* 'to collect, marshal', *hā* 'rowlock', *hold* 'freeholder', *huscarl* 'one of the king's body guard', *liþ* 'fleet', *ōra* (Danish monetary unit), *orrest* 'battle', *rān* 'rapine, robbery', *scegð* 'a vessel' and many others which are, for the most part, not found in M. E., had been borrowed from the Scandinavian language chiefly to denote things closely connected with the life and institutions of the in-

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phonological conditions of their language or even altered by popular etymology or by change of suffixes etc., remained in the English dialects which were the result of the amalgamation of the two languages. Thus we may expect to find in the English language, spoken after the amalgamation, many words of English origin but Scandinavian in form. Although the Scandinavians were converted to Christianity by the English, and consequently are likely to have adopted many religious and ecclesiastical terms from English, it would not be very astonishing to find these terms reintroduced into the English language again and showing a distinctively Scandinavian form. — There are also some words in English introduced from Anglo-French, the stem of which is of English origin. Such a word is N. E. *scavenger*, cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. II p. 138 ff., Et. D. s. v.

vaders, the introduction of such words being of exactly the same character as the introduction of technical terms and words nowadays from one language to another. The Scandinavian element found in Middle English, on the other hand, is for the most part of quite another stamp. Such words as *hānum* 'him', *þaþen, þeþen* 'thence', *heþen* 'hence', *wheþen* 'whence', *þeȝȝ* 'they', *summ* 'as', *oc* 'and' etc. (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 937) cannot be otherwise explained than as depending on a very intimate blending of the two languages. Instances of such a blending may, of course, have existed very early (the word *hānum* appears about 1050) at several points where the Northmen were in very close connection with the English, especially on the borders of the Scandinavian colonies, and thus gave up their nationality earlier than in other districts; and it may be supposed that such a mixed idiom was spoken at a very early date individually in families the members of which were of different nationality; but, taken as a whole, the English language of the parts where the Northmen had settled cannot be supposed to have been so rich in Scandinavian elements and so influenced by the Scandinavian dialects at the times when the descendants of the settlers still kept their nationality, as it became at the time when the Scandinavians themselves had gradually given up their nationality and their language had adopted mainly an English character.[1]) We may nowadays find very interesting analogies to this in the idioms of emigrants from countries the languages of which are different from those spoken in the new country; such emigrants and their descendants are, as a rule, bilingual, especially when there are a greater number of emigrants of the same nationality living close to each other. At home and among themselves they talk the language of the country from which they have come, but the longer the time they have been severed from this country, the more their original idiom gradually adopts words and peculiarities from the language of the

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[1]) Before this amalgamation took place the Scandinavians must for a considerable period have been bilingual and this may, in connection with the fact that the two languages were closely akin to each other and to a great extent identical in vocabulary, account for the intimate way in which the languages became o n e.

country in which they are living. This is very often the case among settlers in North-America.

The conclusion seems to be that a distinction ought to be made between different strata of loan-words from Scandinavian and that the last and most important stratum had not yet found its way into the English language before the Transition or early Middle English period (1050—1150). It is also very likely that some Scandinavian words in English were, as long as Scandinavian dialects were spoken in England and looked upon as the dialects of foreigners, only used in everyday talk and, being considered more or less careless or vulgar, not admitted to the ranks of the literary language.

From all these considerations it seems quite natural that the material for the study of the Scandinavian loan-words cannot be taken chiefly or exclusively from Old English.

As for the knowledge of the subject which may be gathered from the language of the Modern English periods, this is also far less valuable and much more difficult to obtain than that which can be derived from Middle English, and very often the Modern English material cannot be well judged or dealt with, without a perfect knowledge of the M. E. conditions, which are in most cases necessary for throwing light upon the Modern English material. It has already been pointed out (p. 2), that it is very difficult to draw any conclusions from the living English dialects because of the uncertainty concerning sound laws, many of which have taken place in late times and which make it very difficult to know the M. E. ground-form. As for the standard English language of the modern periods, it is composed of elements from different dialects and therefore involves, as far as its phonology goes, many still unsolved problems. It is also to be taken into account that many of the Mod. E. sounds (of the received language as well as of the dialects) have arisen from more than one source and that the spelling of the received language is, as a rule, the only guide to the knowledge of the ground-forms. Moreover many words have, during Modern and late Middle English periods, been introduced from German, esp. Low German and Dutch, and even from Scandinavian languages of later times, and these are very frequently difficult to distinguish

from the Scandinavian element introduced before M. E. times, whereas there are no reasons for assuming any considerable influence from German on Old or Early Middle English (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 942 f.). — The Mod. Engl. material, although even now useful in many points cannot be made the subject of a thoroughly successful investigation until the main part of all these questions, especially the question concerning the phonological history of the dialects, has been fairly settled. Much use will, for these purposes, be derived from the English Dialect Dictionary, when completed. In this treatise, material will be taken from Mod. E. (rec. language and dialects) only by way of comparison with M. E., or when there are some special reasons for doing so, *e. g.* when the M. E. material is too scarce for an adequate treatment of certain questions or when the Scand. origin of the Mod. Engl. words seems unquestionable.

§ 3. Although an investigation of the Scandinavian influence on English as shown by the Middle English material is somewhat easier than an investigation based on Modern English and its dialects, the subject is a very difficult and complicated one. The main difficulties may here be shortly summed up.

1. The differences in vocabulary between Old English and the Scandinavian dialects must have been very small (cf. Wall, Anglia XX p. 51 f., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935), a fact which rendered the amalgamation of the two languages easier. The English and the Northmen could very easily understand each other in their own languages, and the close connection between both nationalities must have caused numerous words to be introduced from one language to another, even without either side noticing that the words adopted did not belong to their original vocabulary. Many words, common to both languages, but differing somewhat in sense, must have adopted the sense of the other language.[1]) And many words which were becoming or had already become obsolete in one

[1]) As an example may serve M. E. *sēmen* 'to befit, suit' from O. Scand. *sǿma.* O. E. *sēman* meant 'to bring to an agreement, settle, satisfy, arbitrate' (see Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.). Likewise M. E. *ande* 'breath' from O. Scand. *andi*, whereas O. E. *anda* meant 'malice, envy, hatred'.

language may have been recalled to life by the influence of the other. M. E., N. E. *dale* is perhaps such a word, see N. E. D.[1])

2. To trace all the influence exercised on one language by the other would be a very difficult and complicate task, even if we had a perfect knowledge of both languages before their coalescence; but what we actually know about the language spoken by the Northmen at these times is very little indeed, as our knowledge of their language chiefly depends on conclusions drawn from literary monuments of much later dates and from Modern Scandinavian dialects. Although we have a fairly good knowledge of the West-Saxon literary language, we do not know much of the dialects of the parts of England, where the Scandinavian influence must have been most important, until several hundred years after the Scandinavian invasion. It is a fact that, after the West-Saxon period, numerous words appear in English, which are not found in Old English, but are of a distinctly English stamp and cannot have been introduced from Scandinavian. It is therefore possible that many of the words, considered as Scandinavian, did actually belong to the vocabulary of the dialects not represented by any literary monuments of an earlier date.[2])

3. There were other differences, of course, than that of vocabulary. Useful conclusions may be drawn from the differences in phonological and grammatical character and structure, a subject which will be treated of in the first chapter of this treatise. But we have reasons for believing that many words in English which show a distinctly English form, have nevertheless been introduced from Scandinavian. It must be remembered that both nationalities held, especially some time after the settlement of the Northmen, a very close intercourse with each other and therefore each side must have had a fairly good knowledge of the language of the other. In adopting words from Scandinavian, the English must, therefore, have been able to give the loan-words, which did not agree with the phonological conditions of their language, a

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[1]) Perhaps so also N. E. *till* 'to', see Emerson Hist. of the English Language, New York 1894, p. 155.

[2]) Many analogies are offered by a study of the influence of German, esp. Low German, on Scandinavian languages.

thoroughly English form, and they must also, although unconsciously, have had a fairly good etymological knowledge of Scandinavian, which enabled them to replace Scandinavian words and sounds by their English equivalents and some times they coined words, esp. compounds, simply by a translation from Scandinavian. This will be made clear by the following considerations and examples. Teutonic *sk* had in English become *š*, in Scandinavian it remained as *sk*. People who, to some extent, knew both languages saw, without any difficulty, the etymological indentity of English *š* and Scandinavian *sk*, and this the more easily as there existed in both languages a considerable number of words which — but for the difference of *sk*, *š* — were absolutely identical as to form and meaning. Bilingual individuals, when speaking English, had to pronounce *š* in the same words which they pronounced with *sk*, when speaking Scandinavian. This may have led to confusion of several kinds. *sk* has practically remained in many loan-words from Scandinavian, very often side by side with etymologically identical native words in *š*; this may have led to the introduction of *sk* even in words which did not exist in Scandinavian. Such a word is perhaps M. E. *scateren*, by the side of the genuine English *shateren*. Words containing *sk* introduced from Scandinavian, may easily have been 'Anglicised' and pronounced with *š*. For the possible Scandinavian loan-words of this kind, there are no phonetic criteria, and such loan-words are very difficult and indeed almost impossible to discern and do not enter into the scope of this treatise. Such a word is perhaps O. E. *sciftan*, M. E. *shiften* (cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 193, 300, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934). It is also possible that English words in *š*, when introduced into the Scand. dialects were 'Scandinavianised' and pronounced with *sk*, and afterwards reintroduced into English with this pronounciation (cf. p. 4 foot-note 3). Me. *scateren* could also be thus explained. — In the same way, the English easily saw the etymological identity of Scand. *æi*, *ei* to English *ā*. This is proved by the nom. pr. *Suanus* (= *sveinn*) in Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 1031 (Index). There was no nom. pr. *Swān* of English origin; *suanus* is simply an Anglicised form of O. Scand. *Sweinn*, otherwise introduced as O. E. *Swegen*, *Swegn*, *Swein* etc. The O.

E. *swān* meant 'swineherd, herdsman', but 'man, warrior' in Fins. 39, which latter sense might be due to Scand. *sveinn* 'young man' (cf. O. E. *-swezen,* from Scand., in O. E. *bātswezen* 'boatman'). Scand. words in *æi, ei,* could therefore have been 'Anglicised' into *ā.* If the Scand. *ǫu, au* was etymologically identified with O. E. *ēa,* it would have been possible to introduce *ou, au* in Scand. words as O. E. *ēa.* O. E. *drēam* meant 'joy, bliss, mirth etc.'. Is it possible to explain M. E. *drēm* 'dream' through Scand. influence (O. Scand. *draumr*)?[1]) O. E. (W.-S.) *íe* (> *ȳ, ī*), (Anglian) *ē* (< Teutonic *au* + *i, į*) corresponded etymologically to Scand. *øy, ey.* Scand. *aurar* pl. was introduced into O. E. as *ōra*; the O. W. Scand. sg. *eyrir* showed *ī*-mutation, but no such form (**aire*) has been introduced into English. The singular is only to be found once — as far as my experience goes — in O. English and is *ȳre* (Cart. Sax. No. 1130, A. D. 972—992: *mid þrim pundum and mid ānum ȳre*). As the monetary unit in question was introduced by the Northmen, *ȳre* cannot be well otherwise explained than as depending on an etymological identification of O. E. *ȳ* and O. Scand. *øy, ey.* — O. Scand. *leysingi* 'freedman' was introduced into O. E. as *leising* (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 101), but there is also an O. E. *líesing, lýsing* formed after the pattern of the Scand. word, which process was facilitated by the knowledge of the etymological identity of O. Scand. *leysa* and O. E. *līesan* 'release, deliver'.[2]) — By way of comparison, it may be noticed that in the part of the O. E. Genesis

[1]) Thus *e. g.* Emerson Hist. of the English Lang. p. 154.; cf. Morsbach, Anglia Beiblatt VII p. 335. It is worthy of note that the earliest uses known are to be found in Gen. and Ex., C. M. etc.

[2]) M. E. *cōme* sb. 'coming, advent' Orrm etc. (*o* is undoubtedly long, see Luick, Unters. p. 303 f.) is, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[1] I p. 790, Grundr.[2] I p. 938, Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 86, formed after the pattern of O. W. Scand. *kváma* (the English etymological equivalent of Scand. *ā* before nasal consonants was O. E. *ō*, M. E. *ǭ*). Meanwhile attention may be called to O. Swed. *koma* sb. 'arrival', which seems to have contained long *ō*: although in obl. cas. *como* in the O. Swed. Cod. Bureanus (see Söderwall's Ordbok), the *o* of the ending need not prove the preceding syllable to have been long ('vowel-balance', see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 143), because, as my friend Prof. Lidén kindly informs me, *-o* in texts like Cod. Bur. may sometimes depend on 'vowel-harmony' (Noreen l. c. § 139 and Anm.), it seems advisable to derive the O. Swed. word from

which depends on an O. Sax. original there occurs an adj. *wǣr* 'true', not found elsewhere in English (: *ðæs mē ðes boda sæʒde wǣrum wordum*). The words *wǣrum wordum* are apparently a translation of O. Sax. *wārun wordun* (cf. Bosw.-Toller s. v. *wǣr* adj.), *ǣ* instead of *ā* depending on the etymological identification of O. Sax. *ā* and O. E. *ǣ*.

Quite as difficult is the knowledge of what I should like to call 'translation loan-words'. There are many instances of such words in the material given by Steenstrup. Thus O. E. *bōtlēas* 'what cannot be compensated', *forword* 'fore-word, stipulation, agreement' (Steenstrup, Danelag p. 55), *hēafdesman* 'chief, leader', *hāmsōcn* 'attacking an enemy in his house' (Steenstrup p. 348 ff.), *lahcēap* 'payment for re-entry into lost legal rights', *landcēap* 'tax paid when land was bought' (also in the true Scand. forms, *laʒcōp, landcōp*), *rǣdesmann* 'adviser, councillor', *saclēas* 'innocent, secure', *wǣpenʒetæc, -tac* 'vote of consent expressed by touching weapons; district governed by such authority' etc., are distinctively English in form, although they seem to be of Scandinavian introduction, O. E. *-leas*, *hām-, cēap, rǣd-, -word, wǣpen-* having been put instead of the Scand. *lauss, heim, kaup, ráð, orð, vápn.* There may be many such translation words in English, although, as a rule, they cannot be proved to be so; such difficulties cannot be further entered upon in this treatise.

So difficult is the subject that many of the questions connected with it will never be solved. Still, the few differences that are known to have actually existed between the two languages, enable us to discover a very considerable amount of loan-words. This will sufficiently show how important the Scandinavian influence must have been, and will enable us also to draw some conclusions as to the importance of the Scandinavian influence in instances where there is no direct and accurate evidence of its real dimensions.

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the same base as the West Scand. *kváma*. O. Swed. *kōma*, therefore, seems to depend on the change of Scand. *wǫ* > *ō* (Noreen l. c. § 65, 7) in the oblique cases sg. and in the plural. If this be right and if the English word be borrowed from the Scand. one — and this I hold to be the case — we have here one case of Scand. *u*-mutation in Scand. loan-words in English. As for other possible cases, see Dial. Prov. p. 7 foot-note 3.

The difficulties of the problem, taken as a whole, have been very well characterized by Jespersen, Progress in Language, London 1894, p. 173 f., in the following words: 'As for the language, it should be borne in mind that the tongue spoken by the Danes[1]) was so nearly akin with the native dialects that the two peoples could understand one another without much difficulty. But it was just such circumstances which made it natural that many nuances of grammar should be sacrificed, the intelligibility of either tongue coming to depend on its mere vocabulary. It is in harmony with this view that the wearing away and levelling of grammatical forms in the regions in which the Danes chiefly settled was a couple of centuries in advance of the same process in the more Southern parts of the country. A fully satisfactory solution of the question of the mutual relations of North English and Scandinavian at that time must be regarded as hopeless on account of the small number, and generally inadequate character, of linguistic records; and, unless some fresh sources become accessible to us, we shall probably never learn clearly and unequivocally which points of correspondence in the two languages are attributable to primitive affinities, which others to loans from one language to the other, or, finally how much may be due to independent parallel development in two areas which offered striking analogies in so many essential particulars. But, as I hold, any linguistic change should primarily be explained on the basis of the language itself, while analogies from other languages may serve as illustrations and help to show what in the development of a language is due to psychological causes of a universal character, and what is, on the other hand, to be considered the effect of the idiosyncrasies of the particular idiom'.

§ 4. The aim of this treatise will be to give an account of the borrowed Scandinavian words in M. E. — within the limitations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It will, consequently, deal with l o a n - w o r d s[2]) in the proper sense of

[1]) As there are reasons for believing that many Norwegians settled among the Danes, I prefer to use the word Scandinavians.

[2]) Still it is often very difficult to decide what is to be called a loan-word and what is only a native word influenced by Scandinavian.

the word. There were many kinds of influence excercised on English by Scandinavian other than that of loan-words, but these elements must be made the subject of a special work. Thus whole phrases, proverbs etc. may have been introduced from Scandinavian, but this is a subject most difficult to enter upon.[1])

Neither will Scandinavian influence on English derivation (prefixes and suffixes) or inflections be treated of otherwise than incidentally. By way of exemplification, it may he pointed out that the frequency in Middle and Modern English of the verbal suffixes *l* and *n* may be due to Scandinavian influence. Although such formations to some extent existed in O. E., they grew much more frequent in later periods. The likelihood of their partial Scandinavian introduction may be, to some extent, supported by the fact that a great number of these verbs seem to be loan-words, and from these loan-words the suffixes may have spread to word-stems of English origin.[2]) In cases where the word-stems without the suffixes occur in native words in English, the chief difficulty is often to know whether the whole word or only the suffix is of Scandinavian introduction.

Thus there are many hybrid forms, as N. E. *to screech.* In many cases where there were native words which etymologically fully corresponded with the words which show Scand. peculiarities, it cannot be decided, whether the whole word has been borrowed from Scandinavian or whether the native word has been influenced by Scandinavian.

[1]) Instances of this phenomenon are probably the following phrases: M. Scotch '*Tyr hæb us, ye Tyr ye Odin'*, Mod. Scotch dial. '*Tyribus ye Tyr ye Odin'* (cf. Murray Dial. of South. Count. of Scotl. p. 17 f., 248, Stephens Annaler f. Nord. Oldk. 1875, p. 109 ff.), M. E. *wommennes counseils been ful ofte colde* (Chaucer Nonne Prestes Tale v. 436, cf. O. W. Scand. *kǫld eru kvenna ráð,* see Fritzner, Ordb. II, p. 248, O. W. Scand. *kǫld eru jafnan kvenna ráð* Partal. Saga p. 30, Norw. dial. *saa kalle æ kvenderaa,* (Bugge, Gamle Norske Folkeviser p. 39, Fritzner l. c.), O. Dan. *kaalt er altid quinde raad*, see Fritzner l. c.), M. E. *hwon þe bale is alre hecst þonne is þe bote alre necst* (O. & N., C. M. etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *boot,* cf. O. W. Scand. *þegar bǫl er hæst er bót næst*), M. E. *he . . . gouen hem ille* Hav. 164 (cf. O. W. Scand. *gefa sik illa,* see Fritzner, Ordb. I, p. 568). For other instances, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 938.

[2]) As will be seen from the lists given here, it is very often difficult to know whether the verb in question is formed from an adj. or sb. containing the suffix *-l* or *-n*, or whether the suffix is original in the verb.

A short list — by no means complete — of verbs containing these suffixes, may here be given.

1. *l*-suffix (the frequency of this suffix in Scand. is shown by the list given by Hellquist Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV, p. 181 ff.): M. E. *bablen* 'to babble' (cf. Swed. *babbla,* but also L. Germ. *babbeln*), M. E. *brütlen* 'to hew in pieces', M. E. *bustelen* 'to bustle' (cf. O. W. Scand. *bustla* which seems, however, to be formed from the sb. *bustl,* see N. E. D.), N. E. *daggle,* N. E. *dangle* (cf. Swed. dial. *dangla*), N. E. *draggle,* N. E. *drizzle* (cf. Swed. dial. *drösla*), N. E. *gabble,* N. E. dial. *hankle* (Wall p. 106), N. E. *cangle* (cf. Swed. dial. *kangla*), N. E. dial. *niggle* (cf. Swed. dial. *niggla*), O. E. *sahtlian*, M. E. *sahhtlen* 'reconcile', N. E. *snarl* (cf. M. L. Germ. *snarren*), M. E. *stumlen* (cf. Swed. dial. *stumla,* cf. Hellquist p. 166 f., Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 469, 474 — but also N. Dutch *stommelen*, see Franck, Et. Wb. s. v.), N. E. *waggle* etc.

2. *n*-suffix: N. E. *batten* 'to grow fat' (cf. O. Swed. *batna* 'to be healed, to swell' in comparison with Goth. *gabatnan,* O. E. *batian* 'to be in good condition or health', *ʒebatad* 'healed'), M. E. *bliknen* 'to turn pale' (cf. O. W. Scand. *blikna* 'to turn pale'), M. E. *blisnen, blüsnen* 'to shine', M. E. *bolnen* 'to swell' (cf. O. W. Scand. *bolgna*), M. E. *botenen* 'to restore, assist', M. E. *brütnen* 'to hew in pieces', M. E. *daunen,* N. E. *to dawn* (cf. O. E. *daʒian*), M. E. *darknen*, N. E. *frighten*, N. E. *gladden,* M. E. *glopnen* 'be astonished, terrified', M. E. *harrdnenn* N. E. *harden,* O. E. *costnian* M. E. *costnen,* 'to tempt' (as early as Ælfr. Hom., probably native), M. E. *costnen* 'to cost, expend', N. E. *lengthen,* M. E. *līknen* 'to liken, compare', M. E. *litnen* 'to diminish', M. E. *lüstnen* 'to listen' (cf. Swed. *lyssna*), M. E. *morknen* 'to rot' (cf. O. W. Scand. *morkna*), N. E. *quicken* (cf. O. W. Scand. *kvikna*), N. E. *redden,* M. E. *rudnen* 'become red' (cf. O. W. Scand. *roðna*), M. E. *sahtnien* 'reconcile, make piece', M. E. *sloknen* 'to extinguish' (cf. O. W. Scand. *slokna* 'to get extinguished'), N. E. *weaken,* M. E. *þarrnenn* 'to lack, lose' (cf. O. W. Scand. *þarfna, þarna,* compared to O. E. *þearfian* 'be indigent'), etc.[1]) — Cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 275 ff., 468, Kluge,

[1]) The Scand. suffix *n* in verbs is, as a rule, to be found in intransitive, mostly inchoative, verbs, formed from past participles or adjectives (*e. g. bolgna* from the past partic. *bolgen,* and from such verbs it was introduced by way of analogy into verbs like *harðna*, from the adj.

Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 690. Some material for the history of the *n*-verbs, esp. in Gothic, is given by Egge, American Journal of Philology VII p. 38 ff., (cf. also Zimmer, Zeitschrift f. Deutsches Altert. XIX p. 416 f.). — In

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harðr). There were no verbs in O. E. of the type *harðna* (as for O. E. *āwæcnian* intr., *fæstnian* tr., see Sweet, New English Grammar p. 467); O. E. *druncnian* 'to become intoxicated, be drowned' is formed from the partic. *druncen* (in the same way as O. E. *fæȝenian* 'to rejoice' is formed from O. E. *fæȝen* 'glad'), and *n* is not a suffix like *n* in O. W. Scand. *harðna*, M. E. *harrdnenn* etc. (some O. E. verbs in -(*e*)*nian* are given by Sievers Ags. Gramm.[3] § 411 Anm. 4). There seems to have been a tendency in Old and Middle English to form transitive verbs from adjectives and participles in *-en* (cf. O. E. *crīstnian* trans. 'to christianize, christen'). At any rate, there were some verbs in O. E. *-nian*, M. E. *-nen* formed from adjs. in *-en*, and also from sbsts. in -(*e*)*n*, mostly transitive. This may be the explanation of the fact that many of the Scand. loan-words in *-nen* became transitive as well as intransitive, many even only transitive although they were, as a rule, only intransitive in Scandinavian (thus M. E. *harrdnenn, sloknen*, N. E. dial. *slocken*, Wall p. 120, are transitive, Scand. *harðna, slokna* only intransitive). By the side of trans. and intrans. verbs in *-nen,* there were transitive verbs without the *n*-suffix (*e. g.* M. E. *harden* and *harrdnenn* 'to make hard') and this has, by way of analogy (M. E. *harrdnenn* etc. : M. E. *harden, gladen* etc. = M. E. *sloknen* : *x*), led to the form *sloken* (see Stratmann-Bradley); in Scand. no such form occurs, and this may be the reason why the form has often been erroneously derived from O. W. Scand. *sløkkua* (thus *e. g.* Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, p. 79), which cannot have given anything but M. E. *slekken* (perhaps is M. E. *bollen* vb., (*i*)*bolled* past partic. instead of *bolnen,* (*i*)*bolned* to be explained in the same way). In this connection it may be pointed out that M. E. *sloken* 'to extinguish' cannot be related to, or borrowed from, Dan. *slukke* 'to extinguish'; the O. Dan. form was *slykke* (*sløkke*) and *slukke* is a late form, due to analogy: through the influence of such verbs as O. Dan. *lykke*, pret. *lukte*, past partic. *lukt*, the pret. and past partic. of *slykke* become *slukte, slukt* (also in O. Swed., see Söderwall Ordbok); by the influence of pret. and past partic. *lukte, lukt,* O. Dan. *lykke* has become Mod. Dan. *lukke,* and in the same way O. Dan. *slykke* has become Mod. Dan. *slukke* (I owe this explanation of Dan. *slukke* to my friend, Doctor Otto von Friesen; Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 423, Anm. 5 thinks the ground-form of Dan. *slukke* was **slǫkkua* (by-form of *sløkkua*), and he considers past partic. *sloken* to be from this verb. *sløkkua* and *sloken, slokna* are probably not related, cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 28, 93, 165, and I therefore find the explanation given by von Friesen all the more preferable to that of Noreen's). — The question about the origin of the Engl. suffix *-n* cannot be fairly settled until all verbs containing the suffix have been collected and etymologically treated of, not only with regard to English and Scandinavian, but also to other Teutonic languages.

M. E. *ȝēmsle* (Orrm) the suffix is, no doubt, Scandinavian, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938 (as for M. E. *uppbrixle* 'object of reproach' Orrm, *brixel* 'reproach' C. M., M. E. *tīnsel* 'loss, ruin', see Kluge p. 1015, 1058).

As for Scand. influence on English inflections, very little will ever be known on this subject. This is especially the case with respect to possible changes in the vowels of the endings, all weak vowels having, in most of the records of any consequence accessible to us, been levelled under *e*.[1]) There are some traces of Scandinavian inflectional consonant endings in English, but they only occur in Scand. loan-words and do not seem to have ever had the same function as they had in the Sandinavian languages. Thus the ending *r* (< ʀ) of the nominative sing. masc. of nouns seems to remain in M. E. *haȝer, haȝherr* (Orrm), *hawur* adj. 'apt, dexterous', deriv. *haȝherrleȝȝc* 'skill' (Orrm), *haȝherrlike* (Orrm), *haȝherliche* adv. 'aptly, fitly', *unnhaȝherrliȝ* 'unsuitably' (Orrm), from O. W. Scand. *hag-r,* O. Swed. *hagh-er* 'dexterous, skilful' (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 45); M. E. *haȝhelike, haȝheliȝ* (Orrm) are regular forms and correspond to O. W. Scand. *hagliga*.[2]) An *r* of the same kind is perhaps to be found in M. E. *kaggerrleȝȝc*

[1]) The northern form of the pres. partic. in M. E. is *-and* and is considered to be due to Scand. influence, thus *e. g.* Scholle, Quellen u. Forschungen 52, p. XXVI, Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885 p. 75, Sweet, New Engl. Gram. p. 379, Luick, Arch. CII p. 56. Although pres. parts. in *-ande* (*-onde*) occur early in O. E. and may possibly, in these early instances, be of native origin (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 363, Anm. 4), the M. E. forms, very probably, depend on Scandinavian influence, especially as the Scandinavian ending *-ande* may be supposed to have been more strongly stressed than the presumed English, which may account for the *a* of the ending not having been levelled under *e* as early as the vowels of other endings. — As for the spelling *-and* in N. E. *thousand, errand, weasand,* see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1061.

[2]) Taken by itself, it is not possible to decide with certainty, whether *-er* in M. E. *haȝherr* is actually due to Scand. nom. *-r* or whether it depends on an Indo-Germanic *-ro*-suffix (as for which see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 83 f.). Such a suffix *-ro-* is found in Sanscr. *çakrá-s* 'strong', which is generally considered related to Scand. *hag-r* (see references given by Karsten, Studier öfver de nord. spr. primära nominalbild., Helsingfors 1895 p. 10; otherwise Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 104). But other circumstances (esp. the guttural *ȝ*) speak in favour of the derivation of the M. E. word from the Scandinavian one.

(Orrm),[1]) which has been derived from O. W. Scand. *kǽrleikr,* O. Swed. *kœrlēker,* O. Dan. *kœrleg* 'love'; but this etymology is phonologically impossible, and it is improbable that the sense of the M. E. word was 'love'. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 46 f., thinks *kaggerr-* is the same word as O. W. Scand. *kǫgur-* in *kǫgur-barn, kǫgur-sveinn* 'a bantling', but as Brate himself remarks, Orrm's spelling *gg* does not well agree with this etymology; neither would O. W. Scand. *kǫgur-* (as for the original sense of which, see Detter, Zeitschrift f. Deutsch. Altertum XLII, p. 56), give any disclosure as to the meaning of M. E. *kagger-*. Perhaps the word is related to Swed. dial. *kägg* 'wanton, lustful, covetous for love' (Rietz); *kaggerleȝȝc* then would mean 'wantonness, lustfulness' which is just the sense we expect in the two passages, where the word occurs.[2])

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[1]) v. 2185 ff.:

Forr sōn se maȝȝdenn wurrþeþþ bāld,
Ȝhō wurrþeþþ sōne unþœwedd,
Forr kaggerrleȝȝc shall dōn þatt ȝhō
Shall dafftteleȝȝc forrwerrþenn.

v. 11653 ff.:

Forr gluterrnesse waccneþþ all
Gālnessess lāþe strenncþe,
Annd all þe flœshes kaggerrleȝȝc
Annd alle fūle lustess
Beginnen þœre etc.

[2]) Swed. *kägg* seems to be related to Swed. dial. *kagg* 'castrated bull, ill-tempered person' (Rietz), *ä* being due to *i*-mutation of *a*. But there may also have been an O. Scand. adj. **kaggr* without *i*-mutation and equivalent to *kägg* with regard to the sense, and from this **kaggr* I derive M. E. *kaggerrleȝȝc*. The word is perhaps related to the word-group dealt with by von Friesen Mediageminatorna p. 102 f. M. E. *kigge* 'cheerful', N. E. (dial.) *kedge, kidge* 'brisk, lively' (N. E. dial. *cadgy* [*ka·dʒi, kē·dʒi*] 'in good spirits, gay, cheerful, sportive, wanton', E. D. D., 'wanton, lustful', N. E. D.?) are perhaps related words of native (or hybrid) origin. — Very obscure is the origin of *er* in N. E. dial. *anonsker* 'eager, desirous', generally explained as a Scand. loan-word, cf. Wall, Anglia XX, p. 89, E. D. D. s. v. — Some other possible cases of Scand. inflectional *r* — all of them nevertheless doubtful — are given by Wall, Anglia XX p. 62 f. N. E. *staver* 'a stave, hedge stake' does not contain Scand. nominative *r*, but is better referred to Dan. *staver*, plur. *stavre* (cf. Wall l. c.), O. Swed. *stavur* (dat. sg. *stafre,* dat. pl. *stafrum*), Swed. dial. *staver*; an attempt to explain this Scand. word has been made by Tamm, Uppsalastudier tillegnade Sophus Bugge, Upsala 1892, p. 35, who thinks that O. Swed. *staver* may be a by-

Another relic of the Old Scand. nom.-ending -ʀ remains in O. E. *þrǣ̆ll* (Lind. Gosp.), M. E. *þrăll*[1]) from O. Scand. *þrǽll* (> **þrāhilaʀ*). O. E., M. E. *ll* as well as M. E. *ă* in this word can only be explained through the Scand. nom. in *ll* < *lʀ* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, 937), whereas O. E. *þrǣl* (pl. *þrǣlas* Lind. Gosp., Wr. Voc. 98, 20) is from the other Scand. cases and has given M. E. *þrę̄l* (pl. *þrę̄les,* see Stratmann-Bradley)[2]) — The ending *t* of neuts. and advs. formed from adjs. (past parts.), has remained in M. E., *forrgarrt,* Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 41, M. E., N. E. *scant,* M. E. *tit, þwer(r)t, þwertover, overþwert,* M. E. *want* 'lacking' (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938), M. E. *wict, wiȝt,* N. E. *wight* 'strong

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form of O. W. Scand. *staurr,* an explanation which would, however, not well agree with the current etymology of this latter word (Prellwitz, Et. Wb. s. v. *σταυρός*, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *stiurjan*, Brugmann, Ind. Forsch. VI p. 98).

[1]) Cf. such rimes as King Horn 435 *thralle* : *befalle,* Hav. 527, 1097, 1407 *þral* : *al*, Rob. Gl. 4074 *þral* : *al* (Pabst Diss. p. 87), *thrall* : *all* : *sall* Clariodus (Curtis, Anglia XVII p. 10) etc. — See also Sweet, Hist. of Engl. Sounds p. 341.

[2]) More difficult to explain is M. E. *þrell, þrill* (see Stratmann-Bradley, Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 144, Buss, Anglia IX p. 505, Luick, Untersuchungen p. 258) which could be a contamination of *þrę̄l* and *þrăll,* developed after the period, when O. E. *ǣ*, M. E. *ę̄* before *ll* became *ă* (compounds as *þreldom, þrelwork*, formed after the same period, might also have contributed), cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1036 Anm. 2. It is of some interest that C. M. Cott. MS. has *þrall* as well as *þrell* in rimes (*e. g. threll* : *tell* v. 10914, *thrall* : *all* etc. v. 5506, 9480 etc.). Thus also Wintown, see Buss l. c.; Laȝ. A-text has *þrel*, *þrelwork*, but *þraldom*, *þralles.* — Still it is perhaps possible to explain *þrell* (> *þrill*) by means of Scandinavian sound laws. In the Old Scandinavian paradigm, there seem to have existed forms of the word in *æi, ei* (which, when by generalisation introduced into the nominative sing., became *ĕ, ǽ̆* before *ll*, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 115) as well as in *ǽ*, although generalisation, as a rule, has taken place in favour of *ǽ*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 93, 1; there are, nevertheless, some Scand. forms in *ĕ* (< **ei* before *ll* of the nom.) and also in **ei* (> East Scand. *ē*) to be found (see Noreen l. c.), and M. E. *þrell*, *þrill* could also be from this Scand. *þrell* (*þrēl*). — Pogatscher, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1894 p. 1015, Stephens, Blandinger Udg. av Univ. Jub. Danske Samf. 1881—87 p. 204, 206, consider the word to be of native origin. But O. E. *þrǣll*, M. E. *þrall* cannot easily be explained as a native form, and it is therefore not very probable that the by-form *þrǣl* is native, either.

and nimble', M. E. *wiȝtliche* 'nimbly, actively'; possibly also in M. E. *anent* (Sievers, Mod. Lang. Notes I p. 47), M. E. *snart* 'severely, sharply' Gaw. 2003 (cf. O. W. Scand. *snarr* 'swift, keen'). It is probable that this *t* is to a greater extent due to the Scand. adverbs in *t* than to the neut. of the adjectives, and the earliest instances of the *t*-forms in English are practically very often adverbs.[1]) Perhaps the *t* in some verb-forms, as M. E. *tynt* 'lost', C. M. Gött. MS., Life of St. Cuthb.

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[1]) In this connection, a word may be mentioned which is still very obscure as to its etymology although it has been explained in different ways by scholars. I venture to offer here a new explanation according to which it contains a remainder of the same Scand. ending *t*. This word is M. E., N. E. *awkward*. *Awk-* has been very often derived from O. W. Scand. *ǫfugr*, Swed. *avog* etc., but *k* cannot be explained directly from the Scand. *g*. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1032, 1050 assumes an O. E. **afocweard* as the origin of M. E., N. E. *awkward* — with a *k*-suffix like Goth. *ibuks* etc. (cf. Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre p. 90). In harmony with this, Wright E. D. D. I p. 102 compares Germ. dial. *afk*, *äfk* 'perverse', *afke* 'a silly, stupid woman'. The etymology of these German words being obscure, very little support for the explanation of *awkward* is to be derived from them. — The first example of the word-stem in English is *afolic ȝeflit* 'perversa contentio' Lind. Gospels, which does not show the *k*-suffix but seems to represent a ground-form **afoh* (> **afoȝ*) (cf. Murray N. E. D. I p. 596), which could be from Scand. *ǫfugr* etc. It is to be noticed that the word (*auk-*, *awk-*) is in M. E. chiefly used as an adv. Thus M. E. *aukly* adv. is very easily explained from a base **afukt-liȝ* (cf. *wiȝtliche* from the Scand. adv. *vīgt* + the Engl. ending *liche*), Scand. *g* having become *k* before the ending *t* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 184, b) and *t* having afterwards been dropped between *k* and *l*. Likewise I explain M. E. *awkwart*, *awkward* adv. (cf. that M. E. *backward* is only adv., N. E. D.) 'upside down etc.' (see N. E. D.) from the Scand. neut. (adv.) *avukt*; N. E. dial. *wik* 'quick, alive', Wright, Windhill p. 38, is perhaps from a Scand. neut. *vikt* (< *vīgt*) and thus originally a by-form to N. E. *wight* 'strong and nimble' from Scand. *vīgt*, in which *g* (= *ȝ*) depended on the influence of the forms in which it was regular. But the word (*awkwart*, *awkward*) could be partly from another Scand. source. It could be from Scand. **avukt-þwert* (cf. Swed. dial. *avut-tvärt*, Rietz) which would account for the form M. E. *awkwart* (*e. g.* Wallace: *with the sword awkwart he him gave under his hat*), N. E. dial. *akwart* etc. (see N. E. D.), although such forms may be otherwise explained (see *e. g.* Sweet, H. E. S. p. 198). — From the adverbs M. E. *awkly*, *awkward* has arisen M. E. *awk* adj., which does not occur earlier than 1440), whereas the adverb *awkward* occurs about one hundred years earlier than the adj. (Hamp., see N. E. D.).

(Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195) etc. is also to be derived from Scandinavian. — The past partic. M. E., Scotch dial. *stad* (of M. E. *steden*, see Stratmann-Bradley, Murray, Dial. South. Count. Scotl. p. 29 foot-note) is from Scand. past partic. *staddr* (inf. *steðja*). Some other inflectional forms due to Scand. influence, are mentioned by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938.[1])

§ 5. The historical facts concerning the Scandinavian invasion, the life and conditions of the Scandinavian settlers, their political relations to the English etc. are all easily gathered from the historical literature and need not here be specially dealt with.[2]) It will, in this connection, be sufficient to point out that the territories where the Scandinavian settlers were most numerous, were the counties on both sides of the Wash, especially Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, but that there were also vast territories populated by Scandinavians in other parts of Great Britain, especially in Northumbria and in the North-West counties of England.[3])

§ 6. As for the dates of the borrowings, it has already been pointed out (p. 7) that we have probably to discriminate between different strata of loan-words. The main part of the

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[1]) It is not quite certain whether M. E. *basken* contains the Sandinavian Medio-Passive ending *-sk*, see Dial. Prov. p. 6 f. — Of some interest are also the Scand. nom. pr. *Bofiȝ*, *Tokig*, *Tostiȝ*, *Raniȝ*, *Hraniȝ* (Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XII p. 484, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 997, foot-note), *þuriȝ* (Hruschka, Gymnasialprogramm Prag 1885 p. 24), *Touiȝ*, *Tofiȝ* (*e. g.* Kemble IV p. 99) *Clofiȝe* (Searle Onom.A.-Sax. s. v.), *Manniȝ* (Searle s. v.) from Scand. *Bófi*, *Tóki* etc. — Is the ending *īn* in *Orrmīn* in the Orrmulum Dedic. v. 324, 325 a relic of the Old Scand. affixed def. article *-inn*, accus. *-in*? Although the length of the *i* would be difficult to account for, it may be noticed that a similar difficulty is offered also by other cases in the same text: *e. g. Drihhtīn*, *Orrmulūm*, *Spontaneūs*. For instances of the retention of the Scand. def. article in Shetl., see Jakobsen, Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland p. 108, cf. E. D. D. s. v. *fiendin*.

[2]) Especially useful for our purpose are the following works: Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, Worsaae Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Scotland og Irland, Copenhagen 1851, Worsaae, Den danske Erobring of England og Normandiet Copenhagen 1863, Steenstrup, Normannerne, Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest, Grueber, A Catal. of English Coins, Green, History of the English People, Storm, Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie, Kristiania 1878, Taranger Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske, Kristiania 1890.

[3]) Cf. Wall, Anglia XX p. 55.

loan-words, nevertheless, seems to have been introduced during the times when the Scandinavian settlers began to give up their original language and nationality, and seems to be a result of the amalgamation of the Scandinavian and English languages, which probably took place in the 11th century and which was, in some parts, perhaps not fully completed until the beginning of the 12th century.[1])

§ 7. As for the question from which parts of Scandinavia the settlers came, and to what extent the loan-words throw light upon their nationality, I refer to my treatise, Zur Dial. Provenienz, and to the references given there p. 1 foot-note. After having collected all the material attainable for the purpose, I hope to be able to enter more closely upon the question as to how many of the loan-words show a distinctive West-Scandinavian and how many a distinctive East-Scandinavian stamp. It is well known that Norwegians as well as Danes took part in the invasion. As for their local distribution, it is to be remembered that the settlers in East Anglia and Lincolnshire were, to a great extent, Danes, who seem to have been paramount in these districts, and that the main body of the Norwegians seems to have settled in Northumbria and in the North-West parts of England. That a considerable part of the Scandinavian population North of the Humber was Norwegian, is also rendered probable by the loyalty with which the Scandinavians of Northumbria kept to the Norwegian dynasty of the kingdom of York (cf. Taranger l. c. p. 25 ff.).

§ 8. The Scandinavian languages are, as is well known, to be divided into two groups: West-Scandinavian (Norwegian, Icelandic, Færøish) and East-Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish). As we know very little of the Scandinavian languages spoken at

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[1]) I cannot here enter upon the question whether Scand. loan-words and Scandinavianisms of a different character from those pointed out p. 5, and of a stamp more like the main part of those found in M. E. (cf. p. 6), actually occur in the O. E. literature or whether Scand. influence on monuments like the poem of Bēowulf (cf. Sarrazin, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XI p. 180 ff., 528 ff., Engl. Stud. XXIII p. 223 ff., Sievers, P. B. B. XI p. 354 ff., XII p. 168 ff.) may possiby be assumed. At any rate, no word in Bēowulf can by test of form be proved to be of Scand. origin.

the times of the invasion, the Scandinavian material, necessary for our purposes, must be taken from periods of much later dates, often even from Scand. dialects of the present time. It is therefore very difficult to know whether a word found only in a late dialect of East- or West-Scand., did not at the time of the invasion exist in other dialects. The Scand. words therefore which will be quoted in this treatise as sources of Scandinavian loan-words, are only a substitute for the words of the language, spoken at the times of the invasion. Thus if I say that an English word is from a quoted West- or East-Scandinavian word, this only means to say that it is from a word existing in the dialects spoken by the Scandinavians in England, and represented in later times by the quoted Scandinavian word; and if only either a West- or an East-Scandinavian word is quoted as the source of some loan-word, this does not always imply that the loan-word is distinctly of West- or East-Scandinavian origin. It is to be borne in mind that we know much more of the Old West-Scandinavian vocabulary than of the Old East-Scandinavian one, and that therefore a Scandinavian loan-word, the source-word of which is only found in West-Scand., may very often quite as well be from East-Scand., and very often is more likely to be so, considering the fact that the Danes were more numerous in England than the Norwegians. Old Norwegian and Icelandic words are generally quoted as 'West-Scand.', as it is unnecessary and generally very difficult to discriminate between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic words, and as both languages were as to their vocabulary and general appearance in old times much the same. As for East-Scandinavian, it will be more convenient to describe the words as 'Danish' or 'Swedish' than as 'East-Scandinavian'. Very often words are only quoted from Swedish and not from Danish. This depends partly on the fact that the Swedish vocabulary of different periods is better known, at present, than the Danish (the O. Danish Dictionary by Kalkar and the Dan. Dial. Dictionary (of Jutland) by Feilberg being as yet uncompleted), partly on the fact, that Swedish is far less advanced in phonetic changes and therefore clearer as to the groundforms of the words than Danish. The quotation of Swedish words, therefore, does not by any means imply that the

loan-words in question are borrowed from Swedish. Although Swedes also took part in the invasion (many Old Swedish runic monuments tell us of Swedes who had died in England, *e. g.* Liljegren 892, from Södermanland), we have few reasons for believing that they were so numerous as to exercise any influence on the English language. And even if they were, we should not be able to tell the Swedish loan-words from the Danish ones, because we know scarcely anything about the differences between Danish and Swedish at so early a date; moreover we have reasons for believing that the two languages were not then sufficiently differentiated to leave any distinctive trace in the loan-words introduced from them into English.

§ 9. Some material for the knowledge of the nationalities of the Northmen in England and also for other purposes, linguistic and historical, may be derived from a careful study of the Scandinavian proper names found in documents (in Latin or English) of O. E. and early M. E. times. As I have had no opportunity of examining these proper names more closely, I must here content myself with giving a list of names selected from among those I have come across during my studies. Although the list is very defective and does not in any way pretend to be complete, it may still be of some use to those who will make the matter a subject of deeper investigation. My chief sources are the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (= Chr.), Kemble, Cod. Dipl. Anglo-Sax. (= K.), Gray Birch, Cartul. Saxonicum (= Cart.) and Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum Cambr. 1887 (= S.) which latter work contains an account of books useful for the purpose. — As a rule, I do not give the names in their corresponding Scandinavian form as found in Scandinavian sources, partly because it is often unnecessary, partly because such a task had better be put off till the Dictionary of Scandinavian names, which is being prepared by the Assist. Librarian of the University of Upsala, E. H. Lind, has been published.

Ælfcytel, S.
Agmund, Napier and Stevenson Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 149.
Anlaf, Onlaf (A. D. 937, 942 etc.), S., Chr. (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937).
Ape, Appe, -a, S.

Arkil, Arcytel (cf. O. Dan. *Arnkel*),[1] S.
Arnald (cf. O. W. Sand. *Arnaldr*, O. E. *Earnweald*), S.
Aregrim (cf. O. Dan. *Arngrim*), S.
Arfast (cf. O. W. Scand. *Arnfastr*), S.
Asbiorn, Asbeorn (A. D. 871, 1070 etc.) S.
Asbrand, S.
Ascytel, Ascetel, Askyl etc., S., Hruschka I p. 15.[2])
Asfrith, S.
Asgar, Asgær, S., Hruschka l. c. I p. 16.
Asgot, S., *Asȝout* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.² § 26, Anm.).
Asgrim, S.
Aslac, S., K. IV p. 9.
Asli (cf. O. Dan. *Asli*), S.
Asmod, S.
Asmund, S.
Asser (cf. O. Dan. *Assur*), S.
Astrith, Estrith A. D. 1030), S.
Asulf, S.
Atser, Adser, Azor, Atsor, Atser roda, S., K. IV p. 69.
Auðcetel, see Blandinger, Udg. av Univers. Jubil. Danske Samfund 1881 p. 64.
Aþulf, S., *Aðulf* (*dux*), *Oðulf* (a Danish hold) K. II p. 53 (A. D. 857), Chr.

Barde, Bardi, S.
Barath, Bard, S.
Beorn, Chr. 1046, 1049.
Berhthor, Beorhthor, S.
Besi, S.
Bouiȝ, Bofiȝ, Boui, S., K. p. 9 (cf. O. E. *Bōfa*, Sweet, O. E. T. p. 643).
Brenting, Cart. No. 1130.
Bruncel, Bruncytel, S.
Bondi, Bondius, K. IV p. 151, K. IV p. 180.
Bundi, Bunda, Bundo (cf. O. Dan. *Bundi, Bondi*).

Car, S.
Carl, Karl, S., K. IV p. 67.
Carle, S.
Katla, Catlan (gen.) S., Cart. No. 1130.
Ketel, Cytel, S., Cart. No. 1130 etc.
Cytelbearn, S.
Clofiȝe (O. W. Scand. *Klaufi*), S.
Cnut, Cnuto, S., Cart. No. 1130, 1266.
Colbeȝn, Colbein, S.
Colbrand, S.
Cole (O. Dan. *Kole*), S.
Colsweȝen, Colsuen, S.
Crok, Krok, S.
Copman, S.

Drabba, Cart. No. 1130.

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[1]) The Danish names are taken from Nielsen, Olddanske Personenavne, Copenhagen 1883.

[2]) Hruschka, Zur angelsächsischen Namenforschung I, II, Gymnasialprogramm, Prag 1884, 1885.

Ebbe, -i, -a, S.
Ezil, S.
Ezlaf, Eilaf etc., Chr. 1025, K. IV p. 6, 9, 29 etc., Napier and Stevenson Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII, p. 142.
Eignulf, Æinulf, K. II p. 409, Cart. No. 1280.
Ezricus, Napier and Stevenson p. 139, 143.
Erling, S.
Esbern, S., Hruschka I p. 15.
Esgar, S.
Estrith, S.

Fastulf, S.
Felage, S.
Frana, Fræna, Frena, Friena, K. III p. 72, 221, 286, Chr. 993, Cart. No. 1130, 1266, 1270, 1280, 1297.
Friðolf, Cart. No. 1130.

Gamal, S., K. IV p. 44.
Goda, Chr. 988.
Gota, Cart. No. 1266.
Grim, S., Cart, No. 1130.
Grimkill, Grimcytel, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Guner, Gunar, Gunner(e), Gunhere etc., S., K. II p. 350, 390, Chr. 966, Cart. (A. D. 931).
Guncytel, S.
Gunhild, Gunnild S., Chr. 1045 (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937).
Gunni, S.
Gunweard, S.
Gunulf, S.
Guþferð, Guðferþ, Chr. 927, 944.
Guþrum, Guthrum, Gyðrum, Godrum, Guthorm, S., Cart. (A. D. 880, 931, 932), Chr. 875, 890 etc. (cf. Napier and Stevenson p. 75).
Guðrun (dux), Cart. (A. D. 931).

Hacon, Hacun, S.
Had, Hað, Cart. (A. D. 931).
Harald, Harold, S., Chr. 871, 952, 1016, 1030, 1035 etc.
Harthacnut, Harðacnut, Hardacnut, S., Chr. 1036, 1037, 1040 etc.
Heyng, Cart. No. 1017.
Helgi, S.
Helgrim, S.
Heming, Hemming (a Danish chief), S.
Ræfen, Ræuen, S.
Ræfncytel, S.
Hraniz, Raniz, S. (cf. p. 21 foot-note 1).
Hringulf, Cart. No. 1266 (Kent, A. D. 970), 1266, *Ringulf,* Chr. 971, 972, 1051, K. III p, 95, Cart. No. 1280 etc.
Ringwald, Chr. 1038.
Ringware, Chr. 1037.
Hroald, S., Chr. 918, Hruschka II p. 6, *Rold,* K. II p. 359, IV p. 44.
Rodulf Stallare, Rothwulf, Rolf,

S., Cart. No. 1130, Hruschka II p. 6.[1])
Hwitbeorn, S.

Ingeson (from *Grimesby*), Rolls of Parl. III p. 401.
Inwær, Iwer, Hinguar, Kluge, p. 937.
Jukil (subregulus), K. II p. 413.
Justen, Justan, Jiustegn, S.

Laif, S.

Malte, S.
Mannig, Monna, Manna, S.

Nafana (O. Dan. *Nawne*), S.
Norðman, Cart. No. 1256.

Odda, S., Cart. (A. D. 932).
Oðen, Oðon, Othin etc., S., Brate p. 76, Kluge p. 937.
Odincarl, Othencarl, S.
Olaf, S., Chr. 1028, 1030.
Onlaf, S.
Orm Gamal Suna, S.
Orm, S., Cart. No. 1130, K. IV p. 44 etc.
Ormær, Ormar, Ormer (O. Dan. *Ormær* = O. H. G. *Wurmhari*).
Ormcytel, S.
Othcytel, Outhcel, Oudcytel, Oudcel, S.
Othgrim, Outhgrim, Oudgrim, Ouðgrim (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] 26, Anm.), S.
Oudfrith, S.
Oud(w)ulf, Oth(w)ulf, S.
Oustman, Sievers l. c.

Scula, Scule, Skule, S., Cart. (A. D. 931, 932).
Scurfa, S.
Serlo, Særla, Særle (= O. W. Sand. *Sørle?*), S., K. II p. 44 etc.
Sigar, Cart. No. 1130.
Sihtric, Chr. 921 etc., Hruschka II p. 18.
Simund Danus (A. D. 1066), Hruschka II p. 19.
Stegen, Stein, Sten, S.
Stegenbeorn, Stenbeorn, S.
Stegenbit, S.
Stegenburh (nomen mulieris), S.
Stegencytel, Steigncytel, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Stegengrim, S.
Steenhart, -heard, S.
Stegenmær, -mar, S.
Stegenwulf, Steinulf, S.
Strang (a Dane), S.
Stur, Stori, S.
Styrcyr, Styrcær, Cart. No. 1130, Napier and Stevenson p. 75.
Swain, Swan, Swegen, Swægn, Swen etc., S., Chr., Cart., K.

Teit, S.
Thor, S.,[2]) Kluge p. 937.

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[1]) *R-* instead of *Hr-* in *Ræfen, Rani, Ringulf, Rodulf* etc. seems to depend on the East-Scandinavian sound-change *hr-* > *r-*.

[2]) The names taken from Searle are written with *Th-*, although the MSS. generally have *Þ* or *Ð*.

Thora, S.
Þored, Thored, Thord, Thorth, Thoreth, Đureð, Thureth etc., S., K. IV p. 3, Chr. 966, Cart. No. 1270, 1280, 1297.
Thorelf, S.
Thorfast, S.
Thorfinn, S.
Thorgils, Thurgils, S.
Thori, S.
Þorkyl, Thorkell, Thurkill etc., S., K. IV p. 40, 44, Chr. 1013, 1020, 1021.
Þorod, Chr. 992.
Thorold, S.
Thrum, S.
Thruth, Thryth, S.
Þur, Thur, Thurbegn, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Đuri, Þuriȝ, K. IV p. 64, 131 (cf. p. 21 foot-note 1).
Þurkil, Thurcil, -cytel etc., S., Chr. 1013, Cart. No. 1266, K. III p. 358, IV p. 6 etc.
Þurcytel Heyng, S., Cart. No. 1017 (= Bequest of *Þurc. Heyng*).
Đuredus, K. III p. 46.
Þurferð, Thurfin, -gar, -gils, -god, -grim, -hild etc., S., Chr., K., Cart.
Þurlac, Cart. No. 1130.
Þurold, Cart. No. 1130.
Đurstan, S., Cart. No. 1266 etc.
Toka, Toke, Toki, Tokiȝ, (gen. *Tokes*), S., K. IV p. 47, 143. (*Đokiȝ*, K. IV p. 75 may be an error for *Tokiȝ*).
Tobi, Tofiȝ, Toui(ȝ), S., K. IV p. 3, 9, 40, 44, 99 etc.
Toli, Toliȝ, S.
Tope, Topi, S.
Tosti, Tostiȝ, Tostinus, S., K. IV p. 123, 143, Chr. 1046, 1051 1065 etc.
Totiȝ, K. IV p. 75 (A. D. 1043) from a Scand. **Tōti* (cf. O. E. *Tota* Sweet O. E. T. p. 583) or an error for *Tociȝ*.
Toua (nom. mulieris), S.
Tuce (fem.), Cart. No. 1130.
Tufe, Cart. No. 1130.

Ulf, Vlf, S., K. III p. 72, Cart. No. 1130, 1266.
Ulfcytel, -grim, -helm, -mær, -ric etc., S., Cart. (A. D. 949), K. II p. 359 etc.
Urm, Vrm, S., Cart. (A. D. 931, 932), K. II p. 174, 203, 269, 350, V p. 200 etc.
Ustman, S.

Wagen, Napier and Stevenson p. 144.
Wicing, S.
Wiulf, Cart. No. 1130.

§ 10. An account of early English place-names of Scandinavian origin, or containing Scand. elements, would also prove extremely useful in many respects, especially for the

question of the distribution of the different Scandinavian tribes in England. Many such names are known in O. E. and M. E. times, *e. g. Ormesby* Cart. Sax. No. 1017. As I have not as yet had the opportunity of making any collections of the kind, I cannot here enter on the question. An investigation into the present distribution of place-names would also be useful; thus many conclusions may be drawn from treatises concerning Mod. English place-names, especially from the material collected by Browne, Trans. Ph. Soc. 1880—81 p. 86 ff. and 322 ff.

Chapter I.

Phonetic criteria of Scandinavian loan-words in English.

Among the tests of Scandinavian loan-words in English, there are none more important or more reliable than that of form. If a word in English has a form which cannot be explained by means of internal English sound-laws, but which is easily accounted for by assuming a Scandinavian origin, we are, for the most part, entitled to consider the word in question a Scandinavian loan-word.[1]) And especially are we entitled

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[1]) There are some tests of form which are not based on differences of sound-development between Scandinavian and English; some tests of form which are based on different principles of derivation have been, by the way, entered upon p. 14—20. As the subject of English derivation and wordformation is still very obscure, tests based upon the same cannot, as a rule, be for the present arrived at with any great amount of certainty. Still more difficult to judge are tests based on remains of prehistoric Teutonic suffixes, inflectional forms etc., supposed to have existed only in one of the two languages, at the time of the Danelag. Thus M. E. *aȝe*, *awe* sb. 'awe', M. E. *lǭn* sb. 'loan' are probably from Scand. *agi*, *lān*, the O. E. forms being *eȝe*, *lǣn*. But this test is not based on differences of a phonological kind but on the supposition that generalisation had taken place within the Teutonic paradigm of the original *s*-stems in question and solely in favour of the non-mutated forms in Scand., solely in favour of the mutated forms in English. Although such a supposition may be right, the possibility of doublets having existed in some English dialects, is not a priori excluded. — Many differences are still unexplained, *e. g.* East Scand. *grœs* (> M. E. *gres*) compared to O. E. *græs*, M. E. *gras*, W. Scand. *gras*, cf. Dial. Prov. p. 24 foot-note. — M. E. *arrf-* in *arrfname* (Orrm.), Brate has explained from Scandinavian (in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 584), because the O. E. word shows *i*-mutation (from a

to do so, if the word in question is quite clear as to its etymology and its history both in English and the Scandinavian languages. All other tests being, as a rule, more or less unreliable, it will, no doubt, be considered a good plan, first to give an account of the words which, by the test of form depending on differences of sound-development in English and in Scandinavian, are to be considered Scandinavian loan-words, especially as the conclusions we may by means of the thus gathered material arrive at, will, no doubt, throw some light also upon the great number of words in English which seem to be of Scandinavian origin but which cannot by phonetic tests be proved to be so.[1])

A necessary condition for ascertaining phonetic tests is, of course, to know the full extent and the character of the sound-laws by which a certain word has assumed a certain form in one language and to know whether the same word could not by some sound-laws have assumed the same form in the other. Another condition is to know the etymology and Teutonic groundform of the words in question. But as the phonology of Scand. and especially of M. E., is still in many points vague and obscure, and as also many etymological questions are still unsolved, the discrimination of the Scandinavian loan-words, by means of phonetic tests, is often a very difficult and complicated task. But the more the knowledge of the sound-laws of Old Scandinavian and especially of English in its different periods and dialects has increased and the more etymological science has advanced, the easier it will be to segregate the material which is to be explained by means of Scandinavian rather than English sound-laws. As matters now stand, we must content ourselves with giving an account of the tests which may now be considered quite

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base **arbio-*). But *arrf-* may very well be accounted for by an O. Anglian form from the same base as O. E. (W. Sax.) *ierfe*, *ierf-ward* etc., as is shown by the form *barrlig* 'barley' in the Orrmulum (Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143).

[1]) Still the possibility, pointed out p. 4 foot-note 3 and p. 10, of English words, even such as did not belong to the original vocabulary of the Scandinavians, appearing in a 'Scandinavianized' form, is often to be taken into account.

reliable, and with discussing the validity of those which depend on phonetic and etymological phenomena still more or less obscure.

I. Tests based on prehistoric differences between Scandinavian and West Teutonic.

In Scandinavian as well as in Gothic an original *u̯u̯* has, under circumstances not fully cleared up as yet, changed into *ggu̯* (written *ggw* in Gothic); under circumstances apparently the same, an original *i̯i̯* has changed to *ggi̯* in Scandinavian (in Gothic to *ddj*).[1] In West Teutonic such a sound-change never takes place. Consequently, if *gg* occurs in words in English which contained *u̯u̯*, *i̯i̯* in early West Teutonic, these words are no doubt Scandinavian loan-words. The cases in which such a *gg* is to be found are:

1. M. E. *big* 'barley' Wr. Voc. 726, 17 (written *bige*), early N. E. *bigge*, N. E. dial. (Scotl. and N. Engl.) *bigg* 'a coarse kind of barley, with four rows on each head' (N. E. D., E. D. D., Wall p. 91): O. W. Scand. *bygg*, early Dan. *biug*, N. Dan. *byg*, O. Swed. *biug*, N. Swed. *bjugg*. The veritable English form is O. E. *bēow* 'barley' (Sweet Stud. A.-S. Dict.).

M. E. *biggen* 'to build, cultivate, inhabit', also 'to abide, dwell'; it occurs for the first time in the Orrmulum (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 34)[2] and then in such texts as E. E. Ps., Gen. & Ex., MS. of Langl. P. Pl. A and B, Gaw., Pr. P. etc. (cf. N. E. D.), N. E. dial. (esp. Scotl. and N. Engl.) *big* 'to build' (E. D. D., N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *byggua*, *byggia*, O. Swed. *byggia* etc. 'to inhabit, dwell in, build etc.'. The same word-stem occurs in such derivatives as: M. E. *bigginge* sb. 'habitation, edificacio, structura, edificium', Gen. & Ex. v. 718, C. M. v. 23453, Isum. 78, P. S. 151, Pr. P. p. 35 etc., N. E. dial. *biggin(g)*, *biggen* 'building, house, cottage' (E. D. D.). Cf. O. W. Scand. *bygging* 'building'. M. E. *bigger* sb. 'builder' (Stratm.-Bradley),

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[1]) Concerning these well known sound-changes, it will be enough to refer to Holtzmann, Altdeutsche Grammatik I, 109, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 380 f., Noreen, Urgermanische Lautlehre, p. 160 ff. and the references made by this latter author.

[2]) Concerning the shape of the *g*'s in the Orrmulum, see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, p. 72.

N. E. dial. *bigger* vb. 'to build' (E. D. D.), N. E. dial. *biggerstangs* 'scaffolding poles for building' (E. D. D.). M. E. *bigli* 'pleasant, inhabitable' (Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. dial. *bigli* 'pleasant, delightful, commodious' (E. D. D.). For the etymology of the word-stem, see Tamm, Et. Svensk Ordb. s. v. *bygga*. The distribution in M. E. and N. E. dialects of the words of this stem *bigg-* (esp. Scotl. and North E.) is easily seen from the dictionaries.

N. E. dial. *dag* sb. 'dew, a thin or gentle rain, a wet fog, a mist, a heavy shower, etc.' (E. D. D., Wall, Anglia XX, p. 95, N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *dag* vb. 'to drizzle, to bedew, to rain, to sprinkle water with the hand' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. *dǫgg* sb. 'dew', O. Swed. *dag*, N. Swed. *dagg* etc. — The veritable West Teutonic form is O. E. *dēaw*, N. E. *dew*, cf. O. H. G. *tou* etc. — N. E. *deg* 1. vb. 'to sprinkle water upon anything, to bedew, moisten, soak, to drizzle with rain'. 2. sb. 'damp, moisture, a drop of water' (E. D. D.) in many cases is identical with O. W. Scand. *døggua*, Norw. dial. *deggja* (Aasen), Swed. dial. *dögga* (Rietz) 'to bedew', but may sometimes depend on an English dialectal development of *agg* > *egg* (as in the dial. of Windhill, Wright p. 29); from the stem *dagg-* is formed N. E. (dial.) *daggle* vb. 'to sprinkle with water, to moisten, wet with dew or spray' (N. E. D., E. D. D., cf. Skeat Et. D. s. v.)[1])

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[1]) M. E. *bi-daggen* 'to bemire the bottom of (dress), to splash with clay' (see N. E. D., E. D. D., cf. Palsgrave: *I bedagge* 'I araye a garment aboute the skyrtes with myre'), N. E. dial. *dag* 'to trail in the mire', N. E. dial. *daggle* 'to trail in the wet or dirt, to clog, wet with mud' (E. D. D., N. E. D.), early N. E. and N. E. dial. *bedaggle* (= *bedaggen*) etc. are generally considered to be, all or some, from the same Scandinavian source (cf. *e. g.* E. D. D., Zupitza, Herrig's Archiv LXXVI, p. 207, Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *bidaggen*, Storm, Englische Philol.[2] I, p. 492). Meanwhile, the sense, especially of the comparatively early recorded *bi-daggen* does not very well agree with this etymology. These words are therefore rather to be considered as originally unconnected with *dag* 'dew' (thus, for the most part, N. E. D.), although they may have been, owing to coincidence in form, in later times confused with the above words of Scand. origin (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *daggle* vb.). Is there any relationship between M. E. *bi-daggen* etc. and Low Germ. dial. (Ostfriesland) *dagge* (abusive word) 'slut, slattern, dirty person' etc. (see ten Doornkaat-Koolman Wb. d. Ostfr. Sprache, s. v.)?

M. E. *gleg* (*of ei*) adj. 'clearsighted' C. M. 13448, N. E. dial. *gleg* adj. 'clearsighted' (cf. Wall, Anglia XX, p. 103): O. W. Scand. *gløggr* 'clearsighted', O. Swed. *gløgger* 'sharpsighted' etc. (cf. Goth. *glaggwuba*, *glaggwō* adv. 'carefully, diligently'); genuine West Teutonic forms are O. E. *glēaw* 'clearsighted, wise', O. Sax., O. H. G. *glau* 'wise, prudent', L. G. dial. (Ostfriesland) *glau* 'sharp-sighted, shrewd' (ten Doornkaat-Koolman, Wb. d. Ostfr. Spr.). — Der. N. E. dial. *gleg* vb. 'to glance' (cf. Wall, l. c.).

M. E. *hag* 'a break, gap' C. M. 9886, N. E. dial. *hag* sb. 'a cutting, hewing', M. E. *haggen* vb. 'to cut, hew, chop' D. Troy. 10023, N. E. dial. *hag* 'to hew, chop, hack' (Wall, Anglia XX, p. 105, cf. N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *hǫggua*, O. Swed. *hugga*, Gotlandish *hagga* (< **haggu̯an*) etc. — The West Teutonic forms are O. E. *hēawan*, O. H. G. *houwan* etc. From the Scand. stem is M. E. *hagworm* 'jaculus' Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. *hagworm* 'a viper', see N. E. D., Wall, l. c.

M. E. *nig* 'niggardly' (*nig and hand in al his liue* Herrig's Arch. LII, p. 36), der. M. E. *nigard*, *nigart* (*nekar*, *nekart?*), *nigun* adj., sb. 'niggard, miser', M. E. *nigardie* 'stinginess', N. E. *niggard* etc., N. E. dial. *niggle* (E. Anglia) 'to be mean, parsimonious', *niggling* 'mean' (Wall, Anglia XX, p. 113): Scand. **hniggu̯-*, which although not directly recorded, no doubt, once existed (cf. Johansson, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XIV, p. 341, Söderberg, Filol. Sällskapets i Lund förhandlingar 1881—1888, p. 73) and is already suggested by Swed. dial. *niggla* 'to be parsimonious' (= N. E. dial. *to niggle*), cf. Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV, p. 142. The recorded Scand. forms are: O. W. Scand. *hnøggr* (< **hnaggui̯-*) 'niggardly, stingy', Swed. dial. *nägg* (Rietz p. 460, cf. Norelius, Arkiv f. Nord., Fil. I, p. 224), N. Swed. *niugg* (< **hnyggu̯-* < **hniggu̯-*, cf. Wadstein, Fornnorska Homiliebokens ljudlära p. 150 f., Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. p. 118). The veritable West Teutonic form is O. E. *hnēaw* 'stingy, near, niggardly'.[1])

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[1]) Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Etymology s. v. *niggard* say: 'the formation of the M. E. words (viz. M. E. *nigard* with the by-form *nigoun* 'niggard') points to Fr. influence'. Nevertheless I find no reason for doubting the old and current derivation from Scand.: firstly, there are no such words found in French, and, secondly, a Romance suffix added to a word-root

N. E. dial. *scug* vb. 'to hide; to take shelter', also 'to frown' (cf. Gregor, The Dial. of Banffshire, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1860, Wall p. 118), *scug* sb. 'a place of shelter' (Halliwell, Flügel), also 'a frown, gloomy countenance' (Gregor l. c.); der. *scuggery* 'secrecy' Yorksh. (Halliwell): O. W. Scand. *skuggi* sb. 'a shade, shadow', Norw. dial. *i skugg* 'secretly' (Aasen), N. Swed. *skugga* 'a shade, shadow'; O. W. Scand. *skyggia*, *skyggua* 'to overshadow, screen from, etc.', N. Dan. *skygge* vb. 'to overshadow, shelter', N. Swed. *skygd* sb. 'shelter, protection'. Concerning the etymology, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schauen*, Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 162, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. d. got. Sprache s. v. *skuggwa*. There are no genuine W. Teutonic forms to be found containing *gg*.

Although most probably a loan-word, the origin of the *gg* is not absolutely certain in M. E. *stiggen* (*he stiggis with his name*) Alex. (Sk.) 5301 'to start, feel abashed': O. W. Scand. *styggia*, *styggua* vb. 'to make shy, to frighten away', *styggiask* vb. 'to shun, abhor', *styggiask with* 'to be offended with'; the verb is derived from the adj. *styggr*, as to the probable etymology of which, see Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 162.

M. E. *trigg* 'faithful, secure' Orrm.[1]), early N. E. and N. E. dial. *trig* 'safe, tight, firm, neat, trim etc.', see Cent. Dict.: O. W. Scand. *tryggr* 'trusty, faithful, true', Dan. *tryg*, Swed. *trygg* 'secure' (cf. Goth. *triggws*); the genuine W. Teut. form is O. E. *trēowe*, *trīewe* 'true, faithful', O. H. G. *gitriuwi* etc. The Scand. word-stem *tryggw-* is also found in the nom. pr. O. E. *Sihtric* Chr. 921 etc. < O. Scand. *Sigtryggr*.[2])

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of Teutonic origin, is by no means uncommon in English (cf. *e. g.* M. E. *eggment* 'incitement' C. M., Ch., Pr. P., see N. E. D., N. E. *drunkard* etc., Sweet, New Engl. Gram. I, p. 481).

[1]) Concerning the shape of the *g*'s, see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103 p. 72.

[2]) According to Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 162, *gg* in O. W. Scand. *rǫgg* 'a tuft, shagginess', Swed. *ragg* 'rough hair' etc., is due to the common Teutonic lengthening in certain cases of $\underset{\cdot}{u} > \underset{\cdot}{u}\underset{\cdot}{u}$ (> Scand. and Gothic *gg*). If this be true, N. E. *rag* (cf. O. E. *raggie* adj. 'setosa' in the Glosses ed. by Bouterwek in Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 524) must, of course, be a Scand. loan-word. But as long as the etymology of the Scand. word is somewhat doubtful, we are not entitled to consider the English word as proved by test of form and etymology to be a Scand. loan-word, although, of course, it may, very probably, be so. Also in M. E. *rugged* 'rugged, hispidus', M. E. *ruggi* 'hairy', N. E. *rug gg* may seem, from the material

2. M. E. *egg* 'ovum' Langl. B. X 1, 343, Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *egg*, O. Swed. *æg*, N. Swed. *ägg*, Dan. *æg* etc.; the genuine West Teutonic form is O. E. *ǣʒ*, O. H. G. *ei* etc.[1])

II. Tests based on differences between Scandinavian and English sound development.

A. Distinctly Scandinavian diphthongs and vowels in Scandinavian loan-words.

1. Scandinavian *æi*, *ei*.

Teutonic *ai* has already in prehistoric English become contracted into *ā*, and the *i*- mutation of this *ā* is O. E. *ǣ* > M. E. *ę̄*. In some Scandinavian dialects, on the other hand, the same Teutonic diphthong has remained uncontracted up to this day, in others it has been contracted into a close *ē*, the main particulars of the history of Teutonic *ai* in Scandinavian being the following: In Danish the diphthong was contracted before literary times (about 1050) into *ē* (cf. Wimmer, Die Runenschrift p. 329, Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 539); in some

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I have gathered, to be distinctively Scand., owing to the above mentioned transition *u̯u̯* > *ggu̯*. But these words are perhaps connected with O. H. G. *rūh*, N. E. *rough*, N. H. G. *rauh* 'rough, hairy, shaggy', and if this be the case, *gg* is developed from an original *h*(+ *n*?). I must here abstain from entering further upon this very difficult question and content myself with giving the material I have gathered for the purpose: Norw. dial. *ru* sb. fem. 'wool' (Aasen), Icel. *ru* sb. neutr. 'wool' (Jónsson), O. W. Scand. *rýja* vb., see Noreen l. c., Norw. dial. *rya* 'a rug, a rough woollen cloth' (Aasen, Ross), O. Swed. *rogh* probably some sort of cover (see Söderwall, Ordb.), Dan. *ry* sb. 'a bedcover' (Molb. Gloss. p. 77), which are all to be compared with O. E. *rūwa, rēowe, rý(h)e, rēo* (< *rȳhæ* Ep., see Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 117, 2) 'a rug' (Bosw.-Toller); forms with *gg* are : Dan. dial. *rag* 'wool' (Molb. Dan. Dialectlexicon), Norw., Swed. *ragg* 'rough hair, esp. of goats', Norw. dial. *rugga* 'a rug of rough cloth, a thick bed-cover' (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *rugga* 'a yearling duck which has lost its feathers' (Rietz), Swed. dial. *rugga* vb. 'to mew, moult' (Rietz), O. Swed. *ruggoter* 'rugosus, tuberosus' (Söderwall), N. Swed. *ruggig*. In some of these words it is not easy to decide, whether *u* in *ugg* is original or has been developed from an older *ǫ* (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 109 and note).

[1]) *gg* possibly represents a Teut. *i̯i̯* also in N. E. dial. *cleg* 'a gadfly' (N. E. D.) < O. W. Scand. *kleggi* (cf. Johansson, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIV p. 319) and in M. E. *rig* 'a storm', from O. W. Scand. *hregg* (cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 187).

parts of Sweden, the contraction had already taken place before 1000, in other parts it took place later (it was generally carried out in Swedish about 1200, cf. Noreen l. c., Altschwed. Gramm. p. 116). In West-Scand. the diphthong remained uncontracted, namely as *ei* in O. Icel. and as *æi* in O. Norwegian (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 581, Altisl. Gramm. p. 63).[1]) Consequently, if we find words in English which had the diphthong *ai* in Teutonic times, but do not show the regular O. E. *ā* (*ǣ*) or its later developments but instead show a vowel which can be derived from the Scand. diphthong, these words are, as a rule, of Scand. origin, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940.

In the Scandinavian loan-words, the Teutonic diphthong *ai* generally remained uncontracted, and seems very rarely to have been contracted before their introduction into English. The diphthong was in O. E. generally written *eʒ* or *æʒ*; there was no sound quite corresponding to the Scand. diphthong in the oldest periods of O. E., probably not even in the periods when Scand. loan-words began to find their way into O. E.; the diphthong therefore seems to have been superseded by O. E. *eʒ* (as in O. E. *weʒ* 'a way') or by O. E. *æi* (as in *dæʒ* 'a day'), and in later times followed all the developments of these sound-groups. When final, the diphthong seems, with the exception of the word *þei* (Orm. *þeʒʒ*), to have been represented only by (O. E. *æi*), M. E. *ai*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 585 f., Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 185.[2]) Thus Orrm has *þeʒʒ* 'they', *greʒʒþen* 'to prepare', but *aʒʒ*, *naʒʒ*; the O. E. H., treated of by Krüger, Sprache und Dial. der Me. Hom., Erlangen 1885,

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[1]) Under certain circumstances, Teutonic *ai* is represented by Scand. *ā*, too, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 57, Altschwed. Gr. § 80.

[2]) In O. E., spellings with *æʒ* for the Scand. diphthong seems to be quite as frequent as the spelling *eʒ*. It is therefore very difficult to make out to which of the two O. E. sound-combinations it was the more similar. The Orrmulum writes *eʒʒ*, which shows that in the O. E. dialect upon which Orrm's dialect rests, the diphthong was substituted by *eʒ*. The conclusions to be drawn from other M. E. records seem to be the same, but most of these records are of little use for the question: in the early Southern dialects the Scand. material is very scarce, and O. E. *eʒ* and *æʒ* were, as a rule, both represented in them by *ei*; the Midland and Northern texts are — with the exception of the Orrmulum — from a period when the sounds of *ei* and *ai* began to be confused or had both become *ai*, cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 463, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 185 f.

have *þei* but *nai* (Krüger p. 22); Deb. of the Body and the Soul has *greithe*, *they*, *their*, but *ay*, *nay* (cf. Heesch, Diss. Kiel 1884 p. 8 ff.).

The material to be taken into consideration as containing the Scand. diphthong is the following one.

a) Words found already in Old English.

These are not very numerous, the main part consisting of proper names in O. E. charters and other texts. I give here a short collection of such names without by any means pretending to have exhausted the extant material.

-beȝn, *-bein* in *Colbein*, *Thurbeȝn* (cf. O. W. Scand *Kolbeinn*), Searle, Onom. A. S.

Eȝricus (cf. O. W. Scand. *Eiríkr*), *Eȝlaf*, *Eilaf* etc., see p. 25 f.

Haythaby in the Chronicle of Ethelwerd (Lat.), from the end of the 10th century, Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 502 (cf. O. W. Scand. *Heiðabǿr*, Dan. *Hedeby*).

Steȝen, Stein (cf. O. W. Scand. *Steinn*, O. Swed. *Stēn*), *Justeȝn* (cf. O. W. Scand. *Jósteinn*) etc., Searle l. c., *Steȝenbeorn, Steȝenbit*, *Steȝenburh, Steȝncytel* etc.; cf. p. 27.

Sweȝen (cf. O. W. Scand. *Sveinn*, O. E. Scand. *Swēn*) Sax. Chr. 994 etc., gen. *Sweȝnes* Cart. Sax. No. 1117, *Colsweȝen* (cf. O. W. Scand. *Kolsveinn*), Searle l. c., *Swein* Sax. Chr. 1049, *Swæȝn* Sax. Chron. 1076, *Swæȝnes* Sax. Chron. 1068, 1075, *Suain e. g.* Henry of Huntingdon Chron. (Lat.), Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 752 (cf. Jessen, Nord. Tidskr. f. Filol. I. p. 223, Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 1031).

Teit (O. W. Scand. *Teitr*), Searle l. c.[1])

The other words are:

O. E. *scæȝð*, *sce(i)ȝð*, *sceið* (*scehð*, *scæd*, *sceð*)[2]) 'a light, swift vessel' (cf. O. W. Scand. *skeið* 'a ship'), also in the com-

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[1]) Occasionally forms with *e* instead of the diphthong occur, *e. g. swen* Kemble IV p. 162 (A. D. 1065), probably due to the East Scand. contraction of (*ai* >) *æi* > *e*; or are such forms due to the W.-Sax. sound-law given by Sievers, Ags. Gr.² § 214, 3? The inverted spelling *eȝ* instead of *ē* in O. E. *þeȝnest* (also *þē(o)nest*) 'service' (< O. W. Scand. *þiónusta*), is also to be taken into account, although *eȝ* may in this word be accounted for by the influence ot the O. E. *þeȝn* (*þēn*) 'servant'.

[2]) *scæð*, *sceð* seem to represent *scǣð*, *scēð*; the palatal *ȝ* probably having been dropped before *ð* according to the West-Saxon sound-law

pound *scægð-man* (*scegð-* etc.) 'pirate', see Bosw.-Toller s. v., Steenstrup, Danelag p. 155, Napier and Stevenson l. c. p. 23, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 6 Anm. 1. This word occurs as early as the end of the 10[th] century; although rather frequent in O. E., it has not been found in M. E., which may depend on its being a technical term for the ships of the Vikings, cf. Dial. prov. p. 9 foot-note 4.

O. E. *bātswezen* 'boatman', Earle, Land Charters and Saxonic Documents p. 254 (11[th] century), cf. Hall, Stud. A. S. Dict., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 261: O. W. Scand. *sveinn,* O. Swed. *swēn* 'boy, lad, man, servant' — the genuine English form being O. E. *swān* 'a herd, a swine-herd'.

As dubiously Scand. I regard the O. E. *hael*, *haeliz, stazan*, *wae* which according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 935, 1034, 1049, should represent the pronunciations **hail, *hailiz, *wai, *staikan* from Scand. *heill* etc.[1]) O. E. *hael* (as greeting) Durh. B. may be the native form *hǣl* (cf. M. E. *heal* (= *hęl*) *us*! Marh. 22); *haeliz,* by Kluge p. 1034 given as occurring in the Durh. B., is not to be found in Cook's Glossary; the spelling, which occurs in Durh. Rit. (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 296 gives North. *hǣliz*), might depend on *i*-mutation (cf. Lindelöf, Spr. d. Rituals v. Durh. p. 30), from a base **hailiz-* > *hǣliz* (Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 52) or on the influence of related words containing *ǣ*; cf. M. E. *hēlī*, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gram. p. 192. That O. E. *stazan* should denote *staikan*, cannot be proved by any parallels. As for O. E. *wae,* (*wǣ*) Durh. B., Rushw.[1], Rushw.[2], Vesp. Ps. (ct. Brown, Diss. Gött. p. 69), monophthongal pronunciation is rendered probable by the fact that in Durh. B. the word is once written *wę* (once *we,* cf. Cook, Glossary) which cannot represent a diphthongal pronunciation. Moreover, Vesp. Ps. and Rushw.[1] show no traces of Scand. influence. Possibly

given by Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 214, 3. The product of the East-Scand. monophthongisation was a close *ē*-sound, and it is therefore improbable that *scǣð* could depend on this East-Scand. monophthongisation; moreover the word is not found in East Scand. in a sense corresponding to O. E. *scægð* etc., cf. Dial. Prov. p. 9 foot-note 4.

[1]) *ae* is sometimes used in Rushw., Durh. B. etc., instead of *æ* to denote *ǣ* and *ǽ*, cf. Brown, Diss. Gött. p. 15 f., 69 f., Miss Lea Anglia XVI p. 66 f., 92

the *æ* of the word depends on Lat. *væ*. Concerning O. E. *weilawei, wezla*, see p. 51.

b) Words found in Middle English:

M. E. *azz* Orrm., *ay, ai* H. M., Gen. & Ex. 87 (rime-word *day* 'day'), C. M., Ch., Hav., M. Hom. etc., *ei* Sir Gowther, Songs of a Prisoner (= Rel. Ant. I 275, cf. Ellis E. E. P. I p. 436) 'ever, always', see N. E. D. and other Dictionaries. This M. E. word must be a Scand. loan-word: O. W. Scand. *ei*, *ey*, *ey* 'ever', O. Swed. *ē* 'always' (Rydqvist, Ordbok öfver Sv. Språket).[1]) Scand. origin has been once doubted by Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 32, but ibidem p. 585, he considers the word undoubtedly Scand., as I think, rightly, because it cannot easily be otherwise explained.[2])

M. E. *bein, beyn* Amad. (Web.) 514, Pr. P. p. 29, *bain* adj. C. M. 28806, A. P., Gaw. etc., 'direct, prompt, ready', *unbain, unbeyne* C. M. 17735, *unbein* Anglia IV p. 186 'not ready', N. E. dial. *bain* 'flexible, ready, willing, direct' E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *beinn* 'straight, direct', Swed. dial. *ben* adv. 'immediately, directly' (Rietz). — There is no corresponding word of English origin to be found.[3])

M. E. *beyn* in the proper name *Birkabeyn* Hav. 2157, 2209 etc.: O. W. Scand. *Birkibeinn* (a nickname), see Fritzner, Ordb. s. v.

M. E. *bezzsk* Orrm. 6698 (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 33), *baiske* ca. 1300, see N. E. D., *bask* Wicl. 'harsh, bitter, sharp', N. E. dial. *bask* 'sharp, bitter, rough to the taste' E. D. D. (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 7 foot-note 2): O. W. Scand. *beiskr*, O. Swed. *besk*.

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[1]) The Scand. words offer some difficulties as to the explanation of their different forms, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 57, Anm. 2, Altschwed. Gramm. § 69, 7, 80 I, 2. Although there are forms in Scand. with *ey* beside *ei*, I give the M. E. word here, because we have here to do with an original Teutonic *ai*, not with one of the Scand. *ey*'s from an older (*au*) *ǫu* by *i*-mutation.

[2]) Concerning Mod. E. *aye, ay* 'yes', see N. E. D., Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 543.

[3]) The relationship to O. E. *bān* 'bone', N. H. G. *Bein* etc., of course, is very obscure, and even if the words were originally identical, such a consideration would still be of no interest for our purpose.

M. E. *beggtenn* vb. Orrm., *beite* Hav., *beiton* 'commordeo' Pr. P. p. 29, etc. *baiten* C. M., Ch., D. Arth. (= E. E. T. S. 8) etc. 'to bait, set dogs on, etc.', see N. E. D., N. E. dial. *to bait* 'to feed, pasture, to tease, worry', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *beita* originally 'to cause to bite, to hunt etc.', O. Swed. *bēta* 'pascere, pasci' etc. Genuine English forms are O. E. *bǣtan* (< **baitjan*) 'to furnish with bit, coerce, restrain, hunt, bait, worry', *grīstbātian* 'to grind or gnash the teeth', *grīstbātung* sb. fem. 'gnashing of teeth', *gebǣtu* n. pl. 'bit, bridle', etc.

M. E. *baite* sb. 'bait, food' C. M. 16931, etc., N. E. dial. *bait* sb. 'food, meal', etc., E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *beit*, O. Swed. *bēt* 'food, pasture'; O. Dan. *bed* 'hunting, food, bait'; cf. prec. word.[1])

M. E. *baiþen* Wright Lyr. Poems, Gaw., D. Erk. 'to grant, agree, consent' (see Dictionaries): O. W. Scand. *beiða* 'to ask, beg', O. Swed. *bēdha*(*s*).

M. E. *bleik*(*e*), *bleyk*(*e*), Hav. 470, Pr. P. p. 39, *blayke* A. P. I 27 'pale': O. W. Scand. *bleikr*, O. Swed. *blēker*, Dan. *bleg*. The corresponding genuine English word is O. E. *blāc*, M. E. *blǭke* 'pale'.

M. E. *bleiken* P. S. 341 'to turn pale': cf. O. W. Scand. *bleikja*, O. Swed. *blēkia* 'to make pale' (= O. E. *blǣcan* 'make pale, bleach'); perhaps the M. E. verb is formed on English ground from the adj. M. E. *bleike*.[2])

M. E. *bleykester* (*bleystare, bleyster, bleyestare*) 'candidarius' Pr. P. 39 contains the Scand. stem *bleik-* and the English suffix *-estre* (as for which see Sweet, New Engl. Grammar p. 548).

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[1]) The interesting sense-development of these words, which we cannot here enter further upon, will be easily seen from the Dictionaries.

[2]) As for Mod. E. *bleak*, a form not occuring before the 16th century (cf. N. E. D.), its relation to the above forms is not easily determined. It may either depend on some dialectic development of M. E. *ai* (as for other instances of M. E. *ai* represented by Mod. E. [ī], see Behrens, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. frz. Spr. p. 124, Luick, Untersuchungen p. 183 ff.), or on a blending of *bleach* with the N. E. development of M. E. *bleike*, or with that of (Northern Late M. E.) *blāke* (< O. Scand. *bleik*, or O. E. *blāc*) (see N. E. D.), or even be a Northern or North Midland development of O. E. *blǣc*(*e*) adj., cf. Bosw.-Toller, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 532, Karsten l. c. p. 58 (> M. E. *bleche* 'pale', Ayenb. 53, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 1031). Analogous to N. E. *bleak* is N. E. *weak*, and so is also, in a manner, N. E. *steak*, see later on.

M. E. *aymers, eymbre, eymery* 'a small piece of live coal or wood in a half extinguished fire, in plur. 'the smouldering ashes of a fire' first known use circ. 1390 (see N. E. D.), Pr. P. p. 136: O. W. Scand. *eimyrja,* Norw. dial. *eimor,* Dan. *æmmer* 'embers' (= O. E. *ǣmerȝe*), cf. N. E. D., Sweet H. E. S.[2] p. 317.

M. E. *fraisten* R. Br. Chron. (see N. E. D.), *fraisten* C. M., Ps., A. P. I, Gaw., Pr. C., Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann E. St. XXIV p. 195), Isum., Iw., D. Troy etc., *frasten* (see Luick, Unters. p. 197 f.)[1]) 'to enquire, examine, try', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *freista,* O. Swed. *fresta, fræsta,* early Dan. *freste, fræste* 'to examine, try'; no genuine forms with the *t*-suffix exist in English, the O. E. form being *frāsian* 'to question, tempt', cf. Tamm, Etym. Svensk Ordb. s. v. *fresta.*[2])

M. E. *gayte* 'goat' Hamp. Ps. (often), Pr. C., (*gayt skynnes*) Perc. 314, 659, 847 etc., (*gayte,* rime-word *tayte*) Perc. 253, etc. In words containing an O. E. *ā*, *ay* is, as a rule, not written in these records (cf. *e. g. rās* 'rose', *a*(*ne*) 'one', *brād* 'broad' Hamp. Ps., *bān* etc. Pr. C., *lōrd* Hamp., due to Southern influence; *laith* 'loathsome' Hamp. Ps. is Scand.; in the M. S. of Perc., O. E. *ā* has, for the most part, become *ǭ*). The spelling *ay* is, on the other hand, easily accounted for by assuming Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *geit*, O. Swed. *gēt*, Dan. *ged.* Also M. E. *geit, gehet* sg. Wicl. Lev. XXIII, 19, is very probably the Scand. word, because the English form would have been *goot* (thus Lev. XVI, 8)[3]), cf. Fischer, Diss. phil., Halle 1880, p. 29 f.

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[1]) In such texts where *ai* has become *ā* before *st* or generally (cf. Luick l. c.), there is, of course, strictly speaking, no proof of loan; the spelling *ai* in many Northern texts may denote *ā*, and in such texts, too, the proof of loan has, of course, been lost; this, in such texts, is naturally also the case with most loan-words containing the Scand. diphthong. — Although *ai* in this word is no absolute criterion, because *i* may casually depend on the following *st* (cf. M. E. *gnaisten* further on), there is nevertheless no reason for doubting Scand. origin.

[2]) The M. E. by-form *frest* 'to try, test' in C. M. depends upon the Scand. sound-change *æi* > *ĕ*, which, under certain circumstances, took place before consonant groups, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 115, Altschw. Gramm. § 80, 2; O. Swed. *fræsta,* early Dan. *fræste* are due to the same sound-change. Beside this *frest,* the same sound-change has taken place only in M. E. *enkerly,* see Dial. Prov. p. 21.

[3]) *geet* Wicl. Lev. XXII, 27 may originally be the plural-form, used

The plural *geyt(e)* Wicl. Gen. XXXII, 14, Lev. V, 10 may also be Scand., but cannot be proved to be so, because *ey* might denote *ē* (O. E. *gǣt*).

M. E. *greȝȝfe* Orrm., *greyue* Hav. 266 (rime-word *gleyue*) 'herald, steward' (*grafe* 'villicus, præpositus' Wr. Voc. 683, 33): O. W. Scand. *greifi* 'count, earl', O. Swed. *grēve* 'proconsul, præfectus, centurio, comes' Söderwall, O. Dan. *greve*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 44. — The Scand. word is, itself, a loan-word from L. Germ. *greve* 'count; director, inspector', the O. W. Scand. *ei* being due to sound-substitution for L. Germ. *ē*. Nevertheless it would hardly be possible to regard the M. E. *greȝȝfe* as a German loan-word because the diphthong would not then be easily accounted for. The *eȝȝ* in *beȝȝsannz*, *Eȝȝnocc* in the Orrmulum, perhaps also due to sound-substitution, are not analogous.[1])

M. E. *grein* Alis. 6534, *grayn* Gaw. 211 'some (undetermined) part of a weapon', *grayne* (*a grayne of the grete see*) 'arm of a sea, branch' Alex. (Sk.) 2451, N. E. Dial. *grain* 'branch, bough, prong of a fork', *grain-staff* 'quarter-staff' Wall, Anglia XX p. 104, Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I, 464[2]): O. W. Scand. *grein* (< **greiðn*, see Bugge, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. II p. 212, Wadstein, Indogerm. Forsch. V p. 27 f.) 'branch, bough, twig', O. E. Scand. *grēn* 'branch, twig', Dan. dial. *grēn* 'twig, prong of a fork'. The corresponding native form is O. E. *ȝerǣden* 'condition', cf. Bugge l. c. — As for the different sense-developments of this word, it will suffice to refer to Bugge's and Wadstein's treatises. With *grein* Alis. and *grayn* Gaw. as denoting some part of a weapon, is to be compared the nearly related O. Swed. *grēdh* (**greið*), probably 'a sword', see Wadstein l. c.

M. E. *greȝȝþenn* Orrm., *greiðen* A. R., St. Jul., H. M., Hav. etc., *grœiþen, graiþen* etc. 'to prepare, furnish' (see Dictionaries), a

together with the singular-forms *oxe, sheep* and therefore perhaps understood as a sg. with collective sense.

[1]) Or does the M. E. word depend on a 'Scandinavianized' form, by way of sound-substitution, of O. E. *ȝerēfa* 'reeve, officer, prefect' (cf. p. 4 foot-note 2, 10)? If this be the case (which I consider very doubtful), *Eȝȝnocc* and *beȝȝsannz* might be analogous.

[2]) Is N. E. *groin* 'the fork of the body, part where the legs divide' the same word (cf. Skeat, Et. D., Princ. I p. 464, Schröer, Grieb's Wörterbuch s. v.)?

rather frequent word in all dialects of M. E. from the 13th century, N. E. dial. *graithe* 'to prepare' Wall, Anglia XX p. 104: O. W. Scand. *greiða* 'to prepare, equip'. — Formed from the same root are M. E. *greiþe* sb. 'preparation etc.', M. E. *greiþ* adj. 'prepared, equipped, direct' (cf. M. E. *graith gate* 'direct way' Langl. P. Pl. B. I 20), M. E. *greiþly* adj. 'suitable, wellplanned', M. E. *beforegreiþen* 'prepare beforehand', M. E. *agreiþing* 'dress', N. E. dial. *graith* 'gear, equipment' etc. The corresponding English formations are O. E. *ȝerǣdan* 'arrange (hair)', O. E. *ȝerǣde* 'ready' (cf. Goth. *garaiþs* 'arranged'), see Wadstein l. c.; cf. prec. word.

M. E. *heil* Best., R. Gl., Pr. C., Leb. Jesu, etc. *hæil* Laȝ., *hail* Vices and Virtues, Ayenb., R. Gl. etc. (see Dictionaries) 1. adj. 'well, healthy, sound', also in *wæs hæil* Laȝ., *washayl* R. Gl. (Pabst p. 54, rime-word *tail*) 'hail!', *wesseil* sb. Hav., *wesseilen* 'to wassail' Hav. 2. sb. 'health, prosperity, salvation'[1]) 3. interj. 'hail!'; der. *heilnesse* sb. Gen. & Ex. 'health' (for other references, see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *heill*, O. Swed. *hēl* 'whole, sound etc.' From the Scand. greeting *heill* is formed the M. E. word *heȝȝlenn* Orrm., *heylen* Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P. etc., *hailen* Laȝ. etc. 'to salute, greet' (cf. Brate l. c. p. 46). The genuine English forms are O. E. *hāl* M. E. *hǫl* 'whole, uninjured', O. E. *hǣle*, *hǣl* sb.[2]), M. E. *hęle* 'health etc.', and in many dialects both the Scand. *heil* and the English *hāle*, *hǫle* were preserved, especially in the phrase *hail and hǫle* (see Dictionaries); in such Northern texts as distinguish between original *ai* and *ā*, *hail(e)* often occurs by the side of *hāl(e)*, owing to Scand. influence, cf. Luick, Untersuchungen p. 195.

Related to the preceding word is M. E. *heilsen* C. M. (Fairfax, Trinity), *hailsen* C. M. (Cott., Gött.), Gaw., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B. V 101, etc. 'to salute': O. W. Scand. *heilsa*, O. Swed. *hēlsa*, *hælsa*, O. Dan. *helse* 'to salute' (= O. E. *hālsian*, *hǣlsian* 'observe omens, implore, conjure, exorcise'.[3])

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[1]) M. E. *godder hail* Kaluza, Glossary to C. M. p. 1716, erroneously translates by 'Better health'. *Godder* is apparently dat. of *gōd*, not comp. (O. W. Scand. *góðri haili*); cf. M. E. *wrather hail*.

[2]) As for O. E. *hael*, *hǣl* (*hǣl ūsic* etc., see Cook, Gloss. p. 108) as a greeting, *haeliȝ*, *hæliȝ*, see p. 39.

[3]) This O. E. word is very often difficult to distinguish from O. E.

M. E. *haiþen* C. M., M. H., Hamp. Pr. C., Isum. etc., *heythen* Sege of Mel. (cf. Dannenberg, Diss. Gött. 1890 p. 29), *haþen* C. M. (Cott.) sb. and adj. 'heathen', derivations *e. g. haythenhede* C. M. 'paganism', *hathennesse* Town. M. 'heathenism', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *heiðinn*, O. Swed. *hēþin*, O. Dan. *hēden* 'heathen'. As the genuine English forms show always the *i*-mutation of *ā* to O. E. *ǣ* > M. E. *ę̄* (O. E. *hǣþen*, M. E. *hę̄then*), the Scand. forms are, as a rule, easily distinguished from the native ones, even in such texts where *ai* has become *ā*, as in such texts the spelling *ā* as well as *ai* points to Scand. influence. The spelling *ey* only is, in some texts, ambiguous.[1])

M. E. *wheym* dat. 'to whom' Sev. Sag., ed. Weber, Metrical Romances III p. 126 (v. 3271), *whaime* Sege of Mel. 1044 (cf. Dannenberg, Diss. Gött. 1890 p. 29): O.W. Scand. *hueim*, O. Swed. *hwēm*, Dan. *hvem*. The native English form O. E. *hwām* would in these texts have given **whām*. — *Quaim* Metr. Hom. p. 61, 165 is ambiguous and may be from O. E. *hwām*.[2])

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healsian, halsian (from sb. *hals*) 'implore, entreat', M. E. *halsen* 'to embrace', see Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., N. E. D. — M. E. *halsen*, of course, under some circumstances, may be or is the Scand. word, but in many cases may depend on the influence of M. E. *hāl* 'sound, healthy'. In some other cases it is the continuation of O. E. *healsian, halsian*. Cf. Mätzner, Wb. II p. 41. — The Cath. Angl. discriminates between *hailsinge* 'salutatio' and *halsinge* 'amplexus'.

[1]) In M. E. *haðenescipe* Laȝ. 12114 (but *hæthenescipe* ib. 14862), *haðene* Vices and Virtues 54 (but *hæðendome* ib.), *a* seems to be wrongly written for *æ*, the dot over *a* making the only difference between *ā* and *ǣ*.

[2]) I give here the passage (v. 3265—3284) in Sev. Sages where the word *wheym* occurs:

Þus þe erl left al his care
Of þis mater he þenkes nomare.
Þan said þe knight on þis manere
Vnto þe erl: 'Sir mase gude chere'
Þe erl said: 'Sire, I þe pray
Þe sertan soth þat þou me say:
Wheym es þis faire lady
Þat þou hes set at met me by?'
Þe knight said 'Sir, bi my lewte,
Sho es cumen from myne awyn cuntre!
Sho es my leman þat has me soght
And new tythandes sho haues me broght.

M. E. *quainen* vb. 'to lament', *quaining, quain* sb. 'lamentation' C. M. (frequently), rime-words *again*, *magdaleyn*, *slayn* ($<$ *sleȝen*): O. W. Scand. *kveina* vb. 'to wail, lament', *kvein* sb. 'lamentation' (Fritzner; cf. Goth. *quainôn*; Old Irish *cāinim*, *cōinim* 'I wail, lament', Zimmer, Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum XXXII p. 273 foot-note derives from the Scand. word). This *quainen* cannot be from O. E. *cwānian* 'to lament', because in C. M. *ā* ($<$ O. E. *ā*) hardly occurs in rimes with *ai* (O. E. *æȝ*, *eȝ*, O. Scand *æi. ei*), cf. Luick, Untersuchungen p. 195 f.

M. E. *cweise* 'ulcer' A. R. 328: O. W. Scand. *kveisa*, O. Swed. *quēsa* sb. 'abscess' (= M. L. G. *quēse*).

M. E. *leȝȝk* 'sport, play, activity' Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 49), *leik* Hav., Jos. of Ar., *laik* Wicl., Langl. P. Pl. B., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leikr*, O. Swed. *lēker* O. Dan. *lēg* 'sport, play etc.' The O. E. *lāc* in the sense 'joyous activity, sport, game'[1]) seems to have been extinct in M. E. and replaced by the Scand. form.

This subst. also occurs, just as does the O. W. Scand. *-leikr*, O. Swed. *-lēker*, Dan. *-lēg*, as a suffix in M. E. *-leȝȝk* Orrm. (in very numerous words, see Brate l. c.), *-leik e. g. godleik* Kath. 838 etc. (Stodte, Dissert. Gött. 1896 p. 53), A. R. 136, *hendeleik* 'graciousness' O. E. Hom., Hav. etc., *-laik, e. g. freolaik* H. M. 7, *hendelaik* M. H. 49, Gaw., A. P., etc.[2]) The corresponding English *lāc* also occurs as a suffix in O. E., see Sweet, N. E. Gramm. I p. 462, and still survives in the Mod. E. *wedlock*.

Mi þese es made for euer mare
For þe knight þat I slogh þare
So þat I may wend, hardily,
Hame again mi þese to cri;
And þarfore wil I with hir wende
Forto speke with ilka frende'
'*Sir, sekerly, said þe erl þan,*
Me think þou has a fayre leman'.

At the first sight *wheym* may seem to mean *who*, as if the original dative were used as a nominative, as in Mod. Swed. and Dan.; but it is improbable that such a use occurred so early, and v. 3271 is, no doubt, to be translated 'To whom does this fair lady belong?'; the answer '*Sho is my leman*' very well agrees with this translation.

[1]) O. E. *lāc* 'gift, offering' still lives in M. E.

[2]) As for the by-form *lēc*, see later on.

M. E. *leʒʒkenn* 'to trifle, jest, play, sport' Orrm. (Brate l. c. p. 49), *leiken* Hav. *laike* Langl. P. Pl. B., A. P., Gaw., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leika*, O. Swed. *lēka*, Dan. *lēge* (= O. E. *lācan* 'to move quickly, play'.

M. E. *laikin* 'plaything' Pr. P. p. 284, N. E. dial. *leikin* 'a sweet-heart', see Way, Pr. P. p. 285 foot-note 1, Wall, Anglia XX p. 110: O. Swed. *lēkan*, Swed. dial. *lēkan* sb. 'plaything'. Material for the history of this and the prec. word in English is given by Hallam, Four dialect words, E. Dial. Soc. 1885, p. 16—37.

M. E. *laire* 'mud, clay' C. M. (rimeword *air* v. 519), Hamp. Ps. (also *lare* ibid.), Alex. (Sk.), der. *lairy* 'miry' Hamp. Ps., N. S. dial. *lair* sb. 'mud, clay', Wall l. c. p. 109: O. W. Scand. *leir*, O. East-Scand. *lēr*. There is no corresponding native word found in English.

M. E. *leʒʒtenn* 'to inquire, seek, look for' Orrm., *laiten* Iw., Trist., Gaw., A. P., D. Erk., Pr. C., etc., N. E. dial. *late* Wall l. c. p. 110: O. W. Scand. *leita*, O. Swed. *lēta*, O. Dan. *letæ*. The corresponding O. E. word is *wlātian* 'to gaze, look' (cf. Goth. *wlaitōn* 'circumspicere'). [1])

M. E. *leiþ* 'detestable' Misc. 15 (= Bestiary), Pist. of Sw. Sus. (Anglia I; in the MS. of this poem O. E. *ā* is represented by *ā* or *ǭ*, never by *ei* or *ai*, see Brade, Diss. Breslau 1892—93 p. 53), Audel., *laith* H. S., Am. and Amil., A. P., Ant. Arth., Langl. P. Pl. B., Hamp. Ps., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leiðr*, O. Swed. *lēþer*, Dan. *led* (= O. E. *lāð*, M. E. *lāð*, *lǫth*(*e*), Mod. E. *loath*).

M. E. *naʒʒ* Orrm., *næi* Laʒ., *nai* A. R., Marh., Kath., O. and N., Laʒ., C. M., Gaw., Will., Shor. etc., *nei* O. E. Hom. I 27. 'no, nay, not': O. W. Scand. *nei* (< *ne* + *ei*, cf. Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 543), O. Swed. *nē* (*næy*, *negh*)[2]) (= O. E. *nā* 'no, not'; cf. *aʒʒ* etc. p. 40).[3]) Der. *nayyn* vb. 'to say no, nego,

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[1]) As in the Orrmulum O. E. *w* before *l* has not yet been dropped (cf. *wlite* 'face, features' Orrm.), the absense of *w* in the beginning of *leʒʒten* is an additional, although, as far as this word is concerned, superfluous evidence of Scand. origin. Other cases in which *l* instead of *wl*- proves Scand. origin will be given later on.

[2]) See Tamm, Fonetiska Kännetecken, Upsala 1887 (Upsala Universitets Årsskrift), p. 62.

[3]) Has there been any influence from O. Fr. *naie*, Godefroy, Mackel p. 117?

abnego' Pr. P. p. 351, *nayten* 'to say no' Ch. Boet., Apol., Pr. P.; cf. O. W. Scand. *neita*, O. Swed. *nēta* 'to deny, disown'.

M. E. *nais* adj. 'ashamed, wretched' C. M. 989 (Cott. MS. written *nars*), M. H. 52: O. W. Scand. *(h)neiss* 'ashamed, miserable, wretched', cf. O. Swed. *nēsa* sb. 'shame, disgrace'. O. W. Scand. *neiss* occurs, alliterating with *nøkkuiðr*, in the saying *neiss er nøkkuiðr halr* and in the phrase *nøkkuiðr ok neiss*, see Cleasby-Vígfússon s. v. *neiss*, Fritzner s. v. *hneiss*. It is, therefore, a very interesting fact, that the only passages known in English where the Scand. loan-word occurs, are the above cited: *nais and naked* C. M. 989, *nakid and nais* M. H. 52, which phrases may be entirely due to Scand. influence.

M. E. *reike* sb. 'course, path' Pr. P. p. 427, *raike* D. Arth. v. 1525, *rayke* 'passus' Wr. Voc. 629, 24, *reiken* vb. 'to wander, waver, vacillate' Map., Flor. *raiken* A. R., Pr. C., Gaw., A. P., M. H., M. Arth. (= Le Morte Arthur, ed. Furnivall, London 1864) v. 3373, Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessman, E. St. XXIV p. 195), etc., N. E. dial. *rake* 'to wander, ramble' Wall p. 115, 'to ramble in mere idleness' (Norf.) Way Pr. P. p. 427 foot-note: O. W. Scand. *reik* sb. n. 'strolling, wandering', *reika* vb. 'to wander, take a walk, to waver, vacillate', O. Swed. *rēka*. No corresponding native word is found.

M. E. *raynederę* 'reindeer' D. Arth. v. 922: O. W. Scand. *hreinn*, *hreindýri*, Swed. *ren* 'reindeer', Dan. *rensdyr* (= O. E. *hrān*, M. E. *rǭn*).[1]) It is true that a casual spelling *ai* in such a text as D. Arth. may occur owing to North. E. (Sc.) influence, although in D. Arth. O. E. *ā* is represented by *ǭ*, sometimes by *ā* (cf. *gayspande* later on). Still I do not hesitate to ascribe the *ai* in this word to Scand. influence. *raynedere* here occurs together with *roo* 'roe' > O. E. *rā* (which makes it probable that our word would have been written **roon*, if English), and N. E. *reindeer* points to the same source, although the latter may have been borrowed in later times.

M. E. *raiþen* C. M. 24023 in the verse: *Unreufully þai can* (v. l. *gan, gun*) *him raiþe, Ful snoberly him for to snaiþe* (MS. Cott.). Kaluza, Glossary, translates the word by 'to

[1]) Very possibly, O. E. *hrān*, itself, is an 'Anglicised' loan-word from Scand. (cf. p. 10). Cf. *þā dēor hī hātað hrānas* in Wulfstān's and Ohthere's journey (Ælfr. Oros.).

rap'. Although this may be the sense of the word, it has, of course, nothing to do with this latter word. The rime with *snaipe* (O. W. Scand. *snøypa, sneypa* 'to disgrace, chide', O. Swed. *snøpa*) in all the four MSS. undoubtedly shows that *ai* signifies a diphthong. The word is formed from a M. E. sb. **raip* 'rope' the source of which is O. W. Scand. *reip,* O. Swed. *rēp* etc. 'a rope' (= O. E. *rāp,* M. E. *rǭp*). It consequently means 'to rap, beat, thrash with ropes', a translation which very well suits the sense.[1])

M. E. *reȝȝsenn* 'to raise, exalt, direct' Orrm., *reisen* Spec. of Lyr. Poetr., Ch. Cant. T., Rel. Ant., etc., *areisen* C. M., Will., Wicl., R. Br. Handl. Synne, Merl., etc., *raisen* Ps. 112, 7, O. E. Hom. I 283, C. M., A. P. I 305 (rime-word *prayse*), etc., *araysen* Ch., Hamp. Treat., D. Arth. v. 1677 etc.: O. W. Scand. *reisa,* O. Swed. *rēsa,* O. Dan. *resæ* (< **raisian*). The corresponding native word is O. E. *rǣran* 'to raise, build, establish etc.', Mod. E. *to rear.*[2])

[M. E. *snaipen,* see p. 65.]

M. E. *swaif,* see *swaiuen.*

M. E. *swein* 'swain, young man' Laȝ. (rime-word *þein* < *þeȝen* v. 6594), Hav., P. S., Rob. Gl., Pr. P., etc., *swain* Laȝ., Ch., A. P., Arth. and Merl., etc.: O. W. Scand. *sueinn,* O. Swed. *swēn,* see O. E. *bātsweȝen* p. 39.

M. E. *swaiuen* A. P. 353 (*þenne he* [: *þe whal*] *swenges and swayues*[3]) *to þe se boþem*), MSS. of Langl. P. Pl. Prol. 10 (other MSS. have *sweyed, swyed*) 'to move swiftily'[4]): W. Scand. *sveifa* 'to hover, glide' (Jónsson), O. Swed. *swēva* 'to turn' (the root *sveif-* is more frequent in such derivatives as *sveifla* 'to swing

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[1]) Cf. O. Swed. *bardhe sin bak miz knutogho repe* (Söderwall Ordb.).

[2]) M. E. *reysed* 'gone on a military expedition' Ch. Prol. 54 is not a Scand. loan-word but borrowed from French. Cf. O. Fr. *reise, raise* 'expédition militaire, incursion sur une terre ennemie' (Godefroy), which is, on the other hand, borrowed from German. See Skeat, Glossary to the complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Mackel, German. Elemente p. 117. It seems to me more probable that the word was introduced from French than directly from German, as has sometimes been assumed.

[3]) MS. *swaynes* (?)

[4]) Cf. Skeat, Glossary to Langl. P. Pl. s. v.: 'This reading seems to be quite distinct from *sweyed* and to refer to the motion rather than to the sound of the water'.

or spin in a circle', *e. g. sveifla sverði,* cf. Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 169). — We find the same root in the Scand. loan-word *swayf* sb. A. P. II v. 1268, Alex. (Sk.) v. 806 'swinging (of a sword)' [1]), cf. O. W. Scand. *sveifla sverði,* O. W. Scand. *sveif,* Norw. dial. *sveiv* 'whirl, vortex' (Ross).

M. E. *taysed* 'driven, harrassed, teased' Gaw. 1169: Swed. dial. *tēsa* (< **tais-*) 'pull to pieces, tease (wool)', Dan. dial. *tæse, tēse* 'to tease (wool), etc.', Molb. Ordb., Dial. Lex. (= O. E. *tǣsan,* M. E. *tęsen,* Mod. E. *tease.*[2])

M. E. *teit* adj. 'joyous, lively' Hav., *tait* A. P., Gaw., *tait* sb. 'joy, exultation' A. P. II 889, Alex. (Sk.), Perc. 253: O. W. Scand. *teitr* adj., *teiti* sb. (cf. O. E. *tāt-* 'cheerful', only in proper names, *tǣtan* 'to caress', Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.), cf. Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1891—94, p. 371.

M. E. *þæȝe* 'they' Kent. Gosp. (12th cent., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937),[3]) *þeȝȝ, teȝȝ,* gen. *þeȝȝre, teȝȝre, þeȝȝres* 'their, of them', dat. *þeȝȝm* 'them' Orrm. (see Brate l. c. p. 60), *þei, thei* Hav., Bek., Langl. P. Pl. A. I 8, Lud. Cov., etc. *þai, thai* Laȝ., C. M., Pr. C., A. P., Fer., etc. 'they', also definite article 'the' *e. g. þai doȝti men* Fer. 458 (cf. Dictionaries), gen. *þayres* Gaw.: O. W. Scand. *þeir,* gen. *þeirra,* dat. *þeim,* O. Dan., O. Swed. *þē, þēræ, þēra, þēm* (= O. E. *þā, þāra, þāre, þām* etc.). In M. E. the native forms often occur in the same texts as the Scandinavian ones.

M. E. *waȝȝ* 'woe' sb. Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 585), *wei* Hav. 962, etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley) is at least partly due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *vei* interj. and sb. (in such

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[1]) This translation of mine seems to me, as better agreeing with the etymology, to be preferable to the translation 'a blow' given by Stratm.-Bradley and others, cf. A. P. l. c.: *alle þe maydenes of the munster maȝtyly hokyllen wyth the swayf of þe sworde þat swolȝed hem alle,* Alex. l. c.: *Then Alexander swingis out his swerde, and his swayfe* (MS. Dubl. has *swaffe*) *feches the nolle of Nicollas . . .*

[2]) Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällsk. i Upsala Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 141, supposes *taysed* to be here put for *tesed.* As *ay* in Gaw. hardly denotes ę̄ in other words of Teutonic origin and is easily accounted for as a Scand. loan-word, I do not hesitate to give the word here. Sweet H. E. S.[2] p. 342 gives a M. E. *taisen.*

[3]) An attempt to explain this form is made by Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 1066, who compares it with Urnord. *þaiaʀ.*

phrases as *vei er þeim,* cf. Orrm. 11904: *himm wass wazz annd ange* = O. E. *him wæs wā*), O. Swed., O. Dan. *vē*; but it is probable that the word has, in some texts, partly other sources. In all languages interjections often assume forms which cannot be explained in accordance with known phonetical laws.[1]) This word was originally an interjection.[2]) From this point of view, perhaps, is to be judged O. E. *weilawei,* Cott. MS. of Boethius (10th century), cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Hist. of Engl. Sounds p. 125, 316, *wegla* (cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet l. c., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935); some of these references seem too early to be explained as due to Scand. influence, and if we cannot explain this O. E. *wei* as Scand., we have hardly a right, without any restrictions, to do so with regard to *wei* in M. E. *wei lā wei, wai lā wai* etc. (see Dictionaries). The diphthong seems to me to be best explained as due to the interjectional character of the word having caused the preservation of the Teutonic diphthong (cf. Sweet l. c.); cf. the quite analogous M. E. *ei* 'alas' of which Murray, N. E. D., says: 'probably a natural ejaculation'.[3]) — In later times Scandinavian influence may have contributed, to some extent, to the frequency of the form *wei la wei* — but to what extent, it is impossible to decide. It is possible that from the interjection the diphthong has in some cases passed into the subst. and replaced the original O. E. *ā,* M. E. *ǭ.* Nevertheless, as to the Scandinavian origin of such instances as Orrm's *wazz,* little doubt can exist;[4]) the chief difficulty consists

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[1]) Cf. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte (2nd. Ed., Halle 1886) p. 145 f.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Weh,* Uhlenbeck s. v. *wai,* and other Dictionaries.

[3]) As for O. E. *wae, wœ,* supposed by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935, 1034 to represent the pronunciation *wei,* but probably due to Latin influence, see p. 39.

[4]) O. W. Scand. *vei* interj., O. Dan., O. Swed. *vē* sb., themselves, are not the forms one would expect from an original **waiwō-* (cf. Finnish *vaiva* 'woe', a loan-word from Scand. or Gothic), the regular form being O. W. Scand. *vǭ, vā,* cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 57, 3. The O. W. Scand. *vei* may be due to 'Urschöpfung' or to a non-reduplicated ground-form (cf. Goth. *wai* etc.). O. Swed. *vē* Noreen has, Altschw. Gr. § 80 Anm. 3, explained as borrowed from German, which may hardly be considered as quite necessary: it may be the non-reduplicated interjectional groundform *vei* having replaced the sb. O. Swed. **vā,* quite as in M. English the sb. *wēa* was replaced by degrees by the original interjection *wā.*

in exactly defining the limits of the Scand. influence. — Moreover, there is perhaps in part another possibility. The Germanic *wai* was early introduced into O. French (cf. O. French *wai, wae, quai* 'malheur', Godefroy), and in some cases the M. E. *way* may depend on French influence (cf. the French loan-word in English *alas* meaning quite the same as *way*). This has actually been the case with the derivative O. French *waimenter, quaimenter* 'to lament' introduced into M. E. as *waimenten.* — From M. E. *wei, wai* was probably formed the vb. *weilen, wailen* 'to wail', which cannot be derived directly from O. W. Scand. *vǣla* 'to lament, wail' (< **waiwilōn*).[1])

M. E. *weik* 'debilis, imbecilis, lentus' Pr. P., *waik, wayk* C. M., Langl. P. Pl., Hav., Ch., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.) etc. 'weak', *waiknes* sb. C. M., Pr. C., *waiknen, waiken* vb. Corp. Chr. MS. of Ch. Tro. IV 1144,[2]) *waykned* past partic. A. P. II 1472; in N. E. dial. the word occurs very often with a vowel corresponding to M. E. *ai, e. g.* Ellis, D. 22. IV, Windhill (Wright § 127): O. W. Scand. *veikr,* O. Swed. *vēker,* O. Dan. *vēk, vēg* (= O. E. *wāc,* M. E. *wǫke*).[3])

M. E. *waith* 'game, sport, hunting, prey, catch' Ant. Arth. 34 (rime-words *faythe, laythe, graythe,* ed. Robson, Camd. Soc. 1842 p. 16), Gaw., D. Troy: O. W. Scand. *veiðr* sb. 'hunting', *veiða* vb. 'to hunt', O. Swed. *vēþa* vb. 'to hunt' (= O. E. *wāþ*

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[1]) O. W. Scand. **veila* 'to wail' to be concluded from the sb. *veilan* (Fritzner) may be due to late influence partly from *vei*, partly from the vb. *veina* in the phrase *veinan ok veilan*; *ei* in *veina* (= O. E. *wānian,* O. H. G. *weinon*) may depend partly on the interj. *vei*, partly on the influence of the synonymic *kveina* 'to lament'.

[2]) The MS. Harl. 2280 has *woken*, the printed edition (1532) *weaken.*

[3]) N. E. *weak* which became in the 16th century the paramount form, I have (Zur dial. Prov. p. 17, cf. ib. p. 28) tried to explain through the influence of the verb O. E. *wǣcan,* M. E. *wēchen* (if this be right, *k* would either be from some Northern dialect or depend on the adj. M. E. *wayk, wǫc*); analogous cases would perhaps be N. E. *bleak,* see p. 41 foot-note 2, and N. E. *sweat* sb. (see Kluge-Lutz s. v.). This explanation of *weak* has been approved of by Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 289. Nevertheless, there are other possibilities to explain N. E. *weak,* which I cannot here enter further upon. Whatever the explanation may be, it would seem advisable to explain *bleak* and *weak* in the same way. Could the comp. *weker* C. M. 832 throw any light upon the question *? weck* C. M. 23624 may be an error for *weik* (or for *week*?). Cf. N. E. *steak* p. 59.

'wandering, hunting'). Scotch *waith* Skeat, Spec. of Early English, Jamieson, is ambiguous although it may be the Scand. word.

The Scandinavian origin of the above words is hardly to be doubted. I have, as a rule, intentionally, omitted references occurring in such texts where *ai* may represent an original O. E. *ā*, with the exception of certain cases, as *e. g.* when *ai* is written in words in which, if they were native, we should have to expect, instead of *ā* (*ai*), the *i*-mutation of *ā* (M. E. *ę*): M. E. *gaite* pl., *haithen*.

In order to make the collection of material as complete as possible, I give here a list of M. E. words, spelt *ei, ai,* the Scand. origin of which is still more or less problematic. Among these words I insert, within brackets, some very obscure words and some which have formerly been regarded Scandinavian words in *ei* but which I consider decidedly not so. Some words not found till N. E. are also mentioned incidentally.

M. E. *fraisen* D. Arth. 124 (: *fraisez he the pople*) seems to mean 'to tempt' (cf. Stratm.-Bradl. s. v.), and in that case might have been borrowed from O. Scand. **freisa,* which, although not recorded, very probably once existed in Scand. but was replaced by *freista* (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. p. 171 f.) The corresponding English word is O. E. *frāsian* 'to question, tempt'. The possibility of *ai* denoting *ā* in D. Arth. and *fraisen* being from the O. E. word, is not excluded; cf. *raynedere* p. 48.

M. E. *gaspen*, *gaispen* 'to gasp, exhalo, hisco' Gow., Pr. P., Songs and Carols, London 1855, D. Arth. (see Dictionaries)[1]) has often been derived from O. W. Scand. *geispa,* O. Swed. *geespa,* O. Dan. **gēspe* 'to yawn';[2]) thus *e. g.* Müller, Et. Wb., Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX p. 418, Skeat, Princ. I p. 469, Et. D., Jessen, Dansk Etym. Ordb. s. v. *gispe,* Fick, Engl. Studien VIII p. 502, N. E. D. — Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. assume an O. E. *gāspian* < **gaispōn* as the source of the word and add: 'The word is not borrowed from Scand.' Apart from the exceptional

[1]) Early Mod. Engl. references are to be found *e. g.* in Lives of Women Saints (E. E. T. S. 1886) and in Shakespeare's works.

[2]) Probably from **geipsa,* N. E. D., Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 23.

form *gayspand* in D. Arth., there is no reference known which would, as far as the form of the word is concerned, speak definitely for Scand. origin; the other early and rare uses of the word are spelt *gasp-*, and the rimes *gaspit* : *claspit* Dougl. (Gerken, Die Sprache des Bischofs Douglas p. 4), *gaspe* : *claspe* : *haspe, waspe* in the Manip. Vocabul. (A. D. 1570) show that the *a* was short or equivalent to an originally short *a* at least in the 16th century,[1]) whereas in M. E. *traysten* (< O. W. Scand. *trøysta*), *fraisten,* the diphthong remained some time and at last became *ā* before *st* [2]) which consonant combination perhaps ought to have been analogous to *sp* with regard to its influence on the preceding vowel or diphthong. But this is all very uncertain. On the other hand, *geyspand* occurs too rarely to allow of reliable conclusions. The difference of sense between M. E. *gaspen* 'to gasp' and Scand. *geispa* 'to yawn', would to a certain extent speak for native origin; but Palsgr.

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[1]) Skeat, Princ. I p. 469, Et. D. derives N. E. *gasp* from a base **gapsa,* extension of *gapa* 'to gape', and such a form may, although perhaps only partly, be the source of the word. Still an O. E. **ʒæpsan* or *ʒæspan* from such a base would have given M. E. forms with *ʒ, y* (cf. M. E. *ʒespe* 'a handful', early N. E. *yaspen, yeaspen,* Way, Pr. P. p. 537 foot-note 3 = L. G. *gaps, gepse, gespe,* N. Dutch *gasp,* also etymologically connected with N. E. *to gape,* see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. p. 207), and there is no Scand. **gapsa, *gaspa* known (only Swed. dial. *gapsen* 'astonished or terrified', *gapsig* 'boasting', Rietz — both apparently young formations); but *g* in stead of *ʒ, y* could be explained by the influence of the verb *to gape* (cf. Pr. P. p. 188: '*gaspynge,* idem quod *gapynge*'). — An equally ambiguous and somewhat analogous word is M. E. *graspen,* N. E. *to grasp* which may be explained either (1) as an intensive derivation of O. E. *grāpian* 'to touch, handle, feel' (cf. O. E. *grāp* sb. 'grasp', O. W. Scand. *greip* sb. 'grasp', Norw. dial. *greipa* 'to grasp') and then would be etymologically identical with Norw. dial. *greipsa* 'to eat greedily' (Ross), or (2) as an intensive derivation of O. E. *(ʒe)græppian* 'to seeze' (connected with Swed. dial. *grabba* 'to seize', N. E. *to grabble, grab* etc., see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Garbe* from O. H. G. *garba,* and perhaps remotely akin to O. E. *grāpian,* cf. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 184 and foot-note), in which latter case it would be etymologically identical with Germ. *grapsen* (cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v.), Norw. dial. *grapsa* 'to grasp' (Ross), or (3) as depending on both (O. E. **grāpsian* and **græpsian*); cf. that Scand. has *greipsa* as well as *grapsa*). Even Scand. influence is not excluded.

[2]) Cf. Luick, Unters. p. 197 f. — Gav. Douglas has *traist* (= *trāst*), Gerken l. c. p. 15. Rimes as *traistis* : *thraistis* (Gerken p. 15), *wraiste* : *traiste,* are either inaccurate or depend on the lengthening of *ă* > *ā* before *st* in *thrăsten, wrăsten.*

(cf. *way* Pr. P. p. 536, foot-note 2) gives *I yane, I gaspe or gape* 'je baille', the true Scand. sense. In my opinion, it cannot be definitively decided whether the word is borrowed or not, although, of course, it may very likely be so.

[M. E. *gleym* 'lime, slime etc.', see p. 57].

[M. E. *gnaisten* C. M. 26760 (Fairf., Gött.), Alex. (Sk.) 5321, Pr. C. 7338, Ps. II 1, Man. (F.) 1821, Hamp. Ps. II 1, Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195), *gnasten* C. M. (Cott.), Wicl., Pr. P., Trev. 'to gnash, fremo, strido' cannot, because of the sense, be from O. W. Scand. *gneista* 'to sparkle'. It is perhaps connected with, if not borrowed from, O. W. Scand. **gnasta* vb. in the sb. *gnastan* 'gnashing' (Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 26). Another formation of the same root is N. E. to *gnash* (cf. Dan. dial. *gnaske* 'to gnash', Feilberg, Ordb.); cf. also early N. E. *gnaspe* etc. 'to snatch at with the teeth', Palsgr. The frequent spellings with *ai* are difficult to account for but may be due to the following *st.*; an investigation into the influence of *st* on preceding vowels and diphthongs would probably settle the question of the ground-form of the word.]

M. E. *greinen, granen, grænen* Laȝ. seems to have the sense 'to prepare, prepare oneself', see Mätzner, Wb. II p. 299, and in that case, perhaps is a loan-word from O. W. Scand. *greina* (cf. Bugge, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. II p. 212). It is true that this O. W. Scand. word, according to the Dictionaries, only means 'to branch, etc.', but the Norw. dial. *greina* = *greida* (Ross) as well as the etymology of the word (cf. Bugge l. c.) proves the original sense to have been the same as that of *greiða*, M. E. *greiðen* cf. p. 43 f. The readings *granen*, *grænen* may, in the carelessly written MSS. of Laȝamon, be errors for **grainen*, **græinen*. Or could they be explained in the same way as O. E. *scæð, sceð* p. 38 foot-note 2? Cf. *greþede* Laȝ., *greþed, grethet* Hav. (Stratmann, E. St. I p. 424, Hupe, Anglia XIII p. 198, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 17 f.), which, in all probability, are errors for *greiþede* etc. but could be explained in the same way as I have explained O. E. *scæð, sceð.* As for other possible examples of M. E. forms in which O. E. *ȝ*, *ᵹ* have been dropped before a consonant, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 996 foot-note. This O. E. sound-change seems to have been only West-Saxon or Southern, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 214, 3; *e* instead of *ei* in Havel.

therefore, if not an error, must have depended on a southern writer.

M. E. *haiten* vb. Trist. 3050.[1]) The rime-words are: *waite* 'to guard', *layte* 'to seek', *fayt* 'to slander'. O. E. *ā, ă-* never are represented by the spelling *ay* in this text (cf. Kölbing, Sir Tristram p. 177); therefore, we have here neither O. E. *hātan* nor O. E. *hatian*; it is possible that *hayte*, if not to be corrected into *baite* (cf. Kölbing l. c.), is borrowed from O. W. Scand. *heitask* 'to hoot, threaten, abuse'; N. E. dial. *height* 'to threaten' Ray, see Wall p. 106 may be the same word. — *heyt* inf. 'to promise' Townl. M. p. 72 also may be a loan-word, cf. O. W. Scand. *heita* 'to promise'.

M. E. *kay* (*þe kay fote*) 'left' Gaw. v. 422: Early Dan. *kei* 'left' (Kalkar), Dan. dial. *hejhåndet* 'lefthanded' (Feilberg), Swed. dial. *kaja* 'the left hand' (Rietz); as the source and history of the Scand. words is obscure, it is difficult to judge the M. E. word.[2])

M. E. *kaisere, caisere, keisere, keȝȝsere* etc. 'emperor'. It is very difficult to decide the origin of this word. It occurs, for the first time, in the Mss. Hatton 38 and Royal I A 14 of the Kentish Gospels of the 12th century (cf. Reimann, Spr. d. Mkent. Evang., Berlin 1883 p. 25, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 933, 943). Other references are: Orrm. (*keȝȝsere* cf. Brate l. c. p. 47), A. R., St. Kath, St. Jul., Laȝ., C. M., Hav., Langl. P. Pl. B., Alis.,

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[1]) The passage reads as follows (v. 3048 ff.):

Sir Canados, þe waite.
Euer þou art mi fo
Febli þou canst hayte
þere man schuld menske do.

[2]) There is hardly any relationship between this word and Dutch *kei* 'foolish, stupid, stubborn' (originally 'a stone, flint'), as Stratm.-Bradley suggest. Cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. — There are many unexplained words in Scand. meaning 'the left hand' or 'left, wrong etc.', *e. g.* Dan. *kejte* 'the left hand', early Dan. *kejthœndet*, Dan. *kejthaandet* 'lefthanded' Dan. *kav* 'awkward, left' (Molb. Dial. Lex., Feilberg, Kalkar), Swed. dial. *keva*, 'the left hand', also *skjeva* (Rietz), Norw. dial. *keiv* 'wry, wrong', Norw. dial. *keiken* 'obstinate in opinion, perverse' (Ross). — Is there any relationship between Dan. *kei*, M. E. *kai* and N. E. dial. *cake, caikey* 'simpleton, fool' (E. D. D.)? Could *kay* (I have examined the word in the MS.) depend on an error by the second hand, if the original had *car* (for M. E. *car* 'left, sinister', see N. E. D., Murray D. South. Count. Scotl. p. 54) which he may have read as *kai* and written as *kay*?

Man. (F.) etc. (see Dictionaries); the word may either be a loan-word from H. G. (and this is rendered probable by historical reasons; Kluge, Literaturbl. IX p. 57, Zupitza, Academy 1888 No. 827 assume Germ. origin) or may have been imported by the Northmen, who also pronounced the word, which they may early have borrowed from German, with a diphthong.[1]) If the latter be the case, we have here a new example of a German word imported into English through Scandinavian. Still it is not so certain as is the case with M. E. *greȝȝfe, greiue* which, if identical with the German word (cf. p. 43), must have passed through Scandinavian, because the word had no diphthong in German. — A third possibility, of course, would be to assume influence both from Scand. and German; thus the word, when occurring in Southern texts, might be German, in such texts as Orrm. and Hav. Scandinavian. — Noteworthy are perhaps the spellings with *ai*, *ay* (as a rule, not *ei*) in such texts as the Kent. Gospels, A. R., St. Jul. (also *ei*) etc.

[M. E. *cleymous* 'glutinous' Pr. P. p. 79 probably means *clę̄mous*, *ey* being occasionally used in Pr. P. to denote *ē* (cf. p 59.). Likewise M. E. *cleimen* Lidg. (see Stratm.-Bradley) probably means *clę̄men* (< O. E. *clǣman*); it is not necessary to assume any Scand. influence (O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. *kleima,* Aasen, Swed. dial. *klēma*, Rietz, are possibly, themselves, loan-words from M. L. G. *klēmen*). Also N. E. dial. *clame, claim*, 'to smear, daub' (Wall p. 128, N. E. D., E. D. D.) are possibly from O. E. *clǣman.* Very difficult are also M. E. *gleyme* (of knyttinge or byndinge togedyrs) 'limus' Pr. P. p. 198, *gleym* 'birdlime, subtlety, craft' P. Pl. Creed v. 479, *gleymen* vb. 'to smear with birdlime' Pr. P., *glaymande* 'slimy' A. P. III 269, *englaymen, engleymen* 'to make clammy, besmear, to ensnare (catch with birdlime)' (see Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Skeat Gloss. to Alex. and Langl. P. Pl.), *gleymous* 'viscous, clammy' (cf. Cent. Dict. s. v. *glaim*, *glaimous*). No Scand. **gleim-* is known. Do the words depend on some Scand. formation with a *ga-* prefix to the root *laim-* (N. H. G. *Lehm*, O. H. G. *leimo*, O. E. *lām*, cf. M. L. G. *glemen* 'loam, clay', Lübben)? M. E. *engleimen* seems to point to Fr. influence.]

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[1]) Or is the word to be judged according to the possibilities laid down p. 4 foot-note 3? It may be noticed that the Orrm. has both *kāsere* and *keȝȝsere.*

[M. E. *leite* Laȝ. etc. *laite* Ayenb. etc., *late* Alex. (Sk.) etc., sb. 'a lightning' is not, as Skeat, Glossary to Alex. supposes, from O. W. Scand. *leiptr* 'a lightning' but from O. E. *lēȝet*, cf. Stratm.-Bradley].

M. E. *mayse* (of herynge) 'millenarius' Cath. Angl. p. 225[1]), early N. E. *maise* 'quingenta' Man. Voc., N. E. *mease* 'the quantity of 500': O. W. Scand. *meiss* 'a wooden box, a basket to carry fish', O. Swed., O. Dan. *mēs* 'basket, a measure (esp. of herrings)', Söderwall, Molbech's Glossarium, Kalkar; cf. O. H. G. *meisa* 'back-basket'.[2])

M. E. *quasi, quaisi* (15th century, see Stratm.-Bradley p. 490), N. E. *queasy*, as far as its etymology is concerned, is a very difficult word. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. p. 464, Et. D., derives it from Norw. dial. *kveis* 'sickness after a debauch' (Aasen), Icel. *kveisa, iðrakveisa* 'colic' (cf. M. E. *cweise* 'ulcer' p. 46). Although this may be right, it is curious that the N. E. form is *queasy*, not **quasy*, **quaisy*, and that the word rimes as early as the beginning of the 16th century with *easy*, (*esye*: *quesye* Play of Wit and Conscience).[3]) But this is perhaps to be accounted for by the dialectic development of M. E. *ā*, *ai* to an *ē*-vowel (cf. prec. word).[4])

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[1]) *ay* is in this text no proof of Scand. loan cf. *e. g. waynge tothe* p. 406, (< O. E. *wang tōþ*), *wase* (*wayse* A.) alga (< O. E. *wāse* 'mud, slime', but possibly as well from O. Scand. *veisa* 'pool of stagnant water').

[2]) For the etymology of the word, see Lidén, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIV p. 512 f., who has collected the uses of the word in different Teutonic languages but does not mention or discuss the English word. N. E. *mease* probably depends on some dialectal (Northern) development of M. E. *ā*, *ai* to an *ē*-vowel (cf. *bleak, queasy, weak, steak*).

[3]) Other early N. E. references are: *Queasy* Shakesp., *Quasy as meate or drinke is, dangereux* Palsgr., *queasy* Peacock, *quaisy* Ascham Toxophilus, *queasy* Massinger; see the Century Dictionary.

[4]) Is there any relationship between N. E. *queasy* and O. Fr. *quai(s)ser* (> M. E. *queissen* O. and N. 1388, cf. Behrens, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. frz. Sprache, p. 124, 131, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 974), the pret. partic. of which meant, just as Mod. Fr. *cassé* 'affaibli par l'âge, infirme' (cf. Halliwell: *queasy* 'squeamish, nice, delicate, sickish')? It would then, phonologically, be analogous to other French loan-words in *-ais-* (cf. Behrens, Beitr. p. 128, Paul's Grundriss² I p. 974 f., 976) and be a doublet to N. E. *quash*. Are N. E. *squash* and *squeeze* similar doublets (from O. Fr. *es-quasser, es-quai(s)ser*)? There are numerous words in the Teutonic languages which both as to sense and

[N. E. *raid*, see Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällskapets Förhandl. 1882—85 p. 145, Zupitza, Arch. LXXVI p. 216, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 496; not from Scand. *reið* as is assumed by Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 463, Et. D.]

[M. E. *scailen, schailen* 'to disperse' see Stratm.-Bradley. Is it connected with O. Fr. *escheiller* 'escalader'?].

[M. E. *skeȝȝrenn* 'to scatter' Orrm. could only be a loan-word containing Scand. *ei*, provided that *r* is < *z*, as in Scand. a Teut. *ai* becomes *ā* before an original (primitive) *r*. The word will be further dealt with in connection with Scand. *sk*.]

M. E. *steyke* 'carbonella, frixa' Pr. P. p. 473 is not quite certain Scand. (O. W. Scand. *steik*, O. Swed. *stēk*) because in Pr. P. *ey* may denote *ē* as in *fleyke* 'plecta' p. 165, *reyke* 'acervus' p. 428, *streyken* 'protendo' p. 479, *weyke* of a lamp 'lichinius, ticendulum' p. 520, etc.[1]); cf. Dial. Prov. p. 16 foot-note 4. In other M. E. and early N. E. texts the word is written *steke* as for which see p. 63.[2])

M. E. *sweyen* vb., N. E. *to sway*, M. E. *sweigh* sb. 'sway, movement': O. W. Scand. *sueigia*, O. Dan. *sveg(j)e*, see p. 62, foot-note.

[M. E. *sweype* 'ictus', *sweype, or swappe,* (*or strok, swype*) 'alapa', *sweype for a top* (*or scoorge*) 'flagellum' Pr. P. p. 482, need not be from O. W. Scand. *sveipr* 'a slinging, swinging, a sudden 'swoop', an accident, catastrophe etc.' but is rather to be considered the continuation of O. E. *swipe* 'whip, scourge, chastisement, affliction', *i* having, in an open syllable, become *ē*, cf. *spete* 'verutrum' Pr. P. p. 469 (cf. Luick, Arch. CII p. 73), *streke or longe drawthe* p. 479, *steke* 'to stick, stab', (< O. E. *stician,* but cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 152) p. 111, *sterynge* 'mocio, motus' p. 474, *wevyl* 'gurgulio' p. 523, perhaps also *flekeren* 'volito' p. 165 (< O. E. *flicerian*).[3]) — Possibly we have here two different

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form remind one of the Romance word-group (from Lat. *quassare, quatere*), as yet unexplained (cf. *e. g.* Doornkaat-Koolman s. v. *kwetsen*, Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *kvas, kvase*).

[1]) Sweet, Stud. A.-S Dict., is hardly right in assuming the O. E. form to have been *wice, weoce*. Cf. Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *wick*, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *Wiek*, Kluge Et. Wb. s. v. *Wieche*, Sarrazin, Archiv CI p. 68 foot-note. The Scand. forms of the word are not clear (cf. Jessen s. v. *Væge*).

[2]) N. E. dial. *steək* Windh. (Wright, p. 36) seems to depend on M. E. **staik*.

[3]) In words of this type the vowel seems to have been always short (cf. Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 93), and *e* in *flekeren* is therefore

words. *sweype* 'ictus, alapa' may actually be the Scand. word (= O. E. *swāp,* M. E. *swăp*); notice that the word is translated by *swap(pe)* in Pr. P., although also with *swipe* which may be either from O. E. *swipe* or from O. W. Scand. *svipa* 'a whip, blow, stroke (of a whip)'. *sweype* 'flagellum', on the other hand, is most probably from O. E. *swipe.* Dan. *svøbe* 'whip' may be from L. German, although possibly native.

N. E. *thwaite*, Skeat Princ. I E. Et. p. 464, Wall, Anglia XX p. 125, Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 326, etc.: O. W. Scand. *þveit*, Dan. *tved.*

O. E., M. E. *weilawei* etc., see p. 51 f.

M. E. *weiuen* Ch., *waiuen* Gaw., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B., Ayenb., Alex. (Sk.), Will., Hoccl. Reg. of Princ., Kath. etc. 'to waive, set aside, shun, move, send', N. E. *to waive*: O. W. Scand. *veifa* 'to swing, fling, cast', O. Swed. *vēva* 'to turn, twist'. Influence from O. Fr. *wayfer* 's'agiter', later form. *quesver* 'to waive, refuse' (Godefroy, cf. Skeat Et. Dict.), a Germanic loan-word, is to be presumed to a certain extent. Thus the sense 'to waive, refuse; resign' may be entirely from French,[1]) whereas in such phrases as *to waiue up the wiket* Langl. P. Pl. B. V 611, *he waiued his berd* Gaw. 306, Scand. influence is probable. — The true English form is O. E. *(be)wǣfan* 'wrap round, dress', M. E. *wę̄uen* 'to twist, shake, move', (cf. Goth. *biwaibjan* 'to wind round' etc.[2])

Scandinavian Monophthongisation of *ei.*

As has been already mentioned (p. 36 f.), the diphthong (*æi* >) *ei* was contracted in East Scand. into a close *ē* before literary times. In fact, there seem to be some Scand. loan-

probably to be otherwise explained. — In some of these words the *e*-vowel may perhaps also depend on O. E. *u*-mutation. — The analogous sound-change *ŭ*- > *ō*- has taken place in *cood* 'cud' Pr. P. p. 74 and probably also in *boole* 'taurus' p. 43 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 287, Arch. CII p. 76) and *dooke* 'anas' p. 125 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 290, Arch. l. c. and CIII p. 62).

[1]) M. E. *waif,* N. E. *waif* 'a thing abandoned, a thing found astray' is exclusively a French loan-word.

[2]) For related words in Teutonic languages, see Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 175, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *biwaibjan,* Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 178. — Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., combines O. E. *(be)-wǣfan* with O. E. *wefan.*

words in English, in which this East Scand. monophthongisation has taken place.[1])

As I have already else-where (Dial. Prov. p. 11 ff.) dealt with this question, I need not here discuss it in detail, but shall only have to repeat the chief results of my treatise, as far as this question is concerned.

The words which are to be taken into consideration, are:

M. E. *bētās* R. Br., 'a sailyard' (O. W. Scand. *beitiáss*, O. Swed. *bētās*).[2])

[M. E. *ēþen* Gaw. 379, 2467, *hēthen* Hav. 551 vb. 'to summon, conjure' is from O. E. **ǣðan* < **aiþjan*, not from Scand. *eiða*, see Zupitza, Anglia I p. 469 f., Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885 p. 83.]

[N. E. dial. *keak* 'to throw back the neck disdainfully'; although it is uncertain whether the vowel is from M. E. *ai* or *ē*, still it is probably from M. E. *ai*.]

M. E. *kēling, lobbe-keling* 'codfish, gadus', N. E. dial. *keelings* 'small codfish': O. W. Scand. *keila* 'gadus longus'.

M. E. *lēʒhe* Orrm. 'hire, daily pay', *lēʒhemenn* Orrm. 'hired servants': O. W. Scand. *leiga*, O. Dan., O. Swed. *lēgha*, *lēghæ*. As has been already pointed out (Dial. Prov. p. 11), the phonetic loan-word test is generally lost in the words in which the diphthong has been monophthongised, provided that the *ē*-vowel in the English words might be explained by assuming *i*-mutation of *ā*, and when there is no evidence whether the

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[1]) It may perhaps be of some interest in this matter that in O. Irish *hēle* 'spell, magic sentence' (O. W. Scand. *heill*, O. Swed. *hēl*) the East Scand. monophthongisation seems to have taken place, cf. Zimmer, K. Z. XXXIII p. 147 ff., 151 f.

[2]) The passage reads as follows: *some aforced the wyndas, some the lofe, some the betas*; it has not been noticed before, that this is actually a translation from Wace, Brut 11490 f.: *Li un s'enforcent al vindas, Li autre al lof, et al betas.* It is, therefore, very probable that *bētās*, as well as *windās*, has been introduced from Scand. into English through Norman French. — The combination of *bētās* with *windās* shows that the word *bētās* cannot, as is assumed by Godefroy s. v., be from the Spanish *betas* pl. 'pieces of cordage for serving as sorts of tackle', but that *-as* in *bētās* must mean the same as *-ās* in *windās.* — A careful investigation into Norman French would, no doubt, be very useful for the knowledge of Scandinavian and other Teutonic words, introduced into English through this language.

English *e*-vowel was originally close or open (the Scand. *ē*-vowel developed through the contraction was a close, the English *ē*-vowel arisen from *ā* through *i*-mutation was an open sound.). Still *lēȝhe* cannot be a native word. The native form strictly corresponding to the Scand. word (<**laiȝōn*), would in the Orrmulum have been **lāȝhe*, and, if we may assume the existence of an English *-jō*-stem (but there is no reason for doing so), this would in the Orrmulum have given **lǣȝhe.*[1])

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[1]) For *lay* 'hire' C. M., see Dial. Prov. p. 12. It may be added, that in such texts where O. E. *ēȝ, ǣȝ* has become *ey, ay* or where the phonetical value of such spellings as *eȝ, æȝ, eiȝ, æiȝ, ey* etc. cannot be with certainty ascertained, there is, of course, if *i*-mutation may be assumed, no test of loan, even if the Scand. word had been borrowed with the diphthong uncontracted. Thus *e. g. deye* in the works of Chaucer may, as far as its form is concerned, be derived from O. E. *dǣȝe* as well as from O. W. Scand. *deigja* or O. E. Scand. *dēghia; fay* 'doomed to die', Wars of Alex., may, from the point of view of form, be from O. E. *fǣȝe* as well as from O. W. Scand. *feigr* or O. E. Scand. *fēgher.* It is, therefore, difficult to determine, with certainty, the origin and the ground-form of M. E. *sweyen* vb. 'to go, walk, to incline to one side, etc.', M. E. *forswei* 'to go astray' M. E. *sweigh* sb. 'sway, movement' (most probably Scand.), cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 15. — Pret. sg. to O. E. *stīȝan,* M. E. *stī(ȝ)en,* in many texts, is *stegh, steich, steigh* (rime-word *sei* 'saw' pret. C. M.) etc. (see Wackerzapp, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Nordenglischen, Diss. Münster 1890 p. 25 ff., Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *stīȝen*). It is to be noticed, that the verb occasionally passed early into the second class of strong verbs, as did also, to some extent, M. E. *sīȝen, mīȝen* (cf. inf. *steghe, steȝe* etc., see Wackerzapp l. c. p. 25 ff., Stratm.-Bradley s. v., pret. sg. *þu stuhe* Jul. 62, 63, Kath. see Bülbring Gesch. des Ablauts p. 5, pret. partic. *stoȝen* Fer. 5027) cf. Bülbring, p. 87 f., Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 160, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 1069. There is no reason for believing that these forms depend on a Teut. **steugan.* The explanation of the transition of these verbs into the second class of strong verbs may be that given by Bülbring l. c., Kluge l. c. But also Scand. influence may have contributed to this transition. Pret. of Scand. *stīga, sīga, mīga* was **steih, *seih, *meih* > *stē, sē, mē* (> W. Scand. *sté*, East Scand. **stǣ* etc.), Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 409 Anm. 1; by way of generalisation *g* was introduced into the pret. from the other forms: O. Swed. pret. *stǣgh* (Söderwall); M. E. pret. sg. *stēȝ* if depending on Scand. influence, may in this case have caused the pret. plural to become *stuȝon*, prt. partic. to become *stoȝen* and the inf. *stēȝen* after the analogy of M. E. *bēȝ* (prt. sg.) : *buȝon* (prt. pl.) : *boȝen* (prt. partic.) : *bēȝen* (inf.) — I cannot here enter on pret. sg.-forms like M. E. *rais, draive, baid, scain* etc. (see Wackerzapp l. c.), which may in certain instances be due to Scand. influence, but which cannot be fairly dealt with without very

M. E. suff. *-lēc*: O. W. Scand. *-leikr*, O. E. Scand. *-lēker*, see Dial. Prov. p. 16.[1])

M. E. *rēne* 'border' Pall.: O. W. Scand. *rein*, O. E. Scand. *rēn*. But *ē* may be due to the O. E. loss of *ʒ* before a cons., cf. p. 38, foot-note 2, p. 55.

M. E. *steke* (cf. *steyke* above p. 59). As the result of the E. Scand. monophthongisation was a close *ē*-vowel, and as in the 16th and 17th centuries the word seems to have been pronounced with an open *ę̄* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 176 f.), possibly (as perhaps also *e* in M. E. *steke*) due to a dialectic development of M. E. *ai*, it is uncertain, whether M. E. *steke* was the Scand. monophthongised form or whether it was not rather pronounced *stę̄ke*, in which case it cannot have contained the Scand. *ē* developed through the Scand. monophthongisation. As for O. E. *staʒan*, supposed by Kluge to have represented a pronunciation *staikan* from Scand. *steikja*, see p. 39.

N. E. dial. *tye*, *tie* 'a pasture', see Dial. Prov. p. 15.

2. Scand. *øy*, *ey*.

Teutonic *au* has in O. English become *ēa*, the *i*-mutation of which is W. Saxon *īe* (*ī*, *ȳ*), Kentish, Anglian *ē* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 159, 4). In W. Scandinavian *au* is kept as a diphthong (*au*, *ǫu*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 96); in E. Scandinavian it is monophthongised into an open *ø*-sound (in Danish about 1050, in Swedish later, see Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 594, = § 156, Wimmer, Da. Runem. I p. 13, Altschwed. Gramm. § 123). The *i*-mutation of the Scand. diphthong is in W. Scand. *øy*, *ey* kept as a diphthong (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 97), in East Scand. it is *øy* which is monophthongised into a close *ø*-sound (in

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specialised researches into the history of English verb inflexions, which do not enter into the scope of this treatise.

[1]) It is possible that the weaker stress of the suffix has contributed to the monophthongisation. Other cases in which Scand. *ei* was weakly stressed, may be:

1. M. E. *brandrethe, brandereth* (also *brandrythe*) 'tripos, gridiron', N. E. D., N. E. Dial. *brandreth*, *brandre* etc., E. D. D., Wall p. 92, Pegge, Derbycisms (E. D. S. No. 78) p. 8 (: O. W. Scand. *brandreið*); but the vowel (*e*) may depend on the influence of O. E. *brandrida*, O. E. *i* having become already M. E. *e* owing to weak stress.

2. N. E. dial. *-lids*, see Wall, p. 110.

Danish between 1050—1200, in Swedish about 1200, Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 594 = § 157, Altschwed. Gramm. § 126). The appearance in English of sounds which may be derived from the O. Scand. diphthongs *au*, *ǫu*, *øy*, *ey*, but not from O. E. *ēa* and its *i*-mutation, in words which contain a Teutonic *au*, is therefore a test of Scand. origin. We will first treat of the latter Scand. diphthong viz. that which has arisen through *i*-mutation (*øy*, *ey*), as far as it occurs in Scand. loan-words in English.

The only Scand. word known in O. E. containing the Scand. diphthong being the proper name *Leisingebi*, *Laisingbi* (cf. O. W. Scand. *løysingi* 'freedman', see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 101), we pass on directly to Middle English.[1])

M. E. *ay* 'ever', see p. 40.

M. E. *kairen*, *cairen* vb. 'to go, return; to bring (trans.)' Spec. of Lyr. P. 37 (first known use), Ant. Arth. 53, Langl. P. Pl., Gaw., A. P., Will., Alex. and Dind., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc. (see Dictionaries), N. E. dial. *cair* 'to push forwards and backwards', (Jamieson, E. D. D., N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *køyra* 'to move, urge (tr.); to go on horse-back, ride, run (intr.)', O. Swed. *kōra* 'to move, drive away (tr.); to move, ride (intr.)'. No corresponding native word is known.

M. E. *laisen* vb. 'to deliver, loose from' C. M. (by the side of *lausen*, *lēsen*), see Kaluzas Glossary to C. M.: O. W. Scand. *løysa*, O. E. Scand. *lōsa* 'to loose, release, deliver' (= O. E. *líesan*, M. E. *lēsen* 'release, deliver').

M. E. *maʒʒ* Orrm., *may* *e. g.* Laʒ. (first text; second text *maide*), Amad. 53, Gaw., Lang. P. Pl. A., Ch., Metr. Hom. etc. (see Mätzner, Wb., Stratm.-Bradley) 'maid, virgin' in some texts may, from its form, be from O. E. *mǣʒ* 'woman, kinswoman' (see Bosw.-Toller) as well as from O. Scand. (obl. cas.) *møyj-* (< **maujō-*) 'maid, virgin'[2]) which is quite unrelated

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[1]) As for O. E. *ȳre* (Grey Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 1130) and its relationship to O. Scand. *øyrer*, O. E. *lýsing* (Steenstrup l. c.), see p. 11. As for the question whether the Scand. diphthong was, before the transition of M. E. *ei* > *ai*, represented in English by *ei* or *ai*, the material is too scarce to allow of any conclusions.

[2]) As for the nom. O. W. Scand. *mǽr* (O. Dan. *mār*), see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 68, 2, 69, 253, 1, 318 Anm. 1.

to O. E. *mǣȝ*. But it is quite certain that the Scand. word is the source of the word in the Orrmulum, because O. E. *mǣȝ* in this monument has become *mēȝhe* 'cousin, relation (female)' (White-Holt's Glossary p. 495, cf. Brate l. c. p. 51, 585).[1]) No native word, etymologically exactly corresponding, is known. The sense 'maid, virgin' makes it probable, if not certain, that the word is from Scand. also in texts where it may, from its form, be from O. E. *mǣȝ*.[2])

M. E. *nait* adj. 'useful, vigorous' D. Troy. 3878, *naitly* adv. 'dexterously, quickly' A. P., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Scand. *nøytr* 'fit, useful'; der. *unnait* 'useless' Ps. II, 1 (earliest occurrence of this word-group), *unneite* A. R., *unnaite* adv. C. M.; *naiten* vb. 'to use' Perc., A. P., D. Erk., Gaw., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Scand. *nøyta* 'to make use of, profit', O. Swed. *nø̄ta* 'to use, enjoy, tear'; cf. Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. I p. 118.

M. E. *snaipen* 'to nip, check' C. M., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.), N. E. dial. *snape* 'to check, chide, snub' Wall, p. 120, M. E. *snaipeli* adv. 'disgracefully' Ant. Arth. VII: O. W. Scand. *snøypa* 'to dishonour, outrage', O. Swed. *snø̄pa* 'to castrate', O. W. Scand. *snøypiliga* 'disgracefully'.[3])

M. E. *traisten* 'to trust, confide' C. M., Pr. C., *trasten* Langl. P. Pl. (see Luick, Unters. p. 198) etc., R. Brunne Chr. (rime-word *fraist*, cf. Sweet H. E. S. p. 317), *traistinge* sb. 'confidence' Hamp. Ps., *traistly* adv. 'trustfully' Hamp. Ps., *traistness* sb. 'confidence' Hamp. Ps.: O. W. Scand. *trøysta* 'to trust, confide', O. Swed. O. Dan. *trøsta* O. Swed. *trøstelika* etc.; see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff.

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[1]) In this point I am obliged to disagree with Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941, in case M. E. *may*, supposed by him to be ambiguous as to its origin, is meant to include also Orrm's *maȝȝ*.

[2]) If *may* did not so often occur in M. E., I should feel inclined to suspect *maȝȝ* in the Orrmulum to be put for *maȝȝþ* in the sentence (v. 2489 f.): *þatt clēne maȝȝ þatt shollde bēn Allmahhtiȝ Godess mōderr* (*maȝȝ þatt* < *maȝȝþ þatt*), cf. v. 2497 f.: *annd bāþe leddenn i maȝȝþhād all þeȝȝre līf till ēnde.*

[3]) There seem also to have been forms of this word-group in Scand. with the diphthong *ei* (cf. Johannsson, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XIV p. 362 ff., Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 68), but as *øy* is the normal vowel, I give the word here.

Before an original *ʒ i̯*, the test is, as a rule, lost, as will be shown by the following examples:

[M. E. *beyl* Bokenh. etc. (see Mätzner, Wb., N. E. D.), *bayle* N. E. D. 'hoop or ring, hoop-handle of a kettle', N. E. dial. *bail* 'the curved handle of a bucket', etc. (E. D. D.),[1]) may, as far as the form of the word goes, be from a Scand. **bøygill*, **bøygla* (cf. O. Swed. *bøghil*, early Dan. *bøjel, bøgel, bøile*, see Tamm, Sv. Etymol. Ordb. p. 74, (Lindgren, Svenska Landsmålen XII, I p. 118); this is the explanation given by the N. E. D. But it may quite as well be from a (**baugil-* >) O. E. **bēʒel* > *beil* or from a (**bugil-* >) O. E.* *bĕʒel* (cf. Luick, Anglia, Beiblatt 1897, Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Et. s. v. *bail.*) Moreover the E. Scand. *bøghil*, *bøile* etc. seem to be borrowed from L. German (cf. Tamm l. c.). English origin of this word is also made likely by the related Engl. dial. *bool* 'the curved handle of a bucket', for which see E. D. D. s. v., Luick, Unters. p. 286].

M. E. *dēʒen* 'to die' may, as far as the form is concerned, be English as well as Scand., but is probably Scand., see Dial. Prov. p. 12 ff.

M. E. *fley* 'ship' Oct. 1483, 1671: O. W. Scand. *fley* f. and n. 'navigium, liburna', Mod. Færøish *floy* 'ship, vessel' (Hammershaimb, Fær. Anth. II), O. Swed. *fløghskip*, *fløghisskip* (Söderwall). This word is, as to its form, quite analogous to *dēʒen*, the ground-form being **flaujo-* n. or *flaujô* f. (for the etymology of the word, see Karsten, Studier öfver de nordiska språkens primära nominalbildning, Helsingfors 1895, p. 108). As it is only recorded in Scand. and M. English, it may be from Scand.

[M. E. *grei* 'badger, taxus', M. E. *grei-hund* etc., N. E. *greyhound* (see Mätzner, Stratm.-Bradley) are not from O. W. Scand. *grøy* 'a bitch; a vile person', *grøyhundr* 'a bitch' (not 'a greyhound'); the Scand. word, which is only recorded in O. W. Scand. and does not occur in any living dialect, neither meant 'a badger' nor 'a greyhound'. I do not see why this Engl. *grai* may not be the adj. 'gray'. — O. W. Scand. *grøy* 'bitch', too, seems to have originally meant 'a gray animal'

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[1]) Another early instance of the word, not given by the N. E. D., I have found in Riley's Liber Albus III p. 294: *bailles* 'hoops nailed at the side of a vessel for the support of an awning or tilt', which, although occurring in an Anglo-French text, is nevertheless the English word.

(cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 59); cf. O. W. Scand. *grøybaka* 'a bitch', literally 'gray-back'].

Analogous to these words is, although in the Scand. word the diphthong is not followed by a *ȝ* or *ḭ*, M. E. *leinen, lainen* 'to hide, conceal' (: O. Scand. *løyna* 'to hide, conceal'), which, as far as the form goes, cannot be discriminated from the related native *leinen, lainen* 'to deny' < O. E. (Angl.) *lēȝnian* 'to deny';[1]) cf. Luick, Unters. p. 93. But the unmistakable Scand. sense 'to hide' proves, in many cases, Scand. origin; thus *e. g.* is *layne* C. M. 2738 (Gött. MS.), where the other MSS., have *hele* or *hide*, undoubtedly the Scand. word; other examples are C. M. 9299, Ant. Arth. VII. 5.

M. E. *may*, see p. 64 f. — But *maȝȝ* in the Orrmulum is unmistakably Scand.

As for the presumptive monophthongisation of Scand. *øy* in a couple of words, see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 12 ff.

A few words which do not occur till N. E. times, but which very probably are Scand. loan-words with *øy*, may here be mentioned.

N. E. dial. *air* (Wm., Lanc., cf. E. D. D.) 'a sandbank, or ridge, made by the action of water': O. W. Scand. *øyrr* sandbank' (O. Swed. *ør*, Dan. dial. *ør* 'sand, gravel' may be equivalent to O. W. Scand. *aurr*, cf. Rydquist, Ordb.).

Early Mod. E. *baste* (see N. E. D.), N. S. dial. *baste* 'to thrash, flog, beat soundly': O. W. Scand. *bøysta,* O. Swed. *bøsta*, O. Dan. *bøste* 'to beat, flog'. But other derivations of the English word are possible, see N. E. D., Wall, p. 90. Still the deriv. from Scand. seems to me to be the best one.

N. E. *ran-tree* 'mountain-ash', see Scand. *ǫu, au.*

N. E. dial. *raise* Cum. 'a cairn, mound': O. W. Scand. *hrøysi*, Swed. *röse*, see Wall, p. 114.

N. E. dial. *staip* 'to overturn a cart': O. W. Scand. *støypa,* O. Swed. *stø̄pa* etc., see Wall, p. 122.

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[1]) As for the relation between O. W. Scand. *løyna*, O. Swed. *løna* vb. 'to conceal', O. W. Scand. *laun* 'secret' etc. (without *g*) and O. E. *līeȝnian, lēȝnian* 'to deny', Goth. *liugn* etc., see *e. g.* Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 47, 178, Kluge, Et. D. s. v. *läugnen.*

3. Scand. *ǫu, au.*

The different developments of Teutonic *au* in English and Scand., when no *i*, *i̯* followed, have already been mentioned (p. 63 f.) It is a very good test of loan when a word in English shows, not the vowel corresponding to O. E. *ēa*, M. E. *ę̄*, but instead a vowel which is easily explained as a continuation on English ground of a Scand. *ǫu*, *au*. This Scand. diphthong appears in O. E. as *ou*, *au* or *ō*, M. E. *ou*, *au*, *ǭ* (cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.). In some cases which will be discussed later on, it is difficult to decide whether the letter *o* denotes an O. E. *ō*, M. E. *ǭ* (< Scand. *au*, *ou*), or O. E. *ŏ* (< *u* through *a*-mutation), M. E. *ǭ* (or M. E. *ŭ*), depending on ablaut, in which latter case there is, of course, no phonetic test of Scand. origin. As there are very few rimes to draw conclusions from, we must content ourselves with the spelling.

I begin here with giving the whole material.

Words recorded in O. E.

a) Proper names as *Auðcetel, Oudcytel, Othgrim, Asȝout, Oustman* etc., see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.

b) O. W. Scand. *kaup*, O. Swed. *kø̄p* 'purchase, bargain' (= O. E. *cēap*, M. E. *chę̄pe*, perhaps from Lat. *caupo* etc., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 38, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *cheap*, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *cheap*; but cf. Franck, Anz. f. d. Altert. XXI p. 299 f.): O. E. *-cōp* in *lahcōp* 'payment made for reentry into legal rights which have been lost', *landcōp* 'a fine or tax paid when land was purchased', see Bosw.-Toller, Steenstrup Danelag, Siev., Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934. O. E. *caupland,* see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 189.

O. W. Scand. *laup* sb.: O. E. *-lop* (*ō* or *ŏ*?), see p. 71 foot-note.

O. W. Scand. *aurar* pl., O. Swed., O. Dan, *ø̄re* (a species of money): O. E. *ōra*, see Bosw.-Toller, Skeat, Princ. II p. 45, Sievers l. c., Kluge l. c., Steenstrup, Danelag p. 172; cf. O. E. *ȳre*: O. W. Scand. *eyrir* (from Lat. *aureus*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 328, 334, 349), see p. 11.

O. W. Scand. *rauðr*, O. Swed. *rø̄dher*: O. E. *rōda* 'the red' in names, as *Atser rōda* (p. 24), cf. Sievers, Paul and Braune's

Beitr. IX p. 197, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Zupitza, Anglia, Anz. VII p. 155; cf. M. E. *rauþ* p. 72.

For O. E. (or early M. E.) *þoh*, see p. 72. ff.

Words recorded in M. E.

O. W. Scand. *blautr*, O. Swed. *blōter*, O. Dan. *bløøt* 'soft, moist' (= O. E. *blēat* 'bringing misery', M. E. *blę̄t* 'wretched'): *ou*: M. E. *bloute* 'soft' Hav. 1910 (rime-word *rowte* see p. 72). *ō*: M. E. *blōte* 'soft with moisture, mellow' (the sense may be something like this but cannot be exactly determined), Rel. Ant. II 176 (= *of men lif* in Early Engl. Poems and Lives of Saints XIII 154).[1])

O. W. Scand. *daunn*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *døn* sb. 'smell': *ou* (*ow*): M. E. *dowwnenn* (Orrm.) vb. 'to smell', formed from an unrecorded M. E. sb. **dowwn*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 39.

O. W. Scand. *glaumr* 'noise, joy': *au*: M. E. *glaumen* vb. 'make a noise, yelp' Gaw. 46, formed to an unrecorded M. E. **glaum* sb. 'noise'.

O. W. Scand. *gaukr*, O. Swed. *gøker*, O. Dan. *gøk* 'cuckoo' (= O. E. *ʒēac*): *ou* (*ow*): *gowke* 'cuckoo' D. Arth. 927, *goukou* Langl. P. Pl. C. XIV 120. *au*: *gaukpyntil* 'arum maculatum' Leech. III p. 319, 327. *ō*: *gōke* 'cuckoo, fool', Rel. Ant. I 291, *gōki* 'fool' Langl. P. Pl. B. XI 299. N. E. (dial.) *gowk*, *gawk* 'cuckoo, fool' cf. Stratmann, E. St. V p. 371, Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 154, Skeat, Princ. I p. 463, Wall, p. 104 (as for N. E. *gawk, gawky,* which may in part be a different word, is to be compared N. E. D. s. v., Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 278).

O. W. Scand. *gaula* 'to howl': *ou*: M. E. *goulen*, *ʒoulen,* Hav., Pr. C., Rel. Ant. I 291, Ch. Kn. T. 470. Wicl. etc., see Dictionaries. *au*: M. E. *gawlen, ʒaulen* Gaw., Ant. Arth., Ms. in Halliw. Dict., D. Troy. N. E. to *yawl, yowl,* N. E. dial. *gowl, goole* Halliw., Wall p. 104.[2])

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[1]) As for N. E. *bloat* (*herring*) which is perhaps from the same Scand. word, see N. E. D. — As for M. E. preter. sg. *crōp*, (*bi*)*lōc* Gen. and Ex. 2687, Laʒ. etc., *sōc*, *schōf* two of which Stratmann E. St. V p. 371 explains from Scand., see N. E. D. s. v. *to creep,* Bülbring p. 94 f.

[2]) *ʒ* in *ʒoulen, ʒaulen* seems to be due to the influence of such words as M. E. *ʒellen*, cf. *ʒaule and ʒelle* Gaw. 1452, *ʒauland with many*

O. W. Scand. *gaum, gaumr*, O. Swed. *gøm* 'heed, attention' (= O. E. *ȝīeme* f. 'care'): *ō*: M. E. *gōm* sb. 'care, heed, attention' Orrm., R. Gl., (rime-word *cōme* pret.), Fer., etc., see Dictionaries; cf. Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 155. N. E. dial. *gaum*, *gawm*, *gome* vb. sb. Wall p. 131, Wright, Windh. dial. p. 53, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] II p. 867 and foot-note.

O. W. Scand. *gaupn*, O. Swed. *gøpen* 'the hollow of the hand': *ou*: *goupines* 'double handful' Voc. ed. Wright 1857 p. 147. Early N. E. *goping*, *goppen*, *gowpen*, see Way Pr. P. p. 537 foot-note 3, N. E. dial. *gowpen* Wall p. 101.

O. W. Scand. *haugr*, O. Swed. *høgher*, O. Dan. *høi* 'hill': *ō* (?): M. E. *hogh* C. M. 15826 (rime-word *wogh* 'harm, injustice'), *hoo* York Pl. IV 36, *hoes* pl. Ant. Arth. V (rime-words *scoghes* 'groves', *squoes* (pres.) 'flows with noise' (?), *groes* (pres.) 'grows'), *hough* Life of St. Cuthb. Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195. N. E. dial. *how*, *hoe* 'round hillock' Wall p. 107.

O. W. Scand. *kaupa*, O. Swed. *køpa* (cf. p. 68) 'to buy' (= O. E. *cēapan* 'to buy'): *ou*: M. E. *coupe* 'to pay for, buy dearly'[1]) Hav. 1800 (rime-word *loupe*); cf. O. E. *-cōp* p. 68. N. E. dial. *cowp*, *coop*, *coup*, early N. E., N. E. dial. *cope* 'to exchange, barter', see E. D. D., Wall p. 94.[2])

O. W. Scand. *laun*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *løn* 'reward' (= O. E. *lēan*, M. E. *lę̄n*): *ō*: M. E. *lōne* 'reward' M. Arth. 1124 (rime-words *bǭne*, *sǭne*, *dǭne*), cf. Seyferth, Diss. Berl. 1894—95 p. 37.

O. W. Scand. *hlaupa* vb. 'to leap', *hlaup* sb., O. Swed. *løpa*, O. Dan. *løpe* etc. (= O. E. *ȝehlēapan*): *ou*: M. E. *loupen* vb.

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loude ȝelles Ant. Arth. VII; cf. Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, p. 89. It is curious that in a Swed. dial. the word has initial *j* instead of an expected *g*, see Lindgreen, Sv. Ldsm. XII, 1 p. 117. Relationship to Germ. *jolen, joulen, jaulen, jölen* (Grimm)? O. W. Scand. *gola* has a short *ŏ*, not *ō*, as Wall l. c. assumes, and is hardly the source of N. E. dial. *goole.*

[1]) Cf. M. E. *abyen* in the same sense Ch., Kn. T. 1445.

[2]) M. E. *cōpe* Lidg. Min. Poems 105 (: *Fleminges began on me for to cry, Master what will you copen or by*) may be the Low Germ. (Flemish) word, cf. N. E. D. s. v.; in some Mod. dial., too, the word, as far as it corresponds to M. E. *cōpen,* may naturally be from L. Germ. *kōpen,* although the distribution in general in the dialects shows the word to be at least mainly Scand.; notice that the word also occurs as a loan-word from L. Germ. in some Fries. dialects, Siebs, Engl.-Fries. Spr. I p. 287.

Hav. 1801 (rime-word *coupe*, see p. 70), *loup* sb. Barb. XIII 652. *ō*: M. E. *to lōpe* 'salire, saltare' Cath. Angl. p. 220.[1]) N. E. dial. *loup*, *lope*, *lawp*, see Stratmann, E. St. V p. 371, Wall p. 111.

O. W. Scand. *lauss*, O. E. Scand. *lø̄s* adj. 'loose' (= O. E. *lēas* 'devoid of'): *ou*: M. E. *lous, lows* adj. 'loose' Petw. MS. of Ch. C. T. A. 4064, MS. of A. R., D. Erk. 165, 178, C. M. (always *ou* in Cott., Gött. and Trin. MSS., whereas Fairf. has *lous* and *laus*), M. E. *lousen, lowsen* vb. 'set free, loose' Wicl., Perc., Oct., Aud, Flor., Trev., Pr. C. etc. *au*: M. E. *laus* adj. MSS. of Ch. C. T., D. Troy, C. M. (MS. Fairf.), M. E. *lausen* vb. Gaw., A. P. *ō*: M. E. *lōs* adj. P. S. 339, Ch. Cant. T. (rime-word *goose*), Pr. P. p. 310, Arth. and Merl., etc. M. E. *lōsen* 'set free', *e. g.* Pr. P. p. 313. — See Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 152 ff., Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 545, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 187, 368. N. E. dial. *lowse* 'to release', see Wall p. 111; cf. Murray, Dial. S. Count. of Scotl. p. 148 (in which the word shows the same vowel as native words containing O. E. *oʒ*, *ow*, M. E. *ou*, *ow*).

O. W. Scand. *nauðsyn*, O. Swed. *nøþsyn* 'necessity, want': *ou*: M. E. *nowcin* Marh. I, Kath. 1698, Sawles Warde ed. Morris Misc. p. 255, C. M. 5372. *ō*: M. E. *nocin* C. M. 5802. — Cf. Zupitza, Academy XXVI 1884 p. 11.

O. W. Scand. *naut*, O. E. Scand. *nø̄t* sb. 'cattle' (= O. E. *nēat*): *ou*: (*oww*): M. E. *nowwt* Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 52), *nout*

[1]) Forms with *o* (M. E. *lope* sb. Gow. I, 310, M. E. *overlop* 'omission' M. H. 32, M. E. *landloper* 'pilgrim' Langl. P. Pl. B.) do not necessarily depend on Scandinavian forms in *au* but might represent the ablaut *lop* (< *lup*, cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *loopen*, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *laufen*); still Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 123, Anm. 1 derives O. Swed. *lop*(*p*) sb. from L. Germ. *lōp* (< **hlaup*). O. E. *brȳdhlop* Rush.[2] (Lindelöf Glossar p. 12), *brȳdlopp* Durh. B., O. E. Chron. 1076 MS. D. (*at þæm brȳdlope æt Norðwī*) may also depend on ablaut. — Still all these words in *o* seem to me to be from Scand. (in *au*), although there is no absolute evidence of their being so, as it cannot be with absolute certainty decided, whether the O. E. word had originally ō or ŏ and whether the M. E. words had ọ̄ or ǭ. As for O. E. *brȳd*(*h*)*lop*, it may be remarked that this word seems to have had originally *au* in all Teutonic Languages where it occurs (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *bröllop*; as for O. Swed. *brøllop* by the side of *brølløp*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 81 b), and as the O. E. word cannot be derived from O. E. *brȳdhlēap*, it is most probably of Scand. origin. — N. E. *gantlope* may be a loan-word of later introduction, cf. N. E. D. Is A. Fr. *aloper* (> *elope*, see N. E. D. s. v.) from M. E. to *lōpe?*

Ps. CXLIII 14. *au*: M. E. *naute* Amad. (R.) XV. N. E. dial. *nowt* sb. 'cattle', see Wall p. 113.

O. W. Scand., Runic Swedish *auk* 'also' (= O. E. *ēac*): *ō*: M. E. *ōk* Hav. 1081 etc. (rime-words *bōk*, *tōk*, *cōk*).[1])

O. W. Scand. *raust*, O. E. Scand. *rǿst* 'voice': *ou* (*oww*): M. E. *rowwst* Orrm., *rowste* Alex. (Sk.) 488.

O. W. Scand. *rauta*, O. Swed. *rǿta* vb. 'to low, roar': *ou*: M. E. *routen* Hav. 1911 (rime-word *bloute*, see p. 69), A. P. III 186, Av. Arth. XII, Hamp. Ps. N. E. dial. *roət* 'to bray' Wright, Windh. Dial. p. 55.

O. W. Scand. *rauðr*, O. E. Scand. *rǿdher* adj. 'red' (= O. E. *rēad*): *au*: M. E. *rauþ* Gaw. 2204 (cf. O. E. *rōda* p. 68).

O. Scand. **skauta*, ablaut to O. W. Scand. *skota* in *skotan* sb. 'shoving, pushing': *au*: M. E. **skauten* in *skautand* pres. partic. 'pushing, darting violently' Alex. (Sk.) 4200.

O. W. Scand. *saumr*, O. Swed. *sǿmber* 'seam' (= O. E. *sēam*): *ō*: M. E. *sōm* (written *soim*) sb. 'trace of a cart' Barb., see Stratm.-Bradley. N. E. dial. *sowm*, *soam*, *soom* sb. 'rope, cart-trace', Wall p. 121.

O. W. Scand. *saurr*, O. Swed. *sør* sb. 'dirt': *ou*: M. E. *sowre*, sb. Pr. P. p. 466, *sowry* adj. Pr. P. p. 466. *ō*: M. E. *soore* sb. Pr. P. p. 466. N. E. dial. *saur* 'urine from the cow-house', *soor* 'mud, dirt', Halliwell.

O. W. Scand. *souðr* sb. 'sheep, cattle', O. Swed. *sǿdher*: *ou* (*oww*): M. E. *sowwþ* 'sheep' Orrm., see Brate l. c. p. 58.

O. W Scand. *vindauga*, Dan. *vindue* (*-auga* = O. E. *ēaȝe*):[2]) *ō* (?), cf. Hupe, Cursor, Studies p. 165: M. E. *windoge* Gen. and Ex. 602, *windohe* MS. of A. R., *window(e)* A. P., Gaw., Langl. P. Pl., C. M., Wr. Voc. 667, 33, 582, 34, Mand. 216, Pr. P., etc., *wyndoe* Wr. Voc. 732, 29, N. E. *window*.

Under this heading a word may be treated which contained originally the diphthong *ou* in Scandinavian, but which

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[1]) M. E. *occ* Orrm. is from Scand. *ŏk* (as for which see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 81, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 122, 2). In other references the quantity of the vowel cannot be determined : *oc* Gen. and Ex., Rel. Ant. I, 210, Best. 70. The words *ōc*, *ŏc* only occur in East or North Midland texts, cf. Morris Preface to Gen. and Ex. p. XVIII.

[2]) The Scand. word is also introduced from Scand. into Irish, see Craigie, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. X p. 157.

was liable to a Scandinavian sound-change before its introduction into English; this word is O. E. (or early M. E.) *þoh* Chro. (see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), M. E. *þohh* Orrm., *ðog* Gen. and Ex., *þou* Hav., *thogh* Ch. etc., *þouȝe* Langl. P. Pl. B., Engl. Gilds p. 75, *þof* C. M. (see Dictionaries, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 354), N. E. *though*. In Scandinavian, *au* before *h* became very early monophthongized into *ō*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 58, Altschwed. Gr. § 81. It is not possible to decide whether the short *ŏ* in M. E. *þohh* (Orrm)[1]) depends on a shortening already existing in Scandinavian (O. Scand. *þō* may be from **þŏh* as well as from **þōh*) or whether the shortening did not take place until the word had been introduced into English. This shortening, of course, was due to weak stress in the sentence.[2]) The true English form O. E. *þēah* also underwent a shortening as to its vowel, owing to the same cause. Thus O. E. *þēah* became, when weakly stressed, *þĕah* > *þæ̆h*, which is the ground-form of such forms as M. E. *þah, þaȝ,* M. E. *þauh* A. R., Laȝ., etc. (cf. Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 72); cf. M. E. *sauh* < *sah* < *sæh,* pret. 'saw'. It is therefore possible that *ō* was not shortened until after the word had been introduced into English. There is naturally no reason to assume L. Germ. origin, as has often been done (thus *e. g.* ten Brink, Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Altert. XIX p. 221 note, Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 169), nor can the word possibly be from O. E. *þēah* as has also been supposed (thus *e. g.* Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 153 foot-note, Skeat, Et. D.). — There is also no reason to doubt that the original vowel of the word was *au*. Feist, Grundr. der Got. Etymologie p. 120, thinks that the Goth. word was pronounced *þaúh* from **þuh*. Holthausen, Literaturbl. für Germ. und Rom. Phil. XII p. 341 adopts Feist's opinion and says: 'Ne. *though* braucht nicht mit Brate auf urn. *þōh* zurückgeführt zu werden'. If I am not mistaken, Holthausen by this means to say that O. E. *þoh* etc. is to be derived from a base **þŏh* (**þuh*?). Also Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. thinks that the ground-form of O. Scand. *þō* was **þoh*.

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[1]) Although in some cases the quantity of *o* cannot be decided, the vowel seems to have been once short in this word everywhere in English, as there is no evidence of any O. E. *þōh*.

[2]) Cf. O. H. G. *dŏh* with *ŏ* shortened from *ō*, Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVI p. 247.

But as there is no evidence of any other Teutonic ground-form than **þauh*, and as the word is in all Teut. Languages easily derived from this form, there is no reason to doubt that the ground-form of O. E. *þoh* is also from the same base *þauh*; and if this be right, the English word can only be explained as a Scand. loan-word.[1]) That Scand. *þō* was from *þōh* < **þauh* is also made probable by the related O. W. Scand. *þøygi.* — The only argument that could be raised against the derivation of the word from Scandinavian is that in other Scand. loan-words *h* is lost in this position (thus M. E. *wrā, spā* etc., see later on) but not in *þoh.* But as the word cannot possibly be of native origin, the only way of solving this difficulty seems to be to assume that the word was introduced into English at an earlier time than *wrā, spā* etc.[2])

To this list I add a few English words, some of which may be from Scandinavian words containing *ǫu, au,* although I am not sure that they really are so. Those within brackets are, in my opinion, not Scandinavian.

O. W. Scand. *aur-* (< **aƀur-*, Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. VI p. 312, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 130, Detter, Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Altert. XLII p. 53 ff.): M. E. *awwerrmōd* (Orrm) according to Kluge, Herrig's Arch. CII p. 153. — Ibid. CI p. 370 I had ventured another explanation (from O. E. *āwerdmōd*), against which Kluge l. c. has argued that the stress then would be expected to be on the second syllable (**āwĕ́rd*), not on the first. This objection, of course, makes my explanation very problematic and it is possible that Kluge's explanation is the right one. Still it might perhaps be said in defence of my explanation that most compounds in Old and Middle English, the first part of which was a word of two syllables, had the stress on the first syll-

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[1]) Scand. origin is assumed by Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] II p. 547, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 72, Anglia Beiblatt VII p. 335, Kluge, Paul's Grundriss p. 936, 1004. — Even if the Scand. groundform were **þoh* (= Goth. **þaúh*, Teut. **þuh*), it would be necessary to assume Scand. origin because the corresponding native form then would have been O. E. **þuh.*

[2]) Or is the loss of *h* in *wrā, spā* etc. due to inflected forms in which *h* was in the position between two vowels? In this case *h* naturally remained in *þoh* where it was always final; see consonants.

able, *e. g.* O. E. *ǣfen-tīd, hālig-dæg, hǣþen-dōm,* and that when the etymology of the first part of **āwér(d)mōd* grew obscure, the stress might easily have been shifted to the first syllable owing to the influence of such compounds as *ǣfen-tīd* etc. To Kluge's etymology might perhaps be objected that there is no other case in the Orrmulum or elsewhere in English where O. Scand. *au* has become *awwe-* (two syllables!); what we should have expected, would have been M. E. **awwr-* (or **owwr-*, **ōr-*) or (if O. Scand. **aƀur* had not at the time when the word would be supposed to have been borrowed become *aur-*) M. E. **aferr-*.[1])

O. W. Scand. *auðr* 'void, desolate': M. E. *authly* 'sadly' (?) Alex. (Sk.) 3234 (Ashm. MS.). The meaning is not quite clear (the Dubl. MS. has *trewly*) and therefore the connection with the Scand. word somewhat doubtful.

O. W. Scand. *baula,* O. Swed. *bøla* 'to low as a cow': M. E. *bawlen* 'to bark as a dog' Pr. P. p. 20, N. E. dial. *bawl* 'to cry out, scream, weep, to low as a cow'; but compare Med. Lat. *baulare* 'latrare et est proprie canum' (Du Cange) which occurs as early as in an 11th or 12th century list of cries of animals (cf. N. E. D.).

[Norw. *bausta* 'to pop out (a word)' (cf. Norw. *baus* 'haughty, proud', Germ. dial. *bausten* 'turgere', etc., see Wadstein, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XXIII p. 239): M. E. *bǭst* sb. 'loud noise; of the voice, outcry, clamour; threatening menace; vaunt, brag; ostentation, pomp, vain glory', *bǭsten* vb. 'to threaten, speak ostentatiously' R. Gl. (first known use), K. Alis. (rime-word *oost* 'host'), Arth. and Merl. (rime-word *ost* 'host'), C. M., A. P. etc., see N. E. D. This word cannot represent an O. E. **bāst-,* nor O. E. **bōst-,* nor O. E. **bŏst-,* see N. E. D. Therefore Murray thinks it to be from some word of later (foreign) introduction. Naturally then one might easily suppose it to be a loan from the Scand. word. But as the M. E. word had *ǭ,* and M. E. *ō* from O. Scand. *ǫu, au* seems always to have been close, it is not very probable that the word is from the Scand. one. The suggestion of Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *böse,* Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 927 f. (cf. Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *boast*), who, although with hesitation, derives

[1]) Or is *e* in *awwerrmōd* a sort of svarabhakti vowel?

the word from an O. E. **bosettan*, therefore, seems to be the only acceptable one.]

O. W. Scand. *frauki* 'frog': M. E. *froke* 'frog' Pr. P. p. 180. As there are in English as well as in other Teutonic languages many formations of words from this and similar roots (see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. VII p. 143, N. E. D. s. v. *frog*) and as the etymological relation between the various words involves some unsolved difficulties, it is not easy to know whether *o* in M. E. *froke* is ǭ (< *ŏ*-, cf. O. Scand. *frŏskr*, German *Frosch* etc.) or whether it is ǭ (< O. Scand. *au*, *ǫu*).[1]) Likewise M. E. *frode* 'frog' may be from an O. E. **frŏda* related by ablaut to O. W. Scand. *frauðr* 'frog' and need not be borrowed from the latter. A third ablaut is found in M. E. *frūde* (rime-word: *prūde*, see N. E. D. s. v. *froud*).

Scand. **glaut*- 'to look, pry' (cf. Noreen, Sv. Etymologier p. 30): M. E. *glouten* 'to look sullen, stare' Rich. 4771, B. B. p. 174, N. E. *to gloat*, 'to stare, gaze' (early N. E. *glote*, *glout*, cf. Cent. D.). But this etymology is somewhat uncertain and there are other possibilities, cf. Kluge-Lutz s. v. *gloat*; N. E. dial. *glout*, as Professor Wright kindly informs me, points to a M. E. *ū*. N. E. *to gloat* is certainly not from O. W. Scand. *glotta* to grin, smile scornfully'.

[M. E. *hauk*, N. E. *hawk* is to be derived from O. E. *havoc* rather than from O. Scand. *haukr* < **haƀuk* (cf. Kluge, Engl. Stud. XVI p. 394, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 187, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1031 f., 1050, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *hawk*). For the phonological question, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] l. c. Analogous cases are: M. E. *nauger*, N. E. *auger* (< O. E. *nafoȝār*); M. E. *auk*, *awkeward*, N. E. *awkward* (see p. 20 foot-note); M. E. *chaul* 'a jaw' (< *chavel*, O. E. *cēafl*), *chaulen* 'to chatter' (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] l. c.)[2]); Sc. dial. *kewl* (< M. E. *kevle*, *kevyl* Pr. P. p. 274), see Pr. P. l. c. foot-note 1; M. E. *craulen*, N. E. *to crawl* (O. W. Scand. *krafla*, Swed. *krafla*); M. E. *crawyn* 'proco, rogito' Pr. P. p. 101 (< O. E. *crafian*); M. E. *drauk* 'weed' (see

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[1]) N. E. D. derives M. E. *froke* from Scand. *frauki*.

[2]) M. E. *coul*, N. E. *cowl* 'a vessel carried on a pole' (< O. E. *cufl*, cf. Kluge l. c., Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 133) is not quite analogous.

Kluge l. c.); M. E. *eute, ewte,* N. E. *newt* (< O. E. *efete*); M. E. *gowle* 'usura' Pr. P. p. 206 (< O. E. *gafol*); M. E. *naule* (rime-word *sawle* A. P. I, 459)[1]); it is noteworthy that in Havel. words in *-aue* rime occasionally with words in *awe,* see Skeat, Introd. to Havel. p. XXXVIII.]

O. W. Scand. *hauldr* (?): O. E. *hold* (?), see Dial. Prov. p. 7 and foot-note 3.[2])

O. W. Scand. *maurr* 'ant': *ou*: M. E. *moure* 'ant, pismire' is given by the Century Dict. s. v. *mire, pismire.* I have not found any instance of the word in the literature, but if the form exists, it is undoubtedly from Scand.

[M. E. *roke* 'fog, vapour, cloud, nebula' Gen. and Ex. 1163 (rime-word *smoke*), Bev., Pr. P. represents the ablaut *u* (> *o* through *a*-mutation), cf. Dan. dial. *raag* 'mist' (Molb. Dial. Lex.), Norw. dial. *rok* 'mist, smoke' (Aasen.) The N. E. dials. have *roke* 'fog', *roky* 'smoky' (Norf.) *rauky* 'smoky' (Lincsh.), see Skeat, Stud. Pastime p. 152, Forby, East Anglia II p. 280. Is the latter from an O. Scand. **rauk-,* cf. Swed. dial. *rauk,* 'smoke' (Rietz p. 546)?]

O. Scand. **skaun(i)-* 'beautiful' (= O. E. *scīene,* M. E. *schēne*), not recorded in Scandinavian (Swed. *skön,* Dan. *skjøn* are borrowed from German)[3]): *ō*: M. E. *scōne* Orrm., Laȝ., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939. Although the word is not recorded in Scand., it may have existed there at the time when the Northmen went over to England. It is difficult to explain the English word otherwise than as a Scand. loan-word. Influence from O. Sax., O. H. G. *scōni* is, although not impossible (cf. M. E. *caiser* p. 56 f., O. E. *ostsǣ* Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 942), still not very probable at so early a date. Brate l. c. considers Scand. origin hardly possible, because the E. word shows no *i*-mutation.

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[1]) Concerning the *o* in M. E. *gowl, govel* (Gen. and Ex.), M. E. *novil, noule* (Pr. P., Arth. and Merl., see Dictionaries), see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 119.

[2]) As for O. E. *hofding,* see Dial. Prov. l. c. Is O. Swed. *høfdhinge,* Dan. *høvding* from **haufðing-* (cf. O. W. Scand. *haufoð,* Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[3] § 149, O. Swed. *høvudh*)? Another explanation is given by Noreen, Altschw. Gramm. § 59, 7, Torp.-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 113.

[3]) Finnish *kaunis* (Thomsen, Ueber den Einfluss der germ. Spr. auf die finnisch-lappischen p. 96, Brate l. c. p. 25 f.) may be borrowed from Gothic quite as well as from Scandinavian.

But it may be possible that forms without the *i*-mutation existed in Scand. by the side of such as had undergone the same.

O. W. Scand. *staup* 'cavity, pit, cup, goblet', O. Swed. *støp* 'cavity, pit', Norw. dial. *staup* 'cup, goblet': *ō*: M. E. *stope* 'cupa' Wr. Voc. 728, 28, N. E. *stoup, stoop* 'flagon etc.'; but as O. Scand. *stōp,* Dan. *stōb,* etc. is borrowed early from L. G. (the regular native Scand. forms are O. W. Scand. *staup,* O. Swed. *støp*, Dan. *støb*),[1]) the late M. E. word may be from the same source.[2]) The origin of N. E. *stoup, stoop* cannot be settled without deep researches into English dialects and their history. Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 153, Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1885—87 p. 85, 88, Princ. I p. 463, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *stoup* assume Scand. origin of M. E. *stope* as well as of the N. E. words, which may, of course, be right.[3])

O. W. Scand. *traust,* O. Swed., O. Dan. *trøst*: M. E. *trust* sb., *trusten* vb. etc., see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff. I have not given this word in the preceding list, because *u* is not easily accounted for, as there are no other instances known, in which O. Scand. *ǫu, au* has with certainty become *u* (N. E. *fluster* which I formerly considered as analogous may be from M. E. **flǭster* < O. W. Scand. *flaustr,* cf. Scotch *fluister* Murray, Dial. Southern Count. Scotl. p. 149).[4])

As has been already pointed out (p. 68), the O. Scand. diphthong *ǫu, au* appears in the Scand. loan-words in English

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1) Cf. Schlyter Ordbok, Söderwall Ordbok, Tamm Fonetiska Kännetecken p. 59, Jessen Et. Ordb., Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie, p. 141.

2) The L. Germ. loan-word M. E. *grote,* N. E. *groat* had M. E. *ǭ* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 49, 313), which does not seem to harmonize with N. E. *stoop,* if the words are from the same language.

3) Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary gives the word as of Dutch origin.

4) To this fact Prof. Luick has kindly called my attention. — Is O. E. *clustor* which Pogatscher, Lautl. d. Lat., Rom. u. Gr. Lehnw. p. 114, 125 derives from O. It. *clūstrum* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 336), analogous to *trusten* and to be derived directly from Lat. *claustrum*? — When spellings with *o* occur, it cannot be settled whether this *o* means *ŭ* or *ǭ*: *trost* sb. Wicl. Is XXXI, 6, Pr. P. p. 503, *mistrost* sb. Lud. Cov. 126, *trost* adj. Man. (H.) 60, Engl. Gilds 46, *trostlike, -li* adv. Pr. P. p. 503, Wicl. Prov. X, 9, *trosten* vb. Wicl., Pl. Cr., Ayenb., Engl. Gilds 53, Arth. & Merl., *trosti* adj. Pr. P. p. 503.

as *au, ou, ǭ* (in *trust* perhaps as *ŭ̆*; in some cases the spelling *ou, ow* might perhaps denote [*ū*] instead of [*ou*], but there are no means of settling this question). Now the question remains: under what circumstances did the Scand. diphthong become *au*, and under what *ou* or *ǭ*? This problem cannot be solved completely by means of the M. E. material. In the Scand. languages, themselves, at the times when the loan-words were introduced into English, different pronunciations may have existed in different dialects and it is also probable that the pronunciation was, in the same dialect, different at different times, and as the stock of Scand. loan-words was introduced during a very protracted space of time it is possible that one of the products of the Scand. diphthongs represents an earlier stage in the history of the Scand. languages on English ground than does the other Thus perhaps the fact is to be explained that in one and the same M. E. dialect there are often forms to be found in which the Scand. diphthong appears in more than one shape. Then the loan-words in *ǭ* in the Orrmulum (*gōm, scōne*) may depend on later introduction than those in *oww* (*dowwnenn, nowwt, rowwst, sowwþ*), although the differences may, to some extent, be due to the influence of different Scand. dialects, the forms in *ǭ* being, most probably, of East Scand. origin (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.), whereas those in *oww* may also be East Scand. (although then of older introduction than those in *ǭ*) quite as well as West Scand. Likewise it cannot with certainty be settled why in the documents treated by Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, *au* is written in *gaulen, glaumen, lausen, rauþ* and *ou* in *louse* adj., *routen* vb., whereas *ō* in *windowe* in the same texts may depend on the following *w* (< *ȝ*) or on weak stress.[1]) — Nevertheless, in some M. E. dialects one or other of the three (*au, ou, ǭ*) seems to have preponderated; thus *e. g. ou* (*oww*)

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[1]) What was the normal development of O. Scand. *au* + *ȝ* in the loan-words cannot be satisfactorily settled by means of the two words in which this combination occurs (M. E. *hogh* etc. < O. Scand. *haugr*, see p. 70, and *windowe*, see p. 72). The rime *hogh* : *wogh* in C. M. *hoes* : *scoghes* in Ant. Arth. speak for *ǭ* + *ȝ*. If this be the only development of Scand. *au* + *ȝ*, it would form a sort of analogy to the presumable development of Scand. *ei, øy* + *ʝ* > *ēȝ*, see Dial. Prov. p. 14 f.

in the Orrm. and in Havel. (*blout*, *goulen, coupen, loupen, routen,* but *ōk*) which both belong to the North Midland dialect. But the M. E. material is too scanty to allow of reliable conclusions as to the local distribution of the different pronunciations of the Scand. diphthong in the dialects spoken by the Scandinavian settlers. Perhaps a careful examination of the modern dialects would bring this question nearer to a solution. Thus in the dialect of Windhill (Wright p. 55) Scand. *ǫu, au* has become *ou* in *loup* and *lous* (< M. E. *loupen, lous*; *ou* in this dialect, among other M. E. sources, also corresponds to M. E. *ow* < O. E. *oȝ,* Wright p. 21), but appears as *oə* in *goəm* 'heed, care, attention', *goəmləs* 'silly, stupid', *roət* 'to bray' < M. E. **gaum, *gaumles, *rauten* (the M. E. source of *oə* in this dialect is, among others, *aw,* Wright p. 23). In order to facilitate to some extent, as I hope, the investigation of Scand. *ǫu, au* in the loan-words in Mod. English dialects, I give here a short list of words found in Mod. English and its dialects which probably contain the Scand. diphthong. Of course, for every dialect, one must see, if possible, what was the M. E. base of the vowel or diphthong found in the Mod. dial. word, presumed to be from a Scand. word in *ǫu, au*; but in doing so, words which may be due to the influence of English received speech are to be eliminated. As such an investigation does not enter into the scope of this treatise, I have to content myself with simply giving the list in question; N. E. words mentioned in connection with the preceding lists are here omitted.

O. W. Scand. *aumligr,* O. Swed., O. Dan. *ōm*: N. E. dial. *oamly, owmly* adj. 'unpleasant, hurtful to the feelings' see Wall p. 113.

O. W. Scand. *auðna* 'to be ordained by fate': N. E. dial. *awned, aund* 'ordained' (*awned to ill luck, I am aund to this luck*), see Skeat, Student's Pastime p. 92, N. E. D. s. v. *aund.*

O. W. Scand. *ausa,* O. E. Scand. *ōsa* 'to pour out, bale out (water)': N. E. dial. *howze, owze* 'to lade water, to bale out', see Wall p. 107, 114.

N. E. *fluster,* see N. E. D., N. E. dial. *flooster, flouster, floister* etc., see E. D. D.; cf. p. 78 and foot-note 4.

O. W. Scand. *gaurr* 'a rough fellow': N. E. dial. *goury* adj. 'dull, stupid-looking', see Wall p. 104.

Norw. dial. *raun* (< **rauðn,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 232) 'mountain-ash' (Aasen): N. E. dial. *roan-tree, rown-tree, rowan-tree* etc., see Skeat, Et. D., Jamieson, Wall p. 115.[1])

O. W. Scand. *hraun* 'stony, barren ground': N. E. dial. *roan* 'a clump of whins', Sc. *rone* 'a shrub, brushwood', Nhb. *a roen of thistles, whins* etc. 'a rank or thick growth'; Wall p. 116 derives the word from O. W. Scand. *runnr* 'a bush, grove', which cannot be right. I fancy that such a phrase as *a rone of thistles* meant originally 'a stony ground overgrown with thistles, or where only thistles, whins etc. can grow'.

O. W. Scand. *skauð* 'vagina', pl. *skauðir* 'the sheath of a horse's penis' (= M. H. G. *schode*): N. E. dial. *scow* sb. 'the sheath of a horse's penis', see Wall p. 117.

O. W. Scand. *staurr,* O. E. Scand. *stōr* 'bar, stake': N. E. dial. *stower* sb. 'a hedge-stake', see Wall p. 122.[2])

4. Scandinavian *ā*.

A. From Teutonic *ǣ*.

Teutonic *ǣ* (Goth. *ē*), as a rule, in West-Saxon is represented by *ǣ,* in Kentish and Anglian, as a rule, by *ē* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57, 2, 150, 1). In literary Old Scand. it has become *ā,* provided it has not suffered *i*-mutation, in which case it has changed into *ǣ.* Consequently, if there were no exceptions to the rule of Teutonic *ǣ* becoming O. E. *ǣ, ē* (instead of *ā*), an *ā* in words in English which contained a Teutonic *ǣ,* would be a very good test of loan from Scand. But as there are actually a number of genuine English words in which Teutonic

[1]) The etymologies of *raun, reynir* etc. given by Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers und Göttertranks p. 202, K. Z. XIII p. 62, Jessen, Et. Ordb. are erroneous. Norw. *rogn* 'a mountain-ash' is from O. Norw. *raun,* see Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 142. N. E. dial. *ran-tre* may be from the form (O. W. Scand. *reynir* = O. Swed. *røne*) which has suffered *i*-mutation.

[2]) Since writing the above, Prof. Wright has kindly given me the opportunity of seeing some of the material collected for the E. D. D. This material clearly shows the forms in *ou* to be North Midland and Northern and those in *ǭ* to be Midland (with the exception of some North Midland Districts) and Southern.

ǣ is represented by O. E. *ā*, an *ā*, instead of an expected *ǣ*, *ē*, is not always a loan-word test of absolute reliability. Thus in the position before *w*, Germanic *ǣ* is, as a rule, represented by O. E. *ā* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.³ § 57, 2, a): before *w* there is consequently no test of loan.[1]) But also in other cases *ā* appears in O. E. corresponding to Germanic *ǣ*. I refer to Kluge, Anglia Anz. V p. 82, Sievers, Ags. Gr.³ § 57 Anm. 3. As these O. E. words cannot possibly depend on Scand. influence, it seems possible that some of the M. E. words in *ā, ǭ* corresponding to Germanic *ǣ* might be from O. E. instead of from Scand. In some M. E. words (viz. before a nasal consonant), however, *ā, ǭ* cannot possibly be explained otherwise than through Scand. influence. In the other cases M. E. *ā, ǭ* offers no absolute evidence of loan; but as the O. E. cases of *ā* corresponding to Teutonic *ǣ* are rather scarce and as almost all M. E. words in *ā, ǭ* may be explained by assuming Scand. influence, it is very probable that they actually are Scand. loan-words. These words, as it were, occupy an intermediate position between this chapter and the following one: although the outward form of the words is no absolute test of loan, it still makes loan very probable. In order to form a definite opinion on the words, such points of view as will be treated of in the next chapter, must be taken into consideration. Still I treat of the words here, partly in order to avoid devoting a special chapter to them, partly because I myself have not the least doubt as to their Scandinavian origin provided that all other points of view considered give evidence in the same direction.

a) Words in Teutonic *ǣ* before nasal consonants.

Teutonic *ǣ* (West-Teutonic *ā*) becomes O. E. *ō* before nasal consonants (see Sievers, Ags. Gr.³ § 68). Scandinavian *ā*

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[1]) Loan-words containing Teutonic *ǣ* + *w* are 1. M. E. *blā, blǭ* 'blue, black, livid' (O. E. *blāw* occurs only in Erf. Gloss.), see N. E. Dict., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *blue*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I p. 941, 1034; 2) perhaps M. E. *brā, brǭ*, 'brae, hill-side, river-bank' (see N. E. D. s. v., Kluge l. c. p. 1034), to judge from the remarkable and difficult O. E. forms, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 112, Anm. 1 and 2, but as here different developments may have taken place in different dialects, this test is not reliable (as for the original sense of Scand. *brā*, see Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 7); 3. M. E. *grā*, see later on.

(< Teutonic *ǣ*), as a rule, remains *ā*. Engl. *ā* + nasal (< Teutonic *ǣ* + nasal) therefore must be due to Scand. influence. The words to be considered in this connection are:

[O. E. n. pr. *Frana, Frane* (also *Frena, Fræna, Friena,* see p. 26, Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 75): O. W. Scand. *Fráni* from the adj. *fránn*, as for which see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordbok s. v. *frän*. It is not quite settled whether the word contains Teutonic *ǣ*.]

O. E. *hānum* 'him', see Stephens, O. N. R. M. I, XXIII, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937: O. Scand. *hānum*.

O. E. *nām* 'seizure of property belonging to one which is in the hands of another': O. W. Scand. *nám*, O. Swed. *nām* 'seizure'. See Steenstrup, Danelag p. 185, Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict. Der. *nāmrǣden* 'erudition' Wr. Voc. 431, 8 (11th century), cf. O. W. Scand. *nám* 'instruction, learning'. — O. E. prt. pl. *nāmon*, on the other hand, is due to analogy, see Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 390 Anm. 2, Bülbring, Gesch. d. Ablaute (Qu. u. Forsch. 63).

M. E. *span-newe* Hav. 968, Ch. Tro. III 1665, N. E. *span-new* (see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v., Skeat, Princ. I p. 429: O. W. Scand. *spánn* 'chip, shaving' (= O. E. *spōn*), *spánnýr, spánýr* 'quite new'.

M. E. *wān, wǭn, iwān, iwǭn* (< *ȝewān*) 'hope, store, quantity, opinion', as early as A. R., Laȝ.; for other quotations, see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *wān, ȝewān*: O. W. Scand. *ván*, O. E. Scand. *vān* (cf. O. E. *wēn* 'hope etc.', M. E. *wēne* 'thought, doubt', which, shows *i*-mutation, and O. E., M. E. *wēne* adj. 'hopeful', *orwēne* despairing'[1]) = O. W. Scand. *vǽnn* adj.); rime-words *ǭn, bǭn, gǭn, lǭn, stǭn* in Böddeker's Altengl. Dichtungen, *stǭnes* Tundalus, *fǭn, nǭn, at ǭn* etc., R. Gl. (Pabst p. 43), *anǭn*, Hav. v. 2616. See Zupitza, Zeitschr. f. Oestr. Gymn. 1875 p. 131, Notes to Guy of Warwick v. 10329, Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 195, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936. The corresponding genuine

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[1]) The O. E. and M. E. *i*-mutated forms are all to be considered as being of native origin, unless there should be some evidence of an ę̄-vowel, in which case Scand. origin would be certain. Knigge p. 81, without sufficient reason, derives M. E. *wēne* in Gaw. from Scand. *vǽnn*. Professor Morsbach kindly in forms me that the *i*-mutated words seem always to rime with ę̄ and consequently are to be considered native.

English form, of course would have been O. E. **wōn,* M. E. **wǫn,* also suggested by the *i*-mutated O. E. sb. *wēn* and adj. *wēne.*[1])

b) With regard to the spelling *a* in M. E. words corresponding to Teutonic *ǣ,* there is, in some cases, another difficulty. The spelling *a* may occasionally depend on the sound-change *ę̄* > *ă* owing to the position before a consonant group, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 96, 2 b. It is not quite settled to what extent Teutonic *ǣ* became Anglian *ē* and to what extent it became Anglian *ǣ* (thus *e. g.* the Orrmulum has *ǣ* as well as *ē*), and therefore it is generally not easy to say whether *a* (corresponding to a Teutonic *ǣ*) before a consonant group is from O. E. *ǣ* or from Scand. *ā.* Thus *e. g.* M. E. *wapen, wapman* may, for the most part, be from O. E. *wǣ(p)en, wǣpman* quite as well as from O. Scand. *vāpn,* whereas M. E. *wǫpen* is distinctively Scandinavian. Likewise M. E. *blast* sb., *blasten* vb., may in some instances perhaps be derived from O. E. *blǣst, blǣstan* rather than from O. Scand. *blástr.* But such a question, of course, cannot be settled until it has been ascertained to what extent M. E. *ę̄* existed corresponding to Teutonic *ǣ* in the dialects where *blast* occurs or to what extent forms with *ę̄* may have been introduced from one dialect into another, in which *ē* was originally the regular result of Teutonic *ǣ.*[2]) In such words, on the other hand, as M. E. *warloghe*

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[1]) M. E. *þe wǫnde* 'the devil' (Misc. 175) is from O. W. Scand. *vándr*, O. Swed. *vānder*, adj., 'evil, bad' (concerning O. Swed. *ōnder*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 66,7); but *ō* (< *ā*) cannot, taken by itself, be considered a criterion of loan, as it is not by rimes proved to have been *ǭ*. The word is not identical with O. W. Scand. *văndr* 'difficult', which has been introduced into English in M. E. *wanndrāþ*, etc. Stratm.-Bradley do not distinguish between the two completely different words.

[2]) As for the origin of *blast* opinions vary; cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 62 Anm., § 96 Anm. 2, 2 b, Gerken, Sprache des Bischof Douglas p. 3, Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v., N. E. D., Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 180 (: 'Gen. and Ex. and T. M. have *blast* in rhyme; this exception to the general rule may be due to the influence of the vb. *blawen*'). — Of course, *a* in *blast* in some dialects may depend on O. E. *ǣ,* in others on Scand. *ā.* Still it is noteworthy, that there are no forms with M. E. *ǭ* recorded (cf. N. E. *most, ghost*), which speaks perhaps in favour of its native origin. A careful investigation into the history of English vowels (esp. *ā, ǣ, ă, ai* from Scand. *ei, ey*) before *st* in the different dialects would no doubt

'liar' (see Stratm.-Bradley), *a* is undoubtedly from O. E. *ǣ* (O. E. *wǣrloȝa*) although there is an O. W. Scand. *vár* 'faith, truth'.[1]) — Another difficulty is offered by the prt. pl. of the strong verbs of the 4th and 5th classes, because it is often very difficult to decide to what extent the *ā*, *ǭ*, rather common in these verbal forms, is due to analogy or generalisation or even to an O. E. *ā*. It would carry us beyond the scope of the present treatise to enter fully upon this very entangled question, which cannot be fairly settled without very deep investigations into the history of English verbs.[2]) I must, therefore, content myself with making, in this connection, only a few remarks on the subject. Thus the Scand. origin of such forms as M. E. *wōre(n)* 'were' Oct. (cf. Sarrazin, Oct. p. XVI), Bokenh. (rime-word: *lǭre, befǭre,* cf. Hoofe, E. St. VIII p. 220), Gen. and Ex. 347, 2446, Hav. 258, 503, 717, 1938,

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settle the question of this and many other words (cf. M. E. *fraisten, gnaisten*). — Professor Morsbach points out to me that the consistent writing *blast* in Midland texts undoubtedly points to Scand. influence. Also in the North, *blast* is the regular form, and as in the northern dialects W. Teut. *ā* is always represented by *ē* or *ĕ* (Mittelengl. Gramm. § 96, 2), the *a*-vowel of the word — as far as these dialects are concerned — puts Scand. origin beyond a doubt.

[1]) In some M. E. texts, O. E. *ǣ* is frequently represented by *ā*, which is, consequently, in these texts no criterion of Scand. origin. This *ā* never becomes *ǭ*. Concerning this translation of *ǣ* > *ā*, Professor Morsbach has kindly placed the following particulars at my disposal: In monuments representing South East parts of England (in the Neighbourhood of Kent, not in the strictly Kentish monuments), every West Saxon *ǣ* (= *ai* + *i* or West Teut. *ā*, Goth. *ē*) is often represented by *ā*; the existence of this *ā* is proved by numerous rimes. This sound-change can only be proved for this part of England and takes place already in early Middle English. When, on the other hand, an *ā* instead of *ǣ* appears more or less frequently in other South English monuments of the transitional period as well as in Laȝamon's A-text, such an *ā* probably depends on errors of the copyists (although perhaps not always). But from such writings in the texts, no reliable conclusions concerning Scand. influence may be drawn at present.

[2]) For further particulars it will suffice to refer to Bülbring, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Südenglischen, Strassburg 1889 (Quellen u. Forschungen 63) and Wackerzapp, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innnerhalb des Nordenglischen I, Münster 1890.

2661 etc. (rime-words *mǫre, sǫre*), Chest., Erl of Tolous 716 (rime-words *befǫre, thǫre*), Seege of Tr., *drape(n)* 'killed' A. S., Chron. 1137, E. E. Ps. (see N. E. D.)[1]), *dropen* Gen. and Ex. 2648[2]), *gouen, youen* 'gave' Hav. 164, Gen. and Ex. 297, 844, Will. 4781, *goten* 'got' Wicl. Gen. VI, 4, Mand. 67, *goue* (opt.) Gen. and Ex. 3941, is, at least, very probable,[3]) whereas M. E. prt. pl. *wāre*, although often possibly Scand. (cf. Scholle, Minot p. XIV), in some cases may be explained from O. E. *wǣron* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 206) owing to weak stress (cf. M. E. *thare* < O. E. *þǣr,* Luick l. c.). M. E. *quoðen* 'spoke' Gen. and Ex. 9993, 3267 may, although probably Scand., be due to the influence of the sing. *quoð* where *o* depends on the preceding *w*[4]) and in M. E. pret. pl. *boren* 'bore' Gen. and Ex. 684 etc., *ō* may have been introduced from the past part.,[5]) whereas in *bāren,* 'bore', Langl. P. Pl. V. 139, Ch.,[6]) *gāten* 'got' Will. 1592, *ā* may depend on the influence of the singular.[7]) Very difficult to explain is M. E. pret. pl. *spoke(n)* Gen. and Ex. 2913 Langl. P. Pl. B. II. 225, etc., which can hardly be considered dependent on direct Scand. influence, because there probably never was any such word in Scand. and because there are other explanations allowable. — *a* (mostly of undecided quantity) occurring in pret. pl. of the same verb-class in some southern

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[1]) In *drapen a* still could be from the singular.

[2]) Is *o* in pret. sg. *drop* Hav. 2229 due to the influence of the plural?

[3]) Bülbring p. 59 considers such forms as *wore* to be from O. E. forms in *ā* (< Teut. *ǣ*) and seems inclined to ascribe them to a peculiarity of the East English dialects. But the very fact that these forms occur chiefly in East English monuments points to their Scandinavian origin. — Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 assumes Scand. origin for M. E. *gouen, goten, woren.*

[4]) In Southern monuments in which O. E. *ā* has not yet become *ǫ*, *o* in *quoð* can only be explained through the influence of the preceding *w*, see Bülbring p. 64.

[5]) *o* also occurs in pret. sg. *bore* Trev., *bor* Gen. and Ex. 425, see Bülbring p. 66.

[6]) Cf. ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 192.

[7]) Another — and possibly preferable — explanation is given by Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 141 f. Dubious are *baren, braken, isagen, waren* Laȝ. (the quantity of *a* is uncertain), held by Bülbring p. 60 to be due to the generalisation of the vowel of the singular. As for *wāren* Serm., see Bülbring p. 61.

M. E. texts is considered by Bülbring p. 57 ff. to be *ā* and explained from O. E. *ā* according to Kluge, Anglia Anz. l. c.; *ā* instead of an expected *ǭ*, he explains by assuming that O. E. *ā* (< Teut. *ǣ*) was qualitatively different from O. E. *ā* (< Teut. *ai*) and therefore did not become *ǭ* to the same extent as did the latter, a supposition which is rendered rather uncertain by the M. E. words in which O. E. *ā*, apparently from Teut. *ǣ*, has practically become *ǭ*, but however these forms are to be accounted for, Scand. influence is likewise excluded, because Scand. *ā* became M. E. *ǭ* to the same extent as did O. E. *ā* (< Teut. *ai*). Remarkable are such past parts. as M. E. *gouen, (i)ȝouen, youen* Engl. Gilds 53, Hoccl. I 9, Gow. I, 79, P. P. p. 538 Hav. 220, 224, etc. 'given', *yspoke* R. Gl., *ystoke* Ed. and Ethelr. (some material is collected by Bülbring pp. 63, 66, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 139 ff.), probably due to such a proportion as *ȝeuen* : *ȝaf* : x = *beren* : *bar* : *boren.*[1]) — All these questions require, in order to be fairly settled, the knowledge of the analogical tendencies and the phonological and other conditions of every separate monument, and often a form, occurring in one text, is to be explained differently from the same form occurring in another.

I now proceed to give the most reliable part of the material. Some words which may possibly be Scand. although I am not convinced of their being so, will be mentioned afterwards.

M. E. *bāle* sb., 'a funeral pile, bonfire', M. H. p. XII, p. 169, Alex. (Sk.) 562, 2237, Barb. Bruce XVII 619. Pl. Cr. v. 667. 1329, N. E. dial. *bale* 'a blaze, a flame', also 'a place where lead has been smelted', *bale-hill* 'an ancient smelting place',

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[1]) As for M. E. past part *gesogen* Kent. Gosp., *ysogen* Ayenb. (of O. E. *sēon* 'to see'), see Bülbring p. 69, 71. — Other M. E. forms in *ǭ* of this verb are given and explained by Bülbring p. 73. Still some of these forms could be of Scand. origin: O. Swed. *sāgh* pret. sg., *sāgho* pret. pl. 'saw' (see Söderwall, Ordb.) are to be taken into consideration for the explanation of M. E. pret. sg. *soȝ* Fer., *soȝh* D. Troy, pret. pl. *sowen* Hav. 957, *sogen* Gen. and Ex. 3522, *sowen* Gen. and Ex. 3108. But *sowen, sogen* are perhaps to be explained as native forms: cf. O. E. (R^1) *sāȝun*, Siev., Ags. Gr.^{3} § 391 Anm. 7 (*sowen* is hardly from O. E, *sāwon*, see Bülbring l. c.).

E. D. D.[1]); N. E. dial. *bole* sb. (North., Wm., Yorksh., Der.) 'a place, usually a round cavity on the summit of a hill, where lead was smelted before the introduction of smelting mills', *bole-hills* 'heaps of metallic scoria, which are the remains of the ancient method of smelting lead in the open air', *bole,* 'a lime-kiln' (E. D. D.) is perhaps the same word[2]): O. W. Scand. *bál* 'blaze, flame, funeral pile', O. Swed. *bāl*, O. Dan. *baal* 'a funeral pile', (= O. E. *bǣl,* M. E. *bēl.*) In English the loan-word is exclusively northern. By later writers it is much mixed up with *bale*, 'destruction, calamity', see N. E. D. s. v.

M. E. *bāre,* sb. 'wave' M. H. p. 135, Trist. 356, N. E. dial. *bore,* sb. 'the tidal wave in some rivers, esp. the Severn and Parret' (E. D. D.), cf. N. E. D., Stratm.-Bradley, Skeat, Et. D., Trans. Phil. soc. 1899 p. 261 f.: O. W. Scand. *bára* sb. 'wave' (= M. E. *bēre* 'wave' Laȝ., L. Germ., Dutch *bār* 'wave', Doornk.-Koolm., Franck Et. Wb., Brem. Wb.[3])

M. E. *blast* is in some dialects undoubtedly Scand. see p. 84.

M. E. *brāþ* 'violent, angry' Orrm., C. M., *brǭþe* Gaw. 2233 A. P. II 1409, *brāþli*, *brǭþli* adj., adv., C. M., Map., Anglia II 240, A. P. II 847, 1256, Man. (H.)., Perc., Life of St. Cuthb., Alex. (Sk.) etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *brath, braith,* adj., *brathful, braithful,* adj., *brathly, braithly,* adj. and adv., *broth,* adj., *brothe-ful, brothely,* adj.: O. W. Scand. *bráðr*, O. Swed. *brāþer,* early Dan. *braadh*, probably related to O. E. *brǣdan* 'to roast, fry'

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[1]) As in Pl. Cr., O. E. *ā* has become *ǭ,* the spelling *bale* is astonishing but is perhaps a word introduced from some more northern dialect. N. E *bale.*, of course, may in some cases be the native word.

[2]) Wright E. D. D. s. v. *bole* sb.[3] supposes the word to be 'a spec. mg. of lit. Engl. *bowl*'. But the sense congruency of *bale, bale-hill, bole, bole-hill* makes it probable, that *bole* is only a more southern form of *bale.*

[3]) M. E. *bare* 'bier, litter' (: *me leiden hem in bare and burden hem ful ȝare* K. Horn. 915 f.) most likely contains the same Teutonic vowel (*ǣ*) as do Germ. *Bahre,* O. Swed. *bār* 'a barrow, litter', N. E. *bier*, as in K. Horn *a* often represents an O. E. *ǣ* (cf. p. 85); but it may also be from the same Teutonic base as O. W. Scand. *barar* 'a hand-bier, funeral bier', as for which see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Bahre.* But, as Professor Morsbach kindly points out to me, the latter alternative is rendered improbable by the fact that — apart from such monuments as K. Horn — only the form *bęre* is recorded in M. E.

brœ̄de, 'roast meat', H. G. *braten,* O. W. Scand. *bráð* 'roast, meat', O. Swed. *brāþ* 'roast meat' etc., cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *bråd,* Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 9; O. E. *brād-* 'roasting' in *brādhlaf* (Wr. Voc. 277, 4), *brādpanne* is given by Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., but as I do not know how early this *brād-* occurs for the first time — *brādpanne* is not to be found in Bosw.-Toller's Dict. — I cannot decide whether *ā* is due to the influence of O. W. Scand. *brāð,* O. Swed. *brāþ.*[1]) From this adj. (M. E. *brāþ*) the sb. *braþþe* 'anger', Orrm, *brathe,* A. P., D. Troy, etc. (see N. E. D.) has been formed on English ground, (see Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 35, N. E. D.), whereas M. E. *breth* 'ire, fury, rage' E. E. Ps. II 5, C. M., Wicl., Townl. Myst., etc., has been borrowed directly from O. Scand. *brœ̄ði* which shows *i*-mutation and therefore does not, properly speaking, belong to this heading.

M. E. *fǭwen* 'to clean, cleanse' Sir Bev. 1120 (MS. A), M. S. in Archæologia XXX 351 (ca. 1350), Pr. P. (*foware* 'purgator', *fowynge* 'purgatio', *fowyn* 'purgo') p. 174 f. (see N. E. D.) O. W. Scand. *fága* 'adorn, cultivate, clean, cleanse'; for the etymology, see Tamm Sv. Et. Ordbok s. v. *fäja.* Forms with *ā* do not seem to occur in East Scand.

O. E. *grā-scinnen* adj. 'made of grey fur' A. S. Chron. 1167 (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933), *grā, grǭ,* adj. 'grey', sb. 1. gray fur', 2. 'felon, evil spirit, devil': St. Marh. p. 6, St. Jul. p. 53, H. M. p. 43, M. Hom. p. 42, Spec. Lyr. Poetry ed. Wright p. 26, Launfal v. 235, 237, (*grohund*) Parten. 1389, see Mätzner Wb., Stratm.-Bradley, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941, 1034 : O. W. Scand. *grár,* 'grey, inimical, hostile', O. Swed. *grār* 'grey; unfriendly', O. W. Scand. *gráskinn,* O. Swed. *grāskin.* The genuine English forms (O. E. *grœ̄ʒ,* M. E. *grei, grai*) never occur in the sense of Scand. *grār,* 'hostile, unfriendly' (whence M. E. *grā* 'felon, evil spirit, devil'). For the etymology of the word, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *grau,* Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *gray, grey.* Although, from the mere point of view of form, O. E., M. E. *grā* might perhaps have existed as a native word from a Teutonic base **grœ̄wa-*, I do not hesitate to give the word

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[1]) M. E. *brăd* 'roasted, broiled' Gaw. 891 is the past part. of *brēden* (O. E. *brœ̄dan*), cf. N. E. D. s. v., Mätzner s. v. *breden.*

here, because not only the form (genuine English *grǣʒ*!) but also all other circumstances (distribution, sense, occurrence in the unmistakable Scand. comp. *grāskinn*) point to Scand. origin.

M. E. *grāten*, *grǭten*, *grǭtinde* (pres. part.) 'to weep, cry' Hav. 241, 285, 328, 1390 (rime-words *lāten*, *hǭten*), Gen. and Ex. 1984, M. E. *grǭt* sb. 'weeping' Gen. and Ex. 1577 etc.: O. W. Scand. *gráta* vb., *grátr*, sb., O. Swed. *grāta* vb., *grāter* sb., (= O. E. *grœtan*, M. E. *grēten* 'to weep').

M. E. *hāð* 'scorn, contempt' in the compound *hāðful* 'scornful' Hom. I 279: O. W. Scand. *hāð* f. 'scorn, contempt'; see consonants.

M. E. *hār, hǭr* 'hair' C. M. 3662, Hav. 235 (rime-word *sǭr* < O. E. *sār*), Hamp. Pr. C. 5007, Iw. 823, Alex. (Sk.) 5476, Life of St. Cuthb. 6961, Wr. Voc. 647, 6, Townl. Myst. 87, Cath. Angl. (but cf. p. 92) etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *hair*, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1034: O. W. Scand. *hár* (= O. E. *hǣr,* M. E. *hār.*[1])

O. E. *lāh* adj. 'low', see Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 13, M. E. *lāh, lāʒ, lǭʒ, low* etc. 'low' Orrm. (Brate l. c. p. 47), Laʒ., A. R., Hav., A. P., Gaw. etc., *lāhe, lāʒhe,* etc. adv., (a very common word-stem in all M. E. dialects, see Dictionaries), whence the M. E. verb *lāʒhenn, lǭʒen* etc. 'to lower, depress' Orrm., etc.: O. W. Scand. *lágo,* O. E. Scand. *lāgher.*[2])

M. E. *lāt, lǭt,* 'look, behaviour, manners, sound, voice, noise, tune, melody' Orrm. ('appearance, manner, behaviour'; the length of the vowel is here proved twice by accent

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[1]) The rime *hare* (MS. *here*) : *care* Meiden Marg. (M. S. Trin. Coll. Cambr.) 35 (cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm p. 86) may be due to the change of O. E. *ǣ* > M. E. *ā*, as for which see p. 85. Prof. Morsbach calls my attention to the possibility of the reading *here* being put for **hōre*: the poem in question is in strophes of 4 lines, generally riming alike. The rime-words in the passage where the word occurs are: *sǭre* : *here* ('hair') : *care* ('care') : *mǭre* (O. E. *ā* is in the language of the poet proved by rimes to have become *ǭ*); cf. strophe 4: *bere* (3. sg. pret.) : *furfare* (inf.) : *gare* ('ready') : *lore* (put for *lere*).

[2]) Concerning M. E. *leie* 'low', occurring, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1030 (cf. p. 939) in the poems of Shoreham, I have not been able to form an opinion, mainly because I cannot find the passage where it occurs. — Scand. *lágr* is connected with Scand. *liggia,* O. E. *licʒan,* cf. Karsten l. c. p. 40.

and thrice by the position at the end of the septenar,[1]) Kath., Marh., A. R. ('look, face'), M. H. 123 ('voice', the C. MS. reads *voice,* cf. Small, Metr. Hom. p. 185), Gaw. 118, 2210, A. P. III 161 (*the lot of the windes*: 'sound') Anglia I 73 (*lot*), Gen. and Ex. 1162, 2257 (*lote*), Alex. (Sk.) (: *the lates of the foules*), etc., see Dictionaries: O. W. Scand., *lát* n. 'sound, manners, behaviour', O. Swed. *lāt* n. and f. 'gesture, manner, behaviour, sound, lamentable cry' (Söderwall, Ordb.), N. Swed. *låt* 'tune, melody', O. Dan. *lad* sound, noise, behaviour' (Kalkar, Ordbog). The by-form O. W. Scand. *lǽti* 'sound, behaviour', O. Swed. *lǣte* 'manners, behaviour, sound', which shows *i*-mutation, is the source of M. E. *lǣte*, *lēte,* 'looks, etc.' (see Dictionaries) — but here there is, of course, no phonetic criterion of loan (cf. M. E. *brēthe* p. 88).

M. E. *lăten, (for)lǭten* vb. 'to let, permit, dismiss, omit, leave, abandon, look, behave oneself, etc.', a rather frequent word, *e. g.* Orrm. ('to bear oneself'), Best., Hav., Pr. C., A. P. II 101 (*forlotez*), etc., see Dictionaries: O. W. Scand. *láta*, O. Swed. *lăta*, O. Dan. *ladhæ* (= O. E. *lǣtan*, M. E. *lǣten, lēten*). M. E. *laten* in texts in which O. E., O. Scand. *ā* is represented by *ǭ* (*e. g.* Langl. P. Pl., P. Pr.) must be the unstressed form (cf. prec. word). It is uncertain whether *a* had been already shortened in Scand. when the word was introduced into English or whether the shortening took place on English ground.[2])

M. E. *nāþe* 'grace' Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 51): O. W. Scand. *náð*, O. Swed. *nādh* etc.

M. E. *rāþ*, *rǭþ*, *rād* sb. 'counsel, direction' Orrm., Hav., St. Kath., Arth. and Merlin, *rāþenn, rǭþen* vb. 'to counsel, advise' Orrm., Had., *orrāþ*, adj., 'doubtful', *wanndrāþ* 'suffering', Orrm.: O. W. Scand. *ráð* sb., *ráða* vb., O. Swed. *rāþ*, *rāþa* etc.

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[1]) N. Swed. *later*, N. Dan. *lader* 'manners' point to a short *a* at the time when O. Swed., O. Dan. became *å*. This is perhaps due to the influence of the verb *lăta,* doublet to *lāta* owing to weak stress, see next word (cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v *Lader*). Likewise it is possible that *a* was occasionally short in the English word, too — perhaps in *lates* A. R. p. 50, 90 etc. (in A. R., O. E. *ā* has with a few exceptions — *e. g. gāte herden* 'herds of goats' p. 100 — become *ǭ*, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 135 Anm. 1).

[2]) *late* in Vices and Virt. p. 78 etc., K. Horn and other texts in which O. E. *æ* has become *a*, may be from O. E. *lǣtan*.

(= O. E. *rǣd, rǣdan,* M. E. *rēd, rēdan*); also *þ* instead of *d* is a sort of criterion, and it is most likely that in M. E. *reað, reaðesman* (St. Kath.) *ð* is due to the influence of the Scand. word (cf. O. W. Scand. *rǽðismaðr ráðsmaðr*; as for O. E. *rǣdesmann* see p. 12.) M. E. *reað* (= *rę̄ð*), consequently, seems to be a mixed form (< O. E. *rǣd* + O. Scand. *rāð*); in other cases M. E. *ę̄* in words of this root depends on Scand. *ǣ*, owing to *i*-mutation: thus M. E. *wandrethe* is from O. W. Scand. *vandrǽði* and perhaps M. E. *reaðesman* from O. W. Scand. *rǽðismaðr.* In Vices and Virtues, ed. Holthausen, *rād* occurs by the side of *rǣd,* both forms *e. g.* p. 71, but *rād* is hery no doubt from O. E. *rǣd* (cf. p. 85). — O. E. *rādstefn* (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 183), *unrād* (Chron.) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f., derives from Scand. *ráð*: as for *rādstefn,* the sense is not quite clear (cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.), and therefore the etymology uncertain. But it seems to represent rather a W. Teutonic **raid* — and to be related to *rīdan.* Also *rād* in *unrād* may be from W. Teutonic **raid*: Earle and Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Oxf. 1892, translate it by 'an unlawful raid, hostile invasion', which may be right.

M. E. *scǭle, skǭle* 'bowl, lanx' A. R. 214 (*scoale*), Laȝ. II 1182 (*scole*), A. P. II 1145 (*scole*), Pr. P. p. 449 (*scole*: 'lanx'): O. W. Scand. *skál* 'bowl, scale', O. Swed. *skāl.* I here intentionally omit the M. E. examples of the spelling *scale* etc. (see Stratmann-Bradley) as representing O. Scand. *ā*, because N. E. *scale* instead of **scole* offers some difficulties, whereas M. E. *scǭle* contains, with complete certainty, the O. Scand. *ā*-sound. It seems to me to be somewhat venturous to derive N. E. *scale* from O. Scand. *skāl,* as has often been done (thus *e. g.* Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scale*) because an *a* instead of *o* is not thus easily explained (hardly a northern form?). It may be noticed that spellings with *sch* occur occasionally (A. R. 214, M. H. 120), which together with the fact that Halliwell, Dict. quotes a Mod. Engl. dial. *shale* 'an earthen pan' (Somerset) leads to the assumption that there may have existed in O. E. a native word **scalu* with a sense identical with or similar to that of O. Scand. *skāl.* Perhaps this presumed native word is to be found in O. E. *scalu, wǣȝscalu* 'scale of a balance' (Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.), which, how-

ever, does not occur early enough to exclude the possibility of Scand. origin.[1]) But if there was a native O. E. *scălu*, M. E. *shale* 'scale of a balance', it is very tempting to explain M. E. *scale*,[2]) N. E.. *scale* as being from the native word, *sc* instead of *sh* depending on the influence of the Scand. *skāl*, M. E. *scǫle*; cf. Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 282 who seems to be of a similar opinion (cf. also Erdmann, Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 146). It may be mentioned, by way of comparison, that the native O. E. *scalu* 'shell, husk' has in M. E. become *scale (scale of a fish*, Gow., *scale of a walnut*, P. Pl., *scale* 'squama' Pr. P., cf. *scalin* 'exquamo' ib.) through the influence of French *escale* 'a shell' (Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 145, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 282) or perhaps, to some extent, through the influence of O. E. Scand. *skal* 'shell, husk' (see consonants).

M. E. *scale* sb. 'shanty' C. M. 8592, N. E. dial. (Cumb.) *scale*, sb., 'a hut' (Wall, Anglia XX p. 116): O. W. Scand. *skáli* 'ædes' (not found in E. Scand.) As for the reading *schale* in C. M., probably an error, see further on under Scand. *sk*.

M. E. *spā* sb. 'prophecy' C. M. 14526, *spā* vb. 'to prophesy' C. M. 18988, N. E. dial. *spae* 'to prophesy' (see Wall p. 121): O. W. Scand. *spá* sb. and vb., O. Swed. *spā* vb. (cf. O. H. G. *spāhi* 'wise, skilful'). The original *h* was probably dropped before the word was introduced into English (Noreen, Aisl. Gr.[2] § 234), see consonants.

M. E. *wǭpen* 'weapon' Gen. and Ex. 469, *wǭpenen* 'to provide with weapons, arm' Gen. and Ex. 3373: O. W. Scand. *vápn*, O. Swed. *văpn*. Also M. E. *wapen, wapnen* may be, for some part, from Scand., cf. above p. 84, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. § 60, Anm. 1, § 96, Anm. 2, 2, b. — In O. E. *wǣpengetæc, wepentac* cf. M. E. *wapentake*, N. E. *wapentake*) there is no outward test of loan although it is, from other reasons, probable that the word has been formed after Scandinavian pattern, cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 85 ff., Bosw.-Toller, Skeat, Princ. I p. 479,

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[1]) Kluge, Grundr.[2] I p. 934 considers the O. E. word borrowed from Scand.

[2]) In M. E. *scale* *a* is for the most part ambiguous as regards its original quantity, as it may correspond to O. E. *ă* as well as to O. Scand. *ā* (cf. the examples in Stratm.-Bradley's Dictionary).

Et. D., Kluge, Grundr[2]. I p. 935, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict. and above p. 12.

M. E. *ware*, 'spring' Hamp. Ps., *wayre*, Cath. Angl. p. 408: O. W. Scand. *vár*, O. E. Scand. *vār* (= Lat. *vēr*, M. E. = *wēr*, Barb., Bruce v. 1 *ve(e)r*, see Herrtage, Cath. Angl. p. 408, footnote).[1])

M. E. *wāþe, wōþe,* sb., 'peril, hurt', Ps., Gaw., A. P., D. Erk. (cf. Knigge p. 80), Alex. (Sk.), Pr. C., Barb., Av. Arth., *wǫtheli,* adv., 'perilously', D. Troy, see Stratmann-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *váði*, 'hurt, peril', *váðaliga,* adv., O. Swed. *vāþi*, 'peril, danger'.

Some words the Scand. origin of which is, as far as based on the criterion of *ā*, more or less uncertain and some not found until N. E., may now be added. Words decidedly not from Scand. in *ā,* are given within brackets.

[M. E. *fon,* adj. and sb., 'foolish; fool', M. E. *fonnen*, 'to be foolish', *fonned,* p. partic., 'fond, infatuated', has often been derived from Scand.: O. Swed. *fāne,* early Dan. *foane,* 'a fool'. But there are some circumstances which render this etymology very doubtful, see N. E. D. s. v. *fon, fond.*[2])]

N. E. dial. *far,* 'sheep', Wall p. 98: O. E. Scand. *fār,* O. Norw. *fār,* (as for O. W. Scand. *fǽr,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gr[2]. § 68, 2).

M. E. *fǫre,* 'fear', Lamb. Hom. 97 (error for *feor?,* cf. Stratm.-Bradley), Chron. Vilod 3295 (rime-word *evermore*), M. E. *fārlāc,* 'fear, terror', St. Kath., St. Marh., see Stodte, Sprache und Heimat der Katherine-Gruppe, Göttingen 1896, p. 31. It is difficult to decide whether this southern *fār, fǫr* is from O. W. Scand. *fár,* 'enmity, injury, fraud' (< Teut. **fǣr-,* cf. Tamm., Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *fara* fem.) or actually represents an O. E. **fār*, variant to O. E. *fǣr,* 'danger, calamity, attack' (as *swǣr, swār,* Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57, Anm. 3, cf. N. E. D. s. v. *fear*).

[M. E. *ʒrāre, ʒǫre,* 'long ago', is from O. E. *ʒeāra.* Influence may, to some extent, have been exercised by O. Scand. *ār* (> M. E. *ār, ǫr,* 'early') 'long ago, formerly', as for which see

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[1]) Perhaps is *wayre,* Cath. Angl., from O. E. **wǽr;* nevertheless it is worthy of note that Cath. Angl. has *heire* < O. E. *hǽr, hare* ib. possibly being the Scand. word *hár,* cf. p. 90.

[2]) An attempt to explain this very puzzling word has recently been made by Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899. p. 275 f.

Tamm., Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *arla.*[1]) It is worthy of note that in O. W. Scand. there was also the expression *í ár* 'early' (cf. Fritzner Ordb.), which might have become **íjár, *jár,* quite as O. Swed. *ī ādhans* 'newly, lately' has become N. Swed. *i jåns* and O. Dan. *ī ādens* has become (*i*) *jons, jonsen* (Kalkar, Ordb. I p. 456). Still, as the O. E. word is quite sufficient to explain the M. E. *ā-*, *ǭ*-vowel, it is unnecessary to assume any Scand. influence at all.]

N. E. dial. *haaf* etc. sb. 'a pock-net, sea-net', see Wall Anglia X, p. 105: O. W. Scand. *háfr,* O. Swed. *hāf.*[2])

[M. E. *hwār(e), quǭr(e), wǭr* (= *quŏr(e), wŏr?*) 'where' (the forms in *o* are in Gen. and Ex.) cannot be from Scand., because Scand. *hvar* showed short *a* (cf. Goth. *hwar*), *hwār(e)* may in some cases be from O. E. *hwār(a)* (Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 321 Anm. 2), in other cases from O. E. *hwǣr.* The *o*-forms may be from O. E. *hwār(a).* Or has the preceding *w* contributed to the *o*-sound? But compare *þore* p. 97.]

M. E. *crake*, N. E. *crake* 'crow, rook' may be partly from O. W. Scand. *kráka*, O. Swed. *krāka,* but may be partly identical with the M. E. vb. *craken* 'to cry out'. Cf. the material given in N. E. D.

[M. E. *quad* 'bad' Gen. and Ex. 536 etc., Wycl, Ch. Prioress's Prol. 4 (= B. 1628)[3]), Gower II 246. The regular M. E. form is *quēd.* It cannot be from Scand., because there is no such word recorded in the Scand. languages and, if from Scand., we should have to expect the form to have been in the texts, in which *ā* is represented by *ǭ, *quǭð.*]

[N. E. *log* 'block, piece of wood'. Skeat's etymology, Et. D., does not agree with known sound-laws. An acceptable etymology is given by Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *log.*]

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[1]) Although this *ār* is quite a different word from O. E. *ȝeār,* O. Scand. *ār* 'year' (cf. Tamm l. c.) and from a base *air-*, I still give the word here, because *ā* in the English word represents a Teutonic *ǣ.*

[2]) Do *haavres, haafures* pl. (see Wall l. c.) contain the Scand. nom. *r*?

[3]) *quaad* Cook's Prol. 33 (= A. 4357) is the Flemish word (: *sooth pley quaad pley, as the Fleming seith*), cf. Skeat, Glossary, s. v., notes to the Cant. Tales p. 129. — According to Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 80 f., M. E. *cwead, qued* is from a Teut. base in *au* and a different word from O. H. G. *quāt.* etc.

[M. E. *māᵹe, mǭᵹe, mowe* 'kinswoman' A. R., Poema Morale (rime-word *āᵹe* 'own'), Laᵹ., R. Gl., etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *mǣᵹe*) is from an O. E. *māᵹe,* doublet to O. E. *mǣᵹe* 'kinswoman'].

[M. E. *ras,* N. E. *race* sb. 'a swift course', M. E. *rasen* 'to race, rush, run' is supposed by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1035, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 337, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *race,* to be from O. W. Scand. etc. *rás* 'a running' (assumed by Kluge-Lutz to be from a Teut. base *rǣs-*, thus also Franck, Et. Wb.).[1]) This supposition seems hardly acceptable, considering the vowel of the N. E. word, unless the word is a northern form (thus Sweet l. c.). I cannot here enter further upon this very difficult word which is probably due to the confusion of several originally different words.[2]) It seems possible that the M. E., N. E. word is in part due to some groundform containing an original short *ă* (cf. O. W. Scand. *ras* 'swiftness, rapidity, quickness', Swed. dial. *ras* 'haste, quickness' (Rietz), O. W. Scand. *rasa* 'to stumble' etc.); but for the settlement of this question many Teut. words need to be taken into consideration which are still more or less obscure etymologically, and in some of which it is difficult to decide the original quantity of *a*.]

M. E. *scāld* 'poet' very likely contains Scand. *ā* < *ǣ* (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 10), but because of the following *ld,* the *ā* is not a test of loan.

[M. E. *slāp, slǭp* sb. 'sleep', *slāpen* vb. 'to sleep' (see Stratm.-Bradley) is from O. E. **slāp, slāpan* (cf. der. as O. E. *slāpol* adj.), Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57 Anm. 3, Kluge, Anglia An., l. c.,[3]) Sweet H. E. S. p. 125. — The word does not seem to have occurred in

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[1]) O. W. Scand. *rás,* Swed. dial. *rås* is probably from a base **rans-* (cf. Goth. *runs* 'running, course', allied *to rinnan*), see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 239,4; it is therefore hardly related to O. E. *rǣs* sb. 'rush, running', which seems to be from a base *rais-*, allied to O. E. *rīsan* (cf. Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.).

[2]) N. E. *race* 'a swiftly running stream', *mill-race* is probably, at least in part, due to O. Fr. *rase, raise* 'conduite d'eau, rigole' also 'millrace' (cf. Cent. Dict.); but cf. O. W. Scand. *rás* 'a course, channel'. M. E. *rasen* in Rich. Coeu de Lion 6333 (: *Saladin began to rase for ire*) may be the same word as N. H. G. *rasen* 'to rage', Dutch *razen* (allied to O. E. *rāsettan*?).

[3]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 considers M. E. *slāp* a loan-word.

O. Scand. in the sense 'sleep',[1]) cf. Kluge Et. Wb. s. v. *schlafen,* Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *slapen.* — *slāpe* (rime-words *râpe, yshâpe,* K. Horn, MS. C. v. 1417, cf. Wissmann, Unters. p. 28) depends on the change of O. E. *ǣ* > M. E. *ā* (see p. 85 foot-note 1).]

M. E. *strāte,* A. P., Min. VI, 56[2]) (rime-words *lâte, hâte, gâte*), 'road, way', instead of *strēte* (O. E. *strǣt*): O. Swed. *strāta* 'road', N. Swed. *stråt* (O. W. Scand. *strǽti,* O. Swed. *strǣte,* Dan. *stræde* are probably from O. English, cf. Kluge, E. St. IX p. 312, Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVI p. 238 ff.). It is uncertain whether the word had been introduced early enough into Scand. to find its way thence into English (cf. Sievers l. c.). Could the E. form depend on later introduction from Latin (cf. Pogatscher p. 119)?

M. E. *swār(e)* 'heavy, sore, grievous', Orrm, Flor., Gaw., is from O. E. *swār* (Kluge, Angl. Anz. l. c. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 57 Anm. 3) rather than from O. W. Scand. *svárr* 'heavy, grievous', O. Swed. *swār* 'heavy etc.', although Scand. influence is not definitely excluded.[3])

M. E. *tāle* (Kent. Gosp.), *tǭle* (Shoreh. 36) 'calumny' is from O. E. *tāl* (Kluge l. c., Sievers l. c.) rather than from O. W. Scand. *tál* 'allurement, device'.

N. E. dial. *waag* sb. Yorksh. 'a lever': O. W. Scand. *vág,* O. Swed. *vāgh,* see Wall p. 126.

[M. E. (*þār(e), þǭr(e)* 'there' R. Gl. (Pabst p. 20), Erl of Tolouse 716 (cf. Scholle, Minot p. XIV), Oct. (Sarrazin p. XVI), D. Troy, Chron. Vil. (Heuser, Diss. Göttingen, 1887 p. 17) etc. is from O. E. *þār, þāra* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 321 Anm. 2,

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[1]) Norw. dial. *slaap* 'a dull fellow', *slaapa* 'to drag, to trail, to proceed slowly and heavily', *slaapen* 'slack, loose', *slaapna* 'to slacken' (Ross), Swed. dial. *slåpig* 'lazy' are probably from the same Teutonic base *slǣp,* allied to Germ. *schlapp,* Swed. *slapp* etc. — O. Swed. *slapokamar* 'bed-room', Norw. dial. *slaaprokk* (Aasen), Dan. *slobrok* 'night-gown' are from L. German.

[2]) Hall. Minot[2], Oxf. 1897, derives the word in Minot from O. Fr. *estreit* 'strait' which is hardly right (: *þat es ful wele bithoght to stop Philip the strate*). — *strate* sb. Barb. IV, 458, *stratest* superl. Barb. VI, 463 is certainly the French word. — *strāte* sb. 'road, way', rime-word *hāte* 'heat'), O. E. Hom. II p. 227, depends on the change of *ǣ* > *ā.*

[3]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 holds M. E. *swār, tāl* to be loan-words.

Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.); in Scand. *þar* the vowel was short (cf. Goth. *þar*); cf. *hwār(e)*, *quǭr(e)* p. 94.[1])]

B. Scand. *ā* from other sources.

a) In English, *n* had been dropped in prehistoric times before *h* (the loss before *h* was common Teutonic), *s* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 377, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 45,5 186,1 and when the vowel preceding *n* was an original *ă*, this *ă* is in O. E. represented by *ō* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 66, 67). In Scandinavian, *n* was also dropped in these positions in prehistoric times (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 576), but when the preceding vowel was an original *ă*, this vowel is in Old Scand. always[2]) represented by *ā* (cf. Noreen Paul's Grundr[2] I p. 556, 559). An *ā* instead of *ō* in English, corresponding to a Teut. *ą̄* (+ *h*), *ă* (+ *ns*), is not English, but, if no other source is possible, unmistakably Scandinavian. The words in question are as follows:

O. E. *ās* in proper names from Ssand. *ās-* (= O. E. *ōs* 'god'); the Teut. groundform was *ansu-*, cf. Tamm. Et. Sv. Ordb. p. 15.

M. E. *ās* in *bētās* 'sailyard' R. Brunne (cf. p. 61), *wyndās* windlass, trochlea' Pr. P., Ch., A. P. III 103, R. Brunne etc. (cf. Stratm.-Bradley, Skeat, Princ. I p. 475, Cent. Dict.): O. W. Scand. *áss* 'a pole, main rafter, yard, a rocky ridge', O. Swed. *ās*, O. W. Scand. *beitiáss, vindáss*, O. Swed. *bētās*. Goth. *ans* shows that the genuine English form would have been M. E. **ōs*. — Still it is possible that both words have been introduced from Scand. into English through Norman French, cf. Norm. Fr. *betas* (see p. 61 foot-note 2) *windas*, (*quindas*) s. m. 'treuil, grue, cabestan'.[3])

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[1]) M. E. *þare* in some cases may be from O. E. *þǣr*, cf. *wāre* p. 85 and *hwār(e)* p. 95.

[2]) As for a secondary exception to this rule, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 73, 2 c.

[3]) Dutch *windaas* 'windlass or engine', quoted by Skeat, Et. D. (from Hexham, Woordenboeck, Rotterd. 1678) is to be taken into consideration as a possible, although not very probable, source of the English word. The word is not to be found in Oudemans' Dictionary. N. Dutch *windas* 'as om te winden' is quite a different word, see Vercouillie, Beknopt Woordenboek s. v.

N. E. dial. *beace* (Yorksh.) 'a stall for a horse or cow' (E. D. D. s. v. *boose* sb.) is probably rather to be derived from O. W. Scand. *báss,* O. Swed. *bās,* than from O. E. **bōs* (= Germ. *Banse*).

[As for M. E. *gǣte* in *gǣtelǣs* 'careless' Orrm., *gǣtenn* 'to direct, preserve, take care of' etc. (Orrm) etc., in which *ǣ* represents the *i* mutation of *ā,* which need not, however, be from a Teut. *ā,* see further on under Scand. *t(t)* < *ht.*]

O. E. *hā* 'rowlock', *hāsǣta* 'rower in warship' (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 160 f., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.² I. p. 933, Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Series VII 1895 p. 23 and p. 128 f.[1]): O. W. Scand. *hár* 'a thole', O. Swed. *hā,* Swed. dial. *hå.* The ground-form of this Scand. word was *hą̄h,* see Lidén, Uppsalastudier, p. 89 ff., Noreen, Ugerm., Lautl. p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 132.[2])

M. E. *haht, hauht, hagt,* sb. 'danger', Vices and Virtues, Gen. and Ex. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *hǣtta* 'danger', (cf. O. W. Scand. *hǽtta,* vb. 'to venture, hazard', O. Swed. *hǣt(t)a* vb. 'to venture, try'). It is generally assumed that the Scand. word is from a base **hanht*>**hą̄ht-,* cf. Kluge (Osthoff), E. St. IX p. 312, Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 133. If this etymology be right, as I believe it to be, the M. E. word must be a Scand. loan-word. It is probable that *a* was short and from *ǣ* (< *ā* through *i*-mutation), shortened before *ht,* rather than from *ā* (without *i*-mutation). But in both cases, Scand. origin is unmistakable, as the true native

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[1]) O. E. (*þām*) *hānon* (dat.), discussed by Napier and Stevenson l. c., seems to be from the same word, although the form is difficult to explain. Is it possible to assume that the source of this form was Scand. *hānum* dativ, definite form of Scand. *hār*?

[2]) O. W. Scand. *hár* 'shark, dogfish', Swed. dial. *hå,* Norw. dial. *haa* 'dog-fish', O. Dan. *ha-fisk* (see Lidén l. c. p. 90 f., Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIII p. 34) is most likely ultimately the same word (cf. Lidén, Uppsalastudier l. c., Zupitza l. c. p. 133) and has been introduced into Engl. dial. as *hoe* (cf. Jamieson and Cent. Dict.), *hō* (Shetl., see Jakobsen, Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland p. 44, 118). A derivative of this *hár* showing *i*-mutation was O. W. Scand. *hǽ(i)ngr* 'a male salmon', also used as a n. pr. or nickname. This word also occurs in O. E. documents (XIth cy.): *Thurcytel Heyng,* see Searle, Onom. A. Sax. p. 448 (cf. above p. 26, 28).

form would have been either M. E. **hǒht* (without *i*-mutation) or **hěht* (*i*-mutated).

[Late O. E. *seaht, saht* (the normal form is *seht,* also *sæht*), sb. 'settlement, agreement, etc.' *sahtlian* vb. 'to settle, bring to an agreement, etc.' (see Bosw.-Toller p. 857), M. E. *saht, sahht, sauht* etc., adj., 'reconciled, at peace', *sahtnesse* etc. sb., 'reconciliation, peace', *sahte,* (A. R.: *seihte*) sb. 'reconciliation, peace', *sahten, sahtlen, sahtnien,* vb. 'to reconcile, make peace'. The whole word-group, which does not occur in other West Teutonic languages, is most probably from Scand.;[1]) also the distribution of the word speaks in favour of Scand. origin: O. W. Scand. *sátt, sǽtt,* sb. 'reconciliation, agreement', *sáttr* 'reconciled', *sǽtta,* vb. 'to reconcile', O. Swed. *sāt* sb. 'peace, unity', *sāt(t)er* 'at peace, on friendly terms, etc.', N. Swed. *såt,* adj. 'intimate, friendly', etc.; but as there is no absolute evidence of the word being from a Teutonic base, **sanhti- > *sąhti-,* as assume Noreen (Lidén), Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 152, 4, Urg. Lautl. p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 210, there is no phonetic criterion of the Scand. origin of the forms in *a.*[2])]

M. E. *wrā, wrǭ* sb. 'corner' C. M., Gaw. etc., see Dial. Prov. p. 22 f.

b) O. W. Scand. *frā* 'from' shows the loss of the original final consonant, cf. Tamm, Etym. Sv. Ordbok p. 176 (s. v. *från*), Noreen, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. III p. 9, 36, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 238, 1, Altschwed. Gramm. § 248, 3; in O. English there are some cases, too, in which a final nasal consonant (viz. *n*) was dropped (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 188, 2); likewise final *n* was dropped, owing to weak stress, in M. E. *o < on, i < in.* It has often been assumed, that M. E. *frā, frǭ,* N. E. *fro* (in *to and fro*), N. E. dial. *frae, fro* (cf. Bearder, Diss. Giessen 1893—94 p. 88 f.), also in M. E. *frǭward,* N. E. *froward,* is from O. E. *fram, frǫm*, the nasal (*m*) having been dropped owing to the word's being generally weakly accentuated in the sentence; thus *e. g.* Wücker, Paul and Braune's Beiträge I p. 225, Brate

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[1]) Cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 181 f., Brate f. c. p. 53, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[8] I p. 934.

[2]) Another etymology of the word is given by Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XX p. 31 (Sanskr. *saktas* adj. 'verbunden', *saktis* sb. 'Verbindung').

l. c. p. 42, ten Brink, Ch. Gr.[1] § 58. That this cannot be right, is sufficiently shown by means of the phonology of the Orrmulum. The analogy of *o* 'on' in the Orrmulum proves, that if the nasal consonant (*m*) had, owing to weak accent, been dropped in O. E. *frǫm*, this O. E. word would in the Orrmulum have been represented by **frō*, not by *frā*. The form of the word, therefore, is distinctly Scandinavian.[1]) Moreover, all other circumstances speak for Scand. origin. Thus the local distribution of the word, the earliest occurrences of which are to be found in the MS. E. of the Chron.,[2]) Orrm., E. E. Ps. (very often *e. g.* I 4, II 6), Gen. and Ex., C. M., Langl., P. Pl. A., A. P., Gaw. (Knigge, p. 80), is the same as that of most Scand. loanwords, cf. N. E. D., Morsbach, Schriftspr. p. 42 f. It is also worthy of note, that the word was far from always weakly stressed in these early instances (cf. the examples in N. E. D.); in N. E. rec. speech (*to and fro, froward*) the word is always stressed.

c) Teutonic *-ah* + vowel is in O. E., as a rule, represented by *ēa* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 111, 2), in O. Scand. by *ā* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 110). O. E. *ā*, M. E. *ā, ǭ* (corresponding to Teut. *-ah* + vowel), instead of O. E. *ēa* and its continuations, would therefore be a reliable test of loan, if the only O. E. representative of Teutonic *-ah* + vowel was *ēa*. But in O. Northumbrian and Kentish (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033), Teutonic *-aha-* seems to have, at least to some extent, become *ā* (North.[3]) *slā, þwā* = W. Sax. *slēan, þwēan*, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 166, 374, Kluge l. c.). It is therefore generally impossible to decide whether *ā, ǭ* in such words in late O. E., M. E. depends on Scand. influence or on O. E. *ā* or on the combined influence of both.

A few words may be given here, in which Scand. influence is possible or probable.

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[1]) This is now, I believe, the general opinion, cf. *e. g.* Sweet, H. E. S. p. 336, N. E. D., Holthausen, Literaturbl. XII p. 340, Kluge-Lutz, E. Etym.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933. — *Frāward* adv. occurs in the Chron. MS. E. 1127, Orrm. etc.

[3]) Rush.[1], Rush.[2], Lind. Gosp. — But in the last two monuments, Scandinavian influence is not absolutely excluded, as some undoubtedly Scand. words occur there.

M. E. *ā* 'stream, water-course' Munim. Magd. Coll. Oxf. No. 7 A (Saltfleetby, Lincolnsh. ca. 1430, see N. E. D.), according to N. E. D. probably from O. Scand. *ā,* cognate with O. E. *ēa.*

M. E. *flān, flǭ* 'to flay' Laȝ., Gen. and Ex., K. Horn, Hav.[1]): O. Scand. *flā* (= O. E. *flēan.*)

N. E. dial. (Scotl.) *ra, ray* 'a sail-yard' (Jamieson), from Scotland introduced into Shetland (see Jakobsen l. c. p. 85, the true Shetlandish form being according to Jakobsen l. c. *rō*) is certainly from Scand. *rá* (< **rahō-*, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Rahe*).

O. E. *rān* 'rapina' (Laws of Will. the Conqueror), see Bosw.-Toller: O. W. Scand. *rán,* O. Swed. *rān,* cf. O. H. Germ. *birahanen* 'spoliari'. There is no **rēan* found in English. O. E. *rān* is, most certainly, Scandinavian; cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934.

M. E. *slān, slǭn* Best., Hav., Gen. and Ex., etc., see Dictionaries, Wissmann l. c., Fischer, Anglia XI p. 198, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033: O. Scand. *slā* (= O. E. *slā, slēan*).

d) M. E. *fā* 'not many, few' C. M. 8496, 8599 (M. S. Cott.), *fǭ* Gen. and Ex. 2403 (rime-word *wǭ*), Sir Amadas (Camden) LXX (written *foe,* rime-word: *soe* 'so'), R. Br. Chon. (ed. Hearne) 58, 242, *fon*(*e*) E. E. Ps. CVI 39, C. M. 15822, 19782, 25904, (MS. Cott.), Hamp. Pr. C. 530, 764, 3731, (: comp. *foner*), Min. II 28, *foun* C. M. 27864 (MS. Cott.)[2]): O. W. Scand. *fár,* pl. *fáir* adj. 'few', O. Swed. *fā* etc. (root *fā-* < **fawo-* = Goth. *fawai,* O. E. *fēawe, feawe, fēa*, see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 73, 1).[3]) The criterion of loan is here based on the different result of Teutonic *aw* + vowel in Scand. and O. English, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 110, Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *få* adj., Sievers l. c. — The forms in *n* are perhaps to be explained according to N. E. D. s. v. *few.*

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[1]) As for the distribution of the form, see, besides the Dictionaries, Wissmann, Unters. zu K. Horn p. 29 f.

[2]) Some references of the different forms are given by Sweet, H. E. S. p. 352. *foune* is somewhat obscure and *fune,* Min., C. M. 18246, still more so. The form *fowe, foue* adj., 'few' is to be explained, as Professor Morsbach informs me, from O. E. *fēawe* > *fāwe,* M. E. *fowe,* as O. E. *scēawian* has become M. E. *showen.* O. E. *ēa* + *w* has become (apart from *ęw, ęu*) M. E. *aw, au* in the North, *ow, ou* in the Midland dialects.

[3]) In part, the Scand. word might be from another base, see Leffler, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. I p. 276 ff., Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *få,* adj.

M. E. *strā* Iw. 2655, Hav. 315, (cf. Hupe, Anglia XIII p. 189), C. M. 7204 (rime-word *tuā*), *strǫ* Barb. III, 320, Dougl. (see Gerken, cf. p. 46): O. W. Scand. *strá,* O. Swed., O. Dan. *strā* (<**strawo-* (cf. Kock, Ind. Forsch. V p. 157) = O. E. *strēaw*, *strēa*, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 111).[1])

e) O. E. *māl* 'action at law, bargaining, agreement, pay', chiefly occurring in the Chronicle, M. E. *māl, mǭl* 'speach, language, payment, tribute' (Orrm, O. E. H. II 179, Gen. and Ex., C. M., Misc. 151) is from O. W. Scand. *mál,* O. E. Scand. *māl,* most probably from Teutonic **maþlo-,* cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 559 (= § 46 b), it being uncertain whether **maþl-* has become *māl-* directly or through the intermediate form **mahl-*, as is the view maintained by Streitberg, Urgerm. Gramm. p. 141. This Scand. word meant 'speach, faculty of speach, suit, action, cause, indictment, charge, stipulation', cf. O. W. Scand. *máli* 'contract, agreement'; the genuine English form is O. E. *mæðl* 'an assembly, council, speech, address' (= Goth. *maþl* 'ἀγορά', O. H. G. *mahal* 'curia'). In M. E. the word-stem is preserved in the verb *maðelen* 'to speak, discourse', *maðelere, maðelild, maðelung.* The Scandinavian origin of the word (*māl*, *mǭl*), especially in such phrases as O. E. *beran up māl* (= O. W. Scand. *bera upp mál*) and in the compound *māldæʒ* 'an agreement, covenant' (= O. W. Scand. *máldagi* 'a covenant, agreement, a written deed') cannot be doubted, but although the form of the word also speaks for Scand. origin, the form is not, taken by itself, an absolutely reliable criterion of Scand. origin, because there existed some words in Teutonic of different etymological origin, which, owing to likeness as to form and meaning, are often difficult to discriminate from each other in the Teutonic languages (O. W. Scand. *māl* itself is ambiguous as to its etymology, see Lidén, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XV p. 513), and because the etymology of these words and some phonological questions connected with them, are not as yet sufficiently settled.[2]) Thus, if the original meaning of O. E. *mæðl* etc. was 'a spot', O. E. *māl* 'a spot' (= Goth. *mail*) may be compared,

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[1]) M. E. *strowen* 'to strew' is a native by-form of *strewen strawen.*

[2]) Moreover, the sense of the word, in some cases, is not quite obvious, cf. Bosw.-Toller.

which, if not other circumstances made such a supposition improbable, as far as the form is concerned, could be the same word as O. E. *māl* 'action at law, etc.' — As the Scand. origin of O. E. *māl,* M. E. *māl, mǫl,* is, from several reasons, unmistakable and as the form of the word points distinctly to the same direction, I need not enter upon all questions connected with this and other words of similar form and meaning. I refer to the etymological Dictionaries (esp. Kluge s. v. *Mahl* and *Mal,* Uhlenbeck s. v. *maþl, mail, mēl*). Goth. *maþl* etc. has been discussed by Wiedemann, I. F. I p. 512 f., Lidén l. c., Much., I. F. Anz. X p. 201 f. (cf. also Streitberg, Urg. Gramm. p. 131, 141), N. H. G. *Mahl, Mal,* etc., in later times, by Detter, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XLII p. 57 f., Schröder ibid. p. 63, Wood, Mod. Lang. Notes 1898 p. 287. — Scand. origin of the O. and M. E. word is generally assumed, cf. *e. g.* Steenstrup, Danelag p. 55, 119, 180 f., Brate l. c. p. 50, Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Mätzner, Wb., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f., 1033. — O. E. *mǣlan* 'to speak', occurring very early (see Bosw.-Toller, cf. Goth. *maþljan*), may depend on a W.-Sax. loss of *ð*, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] 201, Anm. 2,[1]) although it might, in some instances, depend on Scand. *mǽla* 'to speak'; thus Scand. origin is possible in the case of Byrhtn. *mǣlan* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 934), but cannot be proved. Likewise O. E. *mǣl* (Byrhtn. 212: *ȝemunaþ ðā mǣla ðe wē oft æt meodo sprǣcon*)[2]) could be from O. W. Scand. *mǽli* 'voice, etc.', but is perhaps to be explained according to Sievers l. c. — M. E. *mǣlenn* 'to speak' (Orrm.), *mǣlen, mēlen* (Misc., Hav., Gaw. etc.), is very likely to be regarded a Scand. loan-word, because the loss of *ð* before *l* with compensatory prolongation of the preceding vowel does not seem to have taken place in O. Anglian.[3])

[f) M. E. *wār, wǫr* 'humour, pus' Orrm. 4782 (: *annd wār annd wirrseann tōc anān ūt off hiss līc tō flōwenn*), C. M. 11835

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[1]) Cf. also Kluge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI p. 96, Sievers I. F. IV p. 340.

[2]) O. E. *mǣl*, Wald. ed. Stephens v. 33, is not easy to translate; if it means 'mark, goal' (cf. Stephens' translation) it is, of course, the same word as O. E. *mǣl* 'measure, time, mark.'

[3]) M. E. *mellen* (rime-words *quelle, welle*, see Mätzner Wb.), on the other hand, is from the O. E. word *meðlan* with *i*-mutation (< **maðlian*), *ll* depending on the assimilation of *ðl* > *ll*.

(Cott. MS. 11832—36: *His teth vt of his heued fell, on ilk side him soght þe sare, It moght naman in lif ha mare. Oueral wrang vte worsum and ware* (v. l. *wore*) *And wormes creued here and þare*), is generally held to be from O. Scand. *var* 'matter, pus'. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 64, sees in the form of the word a test of Scand. origin; in his opinion, the word, which he thinks related to O. H. G. *warah* 'sanies, tabes, putredo', would have, if English, been **warrh* not *wār*.[1]) M. E. *wār*, if connected with the above mentioned Scand. *var*, O. H. G. *warah*, certainly cannot be a genuine English word.[2]) But the length of *ā* is not easily explained by assuming Scand. origin: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *var* had had *ă*, and Brate l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 111, explain the *ā* of the M. E. word by means of an assumed Scand. dialectal sound-law according to which, after the dropping of *h* after *r, l,* the preceding vowel was lengthened. The other instances of this presumptive sound-law are, at any rate, very scarce and more or less doubtful,[3]) and, besides M. E. *wār,* there are no evidences at all of the existence of an O. Scand. **vār* instead of *văr*.[4]) The current explanation of the M. E. form, therefore, it seems

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[1]) A Teutonic **warh-* would rather have given a M. E. (Orrm.) **wære* or **ware* (later *wâre*) (< O. E. **wĕar-, wĕar-,* in the inflected forms, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 218, 1) or **warrh* (from the O. E. non-inflected form.) As Professor Morsbach kindly points out to me, words of this type show nearly exclusively M. E. *ă* < O. E. *ĕa* of the O. E. inflected forms. This M. E. *ă* was subsequently lengthened: Thus M. E. *Wâles, hâle* (O. E. *healh*), *mâre* (O. E. *mearh*) etc. — M. E. *mĕre* (cf. *mūre*) seems to be O. E. fem. *mĕre, mȳre* (< *mīere*). What we actually should have to expect in the Orrmulum, would consequently be **ware* (< Teut. **warh-*).

[2]) M. E. *more*, Wright, Spec. of Lyr. Poetry p. 36 is not from O. E. *mearh* etc. 'horse' (thus Mätzner, Wb.) but probably from O. E. *more* (N. H. G. *Möhre* 'an edible root'), cf. Böddecker, Altengl. Dicht. p. 375.

[3]) Viz. O. W. Scand. *fúra, fýri* by the side of *fŭra, fўri, Válir* by the side of *Vălir* (Noreen l. c.); the length of *fúra, fýri, Válir* is based on metrical evidence the value of which I cannot here enter upon.

[4]) Dan. dial. and rec. speech *vo(o)r* 'humour, pus' proves nothing, as *o* may be due to some dialectal development; my friend, Cand. Mag. Marius Kristensen, of Askov, Denmark, informs me, that the dialect of his native place only knows *văr*. He also calls my attention to the fact that in the East Danish dialects *a* has frequently become *å* after a *v*, which makes it probable that Dan. *vo(o)r* is due to such a development. In O. Dan. there was probably no other form than *wăr*.

to me, ought to be considered more or less problematic, especially if there be some other explanation possible, which I think is actually the case. In O. E. there was a word *wāriȝ* which Bosw.-Toller translates by 'stained with sea-weed, dirty', *wāriht*, 'algosus', cf. M. E. *wǭri* 'dirty' (of water, *e. g.* O. E. Hom. I 29, Brd. 12; of the heart, A. R. p. 386); this is apparently a by-form with *r* (< *z*) to O. E. *wāse* 'ooze, mud, slime', M. E. *wāse, wǭse* 'slime' (cf. O. E. *wāsescite* 'cuttle-fish'), in Cath. Angl. translated by 'alga', which translation renders the connection with O. E. *wār* 'sea-weed', *wāriȝ* most probable. O. E. *wāse* etc. is the same word as O. W. Scand. *veisa* 'a pool, pond of stagnant water, cess-pool', Swed. dial. *vēsa* 'mire, mud'. I feel inclined to identify M. E. *wār*, *wǭr* with O. E. *wār*, M. E. *wǭr* in O. E., *wāriȝ, wāriht*, M. E. *wǭri*. As for the sense-development from 'slime, dirt' into 'humour, pus' is to be compared O. H. German, O. E. *gor* 'dung, dirt', M. E. *gôre* 'mud, limus', Swed. dial. *går* 'dirt, the contents of the intestines, pus, purulent matter', N. E. *gore* 1) 'dirt, mud' 2) 'blood that is shed or drawn from the body, thick or clotted blood' (Cent. D.).]

[g) O. E. *cál* Ælfr. Voc. (= Wr. Voc. 136, 28: *arboracia vel lapsana, cal*), M. E. *cǭle*, Northern *cāle* (Mod. E. dial. *kale, kail,* also *cole* N. E. D., E. D.D., which latter may as well represent O. E. *cāwl*) 'cabbage', according to Pogatscher, Lautl. d. griech., lat. u. rom. Lehnw. p. 122, is from O. Scand. *kāl,* not from Lat. *caulis,* because the regular product of Lat. *au* in the Lat. loanwords in English is *ēa* or *āw* (*au*), not *ā*. Nevertheless, as other developments may have been possible, it seems safer to consider the Scand. word only as an eventual source of the English word, as does N. E. D. s. v. *cole.* Moreover, Ir. and Gael. *cál* is to be taken into consideration.]

h) M. E. *þrā, þrǭ,* adj., 'bold, severe, strong',[1]) *þrālī, þrǭly,* adj., 'bold, eager', also adv. 'eagerly', *þrā, þrǭ* sb. 'struggle, victory, mastery', possibly belonging to some of the preceding headings must be treated here separately, because the etymology of the Scand. word-stem from which the words are borrowed is not quite obvious. The Scand. words to be taken

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[1]) Cf. N. E. dial. *threa* (Yorksh.) 'unwilling', Wall p. 73, 125.

in consideration are: O. W. Scand. *þrá* vb. 'to long, yearn', O. Swed. *þrā* vb. 'to long' (cf. N. Swed. *(å)trå* vb., *trånad* sb. 'longing, desire'), O. W. Scand. *þrá* sb. f. 'longing, desire, struggle, obstinacy', *þrá* sb. n., *þrái* sb. m. 'stubbornness, spite, refractoriness', *þrár*, adj., 'obstinate, stubborn' (also in a great number of compounds, see Fritzner, Cleasby-Vígfússon), Swed. dial. *tråe* m. 'longing, desire', *trånas(t)* 'to long, dwindle away', *trå(r)* 'industrious, persevering, longing, obstinate, faithful' etc. (Rietz, p. 756 f.), Norw. dial. *traa* sb. 'longing', vb. 'to long', adj., 'persevering, headstrong', etc. (Aasen, Ross). It is even questionable, whether these Scand. words are all from the same Teutonic root, and if not so from which of them the English words are to be derived. There are some Scand. words in similar senses which contain *ng*: Swed. *trängta* 'to long', *trängas* 'to long', *trängsen* (cf. Swed. dial. *tråssen* 'eager, longing, obstinate', Linder, Allmogemålet i södra Möre Härad. Uppsala 1867 p. 176) 'eager, longing' etc. Such words suggest the Teut. base of *þrā* 'to long', *þrār* etc. to be **þranh(u̯)-*, connected with Germ. *dringen*, O. E. *þringan*', Goth. *þreihan* etc., see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XI p. 349 f., XIV p. 175. If this etymology be right, the English words must be from Scandinavian, because the native form would have been M. E. *þrǭh*.[1]) But such forms as O. W. Scand. *þrøyja* 'to feel for, desire' (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 428 Anm. 3, 440, 5) make it possible to assume the base of *þrár* to be **þrau̯o-*, cf. J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXVI p. 7, Karsten l. c. p. 64, 73.[2]) — Also in this case the form of our words is distinctly Scandinavian. Possibly the Scandinavian words depend on the coincidence in form of two originally distinct word-roots.

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[1]) O. E. *þrōh* sb. 'rancour, invidia, odium' Erf. Gl. (*trōh* Corpus Gl.), *þrōh*, adj., (dativ *þrōȝum*, *þrōn*) 'rancidus, bitter') is from such a base **þranh-* **þrą̄h-* (as for the sense, cf. Norw. dial. *traa*, *traaen*, 'rancid, bitter', Aasen, Karsten l. c. p. 64)? Perhaps is also O. E. *þroht* (*þrōht*?) sb., 'affliction, hardship', adj. 'grievous', which is hardly identical with O. W. Scand. *þróttr* 'strength' (thus Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 217), from the same base with a *t*-suffix (as for the sense, cf. Germ. *Drangsal*, Swed. *trångmål*).

[2]) Norw. dial. *traa* 'rancid, bitter' is in my opinion decidedly from a base containing *-anh-*, as is proved by O. E. *þrōh* 'rancidus', and not from a base **þrau̯o-*, as assumes Karsten p. 64.

[i) In this connection a few words may be mentioned which have often been considered Scandinavian, although the *ā* they contain, is no test of Scand. origin.

M. E. *ār(e)*, *ǭr(e)* 'early, sooner, before' may partly represent Scand. *ār,* partly an unrecorded non-mutated O. E. **ār* (M. E. *ār* may also partly represent O. E. *ǣr,* see N. E. D. s. v. *ere*). M. E. *ār(e), ǭr(e)*, when depending on the Scand. word, belongs to the class of loan-words mentioned above p. 30 foot-note.

M. E. *bāþe*, *bōþe* 'both', according to Skeat, Et. D., Brate l. c. p. 33, N. E. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 153, 337 of Scand. origin, from O. W. Scand. *báðir* m., *báðar* f., O. Swed. *bāþir, bāþe,* Middle Dan. *baade),* may perhaps — at least in part — quite as well be derived from O. E. *bā þā,* cf. Meringer (Koch), Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXVIII p. 236 foot-note, Kluge, E. Stud. XIII p. 508, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1055, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *both.* The earliest known uses of the word in the form questioned, are Kent Gosp., Luke (Roy. MS. Á 14, Hatt. MS.) I, 7 (cf. Reimann p. 8), Sax. Chr. In the 13th century the word is frequently found even in the southern dialects. Of course, Scand. influence may have contributed to the paramountcy of the form. This is especially likely the case with regard to the use of the word as a conjunction (adv.) (as early as Chron. Laud. MS. 1137, O. E. Hom. I, 143, Orrm., Laȝ.), cf. O. W. Scand. *báði* conj. (also *bǽði*), O. Swed. *bāþe* conj., Middle Dan. *baade* conj., see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *både,* Brate l. c. — M. E. *bēþe* (Hav.) is not easily explained as a native form and is no doubt from Scand. (cf. Meringer l. c.); *bāþre* gen. (Orrm.) is perhaps a young formation from the M. E. nom. *bāþe* (cf. Brate l. c.), although the form *báðra* occurs in O. W. Scand. (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 375) to which the M. E. form may also be referred.

M. E. *lān,* N. E. *loan* : O. Scand. *lān* (< **laihno-*); but O. E. *lǣn* (< **laihni-*).[1]) See p. 30 foot-note.

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[1]) A similar change of *ā* and *ǣ*, where both vowels are undoubtedly native, is to be found in O. E. *clāð* and *clǣð*, (cf. O. E. *clāðian* and *clǣðan*), see Erdmann, Skrifter utgifna af Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala I, 3 p. 12 f. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 932, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 108, and others derive O. E. *clǣðan*, M. E. *clēðen* from Scand. Kluge l. c. derives O. W. Scand. *klǽði* from O. E.

M. E. *sā*, N. E. dial. *soa, soe* 'a bucket, pail' is from O. E. *sā* 'a bucket' (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., Bosw.-Toller) and not, as assumes Wall, Anglia XX p. 121, from O. W. Scand. *sár* 'a large cask', O. Swed. *sā* etc. (< **saiha-*, see Lidén, Uppsala-studier p. 81 f.). At any rate, there is no phonetic criterion of loan, as Teut. *ai* became *ā* before *h* both in Scand. and English; cf. prec. word.

O. E. *ȝeā, ia*, M. E. *ȝa, iaa, ioo* (= *yǭ*) 'yes', *ȝeatan* (= *ȝe-ātan*?) 'to grant, confirm, assent to', M. E. *ȝaten*,[1]) probably due to Scand. influence (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 1021), offer no phonetic criterion of loan, as the Scand. word *jă̄* itself, owing to weak stress, underwent quite different development from stressed words[2]) and the same might also in part have been the case in English.[3]) In the O. E. phrase *cueðan in wið* (: *se kyng befealh ȝeorne hire brēðer oþ ðæt he quæð ia wið* 'until he said yes in reply'), Scandinavian origin is hardly to be doubted (cf. O. W. Scand. *kueða já við* 'to say yes in reply).]

5. Scandinavian *ă*.

In the Old Scandinavian languages, *ă* did not become *ǣ, e* in close syllables or before an original *e*, as was the case in English (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 49, 50, 2, 151). There are no means of ascertaining whether Scand. *a* in the positions mentioned was represented in the loan-words in O. E. by *a* or *æ*, the material of Scand. loan-words in O. E. and in the M. E. dialects in which this sound-change (*a* > *æ, e*) had taken place being so infinitesimal: in the M. E. dialects in which

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[1]) M. E. *ȝetten* (see Dictionaries) is, as Professor Morsbach points out to me, probably a by-form of *ȝēten* (*ȝǣten* = W. Sax. *ȝēatan*), depending on the influence of the M. E. pret. *ȝĕtte* (W. Sax. *ȝēatte*). In O. E. it is, as a rule, difficult to decide whether the spelling *ȝea* means *ȝēa* or *ȝeā*.

[2]) As for the Scandinavian words and their explanation, see Lidén, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. III p. 235 ff., Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 38; cf. consonants, later on.

[3]) There must very early have existed doublets of the word owing to different stress: **ȝǣ* > *ȝēa* (stressed), *ȝă* (weakly stressed, cf. Goth. *ja*, not **ȝē*); the latter (*ȝa*) could in its turn have been stressed again, and would then have become *ȝā* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 121).

the main parts of Scand. loan-words occur, O. E. *æ, e* (< Teut. *a*) under the circumstances mentioned, had become *a*. Moreover it may be mentioned that in the dialects in which Teut. *a* was represented by *æ*, *e* in close syllables and before an original *e, a* is often to be found owing to the analogy of such forms in which it was regular. *a* instead of *æ* is, therefore, not to be considered, in itself, a test of Scand. loan. Only in one case *a* instead of *æ, e* seems to point to Scand. origin: O. E. *æȝ, eȝ* (< Teut. *aγ*) became in M. E. *aȝȝ* (Orrm.) > *ai*, whereas O. E. *aȝ* > M. E. *a* + back *ȝ*(*γ*) > M. E. *aw*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 997 ff. In some words M. E. *aw*, when the corresponding native O. E. word had, or may be expected to have had, *æȝ* (*eȝ*), seems to be due to an O. E. *aȝ* from Scand. *ag* [= *aγ*].[1]) The words to be taken into consideration in this respect are:

[? M. E. *aglen* (= *aȝlen*?) 'to vacillate' (according to Stratm.-Bradley)[2]) Gen. and Ex. 3809 : O. Dan., Dan. dial. *agle* 'to swing, waver'. But *aglen* probably means *aylen* (*ailen*) > O. E. *eȝlan* (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *ail* vb.).]

M. E. *aȝune*, *awene, awne* Wr. Voc.[1] 155, Wr. Voc.[2] 725, 33, Pr. P. p. 18, N. E. *awn*(*s*): O. W. Scand. *ǫgn* (gen. *agnar*), O. Swed. *aghn*, Dan. *avn*(*e*); for the etymology and groundform, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Ahne,* Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *agn* f., N. E. D. I p. 597, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *awn,* Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *awn,* Svenska Akademiens Ordbok I s. v. *agn*. Scand. origin is generally assumed. The native form is O. E. *æȝnan* 'paleæ,

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[1]) O. E. *aȝ* instead of *æȝ*, possibly due to Scand. influence is to be found in O. E. *Agmund* n. pr., *Wagen* n. pr. (O. W. Scand. *vagn,* O. Swed. *vaghn* = O. E. *wæȝn*); as for the latter, see Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 144. But this material is too scanty to allow of any conclusions whatever. — The Scandinavian loan-words have undergone the change of *ȝ* > *w*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 936, 997. To the examples given by Kluge may be added M. E. *ardawe* 'ploughing, the quantity of land that may be ploughed in a day', see N. E. D., probably from a Scand. **ardaȝhi* (cf. Middle Dan. *ardagh* 'ploughing', Kalkar Ordbog, but also M. H. G. *artac,* also used as a measure of land); as for the question of wordformation, see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XV p. 232, who does not, however, treat this word.

[2]) Morris, Gen. and Ex., translates the word by 'to become weak, foolish'.

quisquiliæ' (Cp. Gl.), Sweet, O. E. T. p. 478, Wr. Voc. 38, 10, 42, 33, N. E. dial. *ain* 'the awn or beard of barley or bearded wheat' (E. D. D.).

O. E. *fahnian* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 214 Anm. 2), *(ʒe)faʒ(e)nian* vb. 'to rejoice, exult, be pleased with' Ælfr. Hom. (by the side of *fæʒnian,* see Schwerdtfeger, Diss. Marb. 1892—93 p. 33), Ælfred's Boethius 16, 4 etc. (*faʒenode, faʒnast, faʒenað,* all in MS. B., ab. 1110, see Sedgefield's edition, Oxf. 1894 p. 234), Kluge, E. St. VIII p. 476 (text of the 11th century), but also in the Cura Past. MS. C. 60, 17, 242, 25 (*faʒenian, faʒniað*, cf. Cosijn, Altwests. Gramm. p. 3 f.), Mark. (Bosw.) XIV, 11 (*fahnodon*), Luk. (Bosw.) I, 14 (*gefagniað*), Luk. I, 41 (*ʒefaʒnode*), Luk. XXII, 5 (*faʒenodon*), M. E. *fag(e)n(i)an* vb. 'to rejoice, flatter', Kent. Gosp. Mk. XIV, 11, O. E. Hom. II, 135, Gen. and Ex. 1441, *fou(h)nen* Langl. P. Pl. B. XV, 295, Pr. P. p. 152, Gaw. 1919 etc., M. E. *faghning*, *fauning, vawenung* sb. 'fawning' A. R. 290, C. M. 12350, Spec. 23, Pr. P. 152 etc. The verb is formed from the Teut. adj.-stem represented by O. E. (*ʒe*)*faʒen* adj. 'glad', Orosius 5, 3, Boeth. 25 (= Sedgefield's edition p. 57, MS. B.), Lind. Gosp. Mat. 2, 10, M. E. *fagen* Rel. I, 220, Gen. and Ex. 15, *faʒe* Fer. 308, *fawe(n), vawe, faun* O.E. Hom. I 199, R. Gl. 218, Hav. 2160, Ch. Cant. Tales, etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *fain* and *fawn.*[1]) In O. E., the normal forms of the adj. and vb. was *fæʒen* and *fæʒ(e)nian* (> M. E. *fœin, fain* adj. *fœinen, fainen* vb.). O. E. *faʒ-*, M. E. *faʒ-, faw-,* N. E. *fawn* have often been supposed to depend on the influence of O. W. Scand. *fagna* 'to rejoice', O. Swed. *faghna,* Middle Dan. *fagne, favne* (cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 277 note, Et. D. s. v. *fawn,* Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 940 f., 997).[2]) Nevertheless some of the early uses of the words with an *a*-vowel are certainly native and to be explained according to Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 50 anm. 1 (owing to suffix-ablaut).[3]) In later times, Scand. influence may, of course, have contributed to the frequency of the forms with

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[1]) Is M. E. *fagen* vb. 'to flatter, coax' formed from this adj. or a prehistoric base without *n* (cf. *e. g.* Goth. *fahēþs* 'joy', see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *fägna*)?

[2]) Ten Brink, Ch. Gr., assumes L. Germ. origin.

[3]) The doublets O. E. *fæʒen* : *faʒen,* M. E. *fain*, *fawen* are quite analogous to such doublets as O. E. *slæʒen*, M. E. *slain* : O. E. *slaʒen,*

aȝ, aw. N. E. *fawn* is therefore, very likely, to be explained as depending on both the native and the Scand. word (cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 294).

M. E. *gaȝhenn* sb. 'gain, advantage' (Orrm.), also in the compound *gaȝhennlǣs* 'profitless' (Orrm.), *gawin* sb. (see N. E. D. s. v. *gain* sb.), *gawne* vb. 'to avail, help' Townl. Myst. (E. E. T. S.) XXX, 561: O. W. Scand. *gagn,* O. Swed. *gaghn*, Dan. *gavn* sb., O. W. Scand. *gagna,* O. Swed. *gaghna* 'to avail, be useful'. M. E. *gein* sb. 'gain', N. E. *gain* sb. is probably not from O. Scand. *gagn* (thus Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v.),[1]) but either depend on the influence of the verb, M. E. *geȝȝnenn* (Orrm.) 'to be suitable, useful; to avail' (cf. *geȝȝnlike* adv. (Orrm.) 'conveniently'), which will be treated of later on, or are to be accounted for in conformance with N. E. D. s. v. *gain* sb.

M. E. *haȝherr* Orrm., *haȝer, hawer* A. R., Gaw., P. S. 155 adj. 'apt, dexterous', *haȝherrlike* adv. 'aptly', Orrm. *haȝherleȝȝk* 'skill' Orrm.: O. W. Scand. *hagr* 'dexterous' (cf. p. 17); such words as O. E. *fæȝer*, M. E. *faȝȝerr* (Orrm.) show what the regular development was in native words.

M. E. *magin* Marh. 22, 1, *magen* Kent. Gosp. Mat. XIII, 54 'power, force', perhaps from O. W. Scand. *magn* 'power, force',[2]) the regular form being O. E. *mæȝen,* M. E. *main,* N. E. *main.* But also here *aȝ* might depend on suffix-ablaut as in O. E. *faȝen, faȝ(e)nian*; moreover influence may have been exercised by related words as M. E. *maȝen, mawen* pres. pl. 'may', *unmawe* 'impotent', *maht* 'might, power'.

6. Scandinavian *i.*

O. E. *silfor,* M. E. *sillferr* (Orrm.), *silver* sb. 'silver', O. E. *silfren,* M. E. *silveren* adj. 'of silver' may, to some extent (*e. g.* in the Midland dialects), be due to the influence of O. W. Scand. *silfr,* the regular forms being O. E. *siolfor, siolufr, seolfor,* M. E.

M. E. *slawen* (p. partic. of O. E. *slēan*). O. E. *fæȝen, faȝen* is also, originally, a p. partic.

[1]) There is, as has been already pointed out, no means of ascertaining, whether O. Scand. *a* was by way of sound-substitution casually represented in loan-words by O. E. *æ.*

[2]) Stodte, Spr. u. Heimat der 'Katherine-Gruppe', Diss. Göttingen 1896 p. 50, explains *magin* Marh. 22, 1 from O. W. Scand. *magn.*

selver, depending on *u*-mutation (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 105, 2). But whether and to what extent Scand. influence has taken place in this word, cannot be ascertained without a thorough investigation into the history and extension of the *u*-mutation in the different English dialects.[1])

7. Scandinavian *ŏ*.

When in prehistoric Scandinavian a nasal consonant had been dropped after an original *u*, this *u* appears in historical Scandinavian times, as a rule, as *ŏ* (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 83, 1). When in English a nasal consonant was dropped (see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 186, 1) and the preceding vowel was *u,* this vowel was lengthened but did not undergo the qualitative change to *ō,* occurring in Scandinavian.

O. E. *toft* sb. 'piece of ground' (see Bosw.-Toller), M. E. *toft* sb. 'toft, piece of ground, a slightly elevated, exposed site, campus' Langl. P. Pl. A. Prol. 14, I 12, Pr. P. p. 495, N. E. *toft* sb. 'a grove of trees; a place where a messuage once stood' (Law.); also in place-names: O. W. Scand. *tŏft, topt* (*tuft*, *tupt*) 'a piece of ground, messuage, homestead; a place marked out for a house or building', O. Swed. *tŏft, topt* (Schlyter, Ordbok till Sveriges Gamla Lagar), Dan. *toft* (Molbech, Gloss.). The Scand. word is probably, from a base **tumf*(*e*)*t-* (cognate to Greek *δάπεδον* 'floor, pavement', cf. Bugge, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXI p. 425 f.), which would have given a native O. E. **tūft.*[2])

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[1]) Concerning the extension of the O. E. *u*-mutation, see Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVIII p. 411 ff., Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. VII p. 70, Stodte, l. c. p. 41 ff., Morsbach, Arch. C p. 281 ff. In Midland texts, M. E. *silver* is very probably due to Scand. influence. — O. Swed. *sylver* > *sølver* (15th cy.) is, according to Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 108, Anm. 3, due to O. E. *sylfren* (adj.). The W. Sax. forms *sylfor, sylfren* (cf. Sievers l. c. § 105, Anm. 4), Laȝ. *sulfer,* are certainly not from Scand.

[2]) Another — slighty varying, but likewise acceptable — groundform is given by Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 260, 2. — The Scand. by-form *tomt* (as for which, see Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. IX p. 142, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 245, 4, Altschwed. Gramm. § 84, 2, b, 248, 1) proves the ground-form of *tŏft* to have contained an *m.* — Scand. *tŏft*, *tŏpt* shows vowel-shortening before a consonant group (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 114, 4); in *topt p* depends on the Scand. sound-change of *ft* > *pt,* as

[M. E. *_tǫsk_ 'tusk', suggested by N. E. dial. _təsk,_ see Luick, Arch. CIII p. 63, is probably to be explained according to Luick l. c. — Meanwhile, there is still another possibility to be taken into consideration. The Teut. ground-form of the word was, no doubt, *_tun(þ)sko-_ (< Aryan *_dn̥t-sko-_). In Scand. the sound-combination _-un-_ became _ō_ before _s_ (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 83), _e. g._ Scand. _ōsk_ < Teut. *_wunsk-_. The word 'tusk' occurs in Scand. only in the proper name _Ratatoskr_ (Noreen l. c.); in case the word existed as a simplex in prehistoric Scandinavian, its form must have been *_tōsk_ which might have been introduced into English and then would have given M. E. *_tǫsk-_. But as there is no such simplex to be found in Scand. and as there is another explanation allowable, the explanation of the word from Scand. is very doubtful.]

O. E. _þōr,_ see consonants.

8. Scandinavian _ȳ_.

Teutonic _eu (iu),_ when it had undergone _i_-mutation, is in W.-Saxon represented by _īe, ȳ,_ in the Anglian dialects by _īo, ēo, ē_ (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 100, 159, 5, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 132) and in Middle English, with the exception of those M. E. dialects, which are a direct continuation of W.-Saxon, as a rule, by _ẹ̄_. In Scandinavian, the Teutonic diphthong, when _i_-mutated, is represented by _ȳ_ (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 589 = § 45, a, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 63, 14, Altschwed. Gramm. § 59, 11); the Teutonic diphthong also became _ȳ,_ at least in some of the Scandinavian dialects (regularly in West Scand.), before _ʀ_ (< _z_), by '_ʀ_-mutation' (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 68, 7, Altschwed. Gramm. § 64, 7). When, therefore, in Anglian the vowel _ī_ (< _ȳ_) is found in words from a Teutonic base containing _iu + i, i̯_ or _z,_ this _ī_ proves Scand. origin.[1])

This will be made clear by the following examples:

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for which see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 185, 2, Altschw. Gramm. § 259, 2, which change has not yet taken place in the loan-word in English.

[1]) Non-West-Saxon _ī_ instead of _ē_ seems to appear in O. E. _čīken_ (Bülbring, Anglia, Beiblatt IX p. 290), M. E. _chīke_, M. E. _chīse_ (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 991); some other cases are given by Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 165.

M. E. *līre* 'face, look, complexion, countenance, skin' MSS. of Langl. P. Pl. A. I 2, B. X 2, Gaw. 943, 2050, 2228, D. Erk. 149, MSS. in Halliwell's Dict. p. 522: O. W. Scand. *hlýr* 'cheek' (< **hliuz-*; = O. E. *hlēor* 'cheek, face', M. E. *lēre*), *ȳ* depending on *R*-mutation, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 68, 7.

M. E. *līðen* 'to listen' Misc. p. 137 (= Prov. of Ælfr.), Gen. and Ex., Hav., Gaw., Sev. Sages, etc. (a rather frequent word, esp. in Midland texts, see Stratm.-Bradley, Mätzner), N. E. dial. *lithe* [*laið*] 'to listen', see Wall p. 77, 111: O. W. Scand. *hlýða* 'to hearken, listen', O. Swed. *lȳþa* 'to listen, obey' (< **hliuðia-*, cf. O. W. Scand. *hlióð* 'listening, silence, sound', O. E. *hlēoþor* 'listening, sound'). No corresponding native forms are found in English.

M. E. *mīre* sb. 'mire, wet, slimy soil, deep mud' Ch., Gaw., A. P. (Knigge p. 82), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *mire* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *mýrr* f. 'moor, bog, swamp', Swed. *myr*, probably from a base **miuziō-* (cf. O. H. G. *mios*, M. H. G., N. H. G. *mies* 'moss', also a 'boggy district, moor', Grimm, O. E. *mēos* 'moss'). Some M. E. spellings in *u, ie* (cf. Dictionaries, Sweet, H. E. S., p. 336) may possibly represent the corresponding native word (< O. E. **mīere*).

M. E. *mīre*, *pismire* 'ant' Misc. 8, 9, Mand. 301, Ch. C. T.: O. Swed. *mȳra* < **miuriōn* (cf. L. Germ. *miere* 'ant', Grimm).

[M. E. *nīpen* 'premo, stringo', Pr. P. 357, is cognate with Dutch *nijpen* (cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *knijpen, nijpen*) and has nothing to do with Swed. *nypa* (ct. Goth. *dishniupan*).]

M. E. *skīe* 'sky, cloud, nubes' Gen. and Ex., Ch., Gow., Pr. P. etc., Mod. E. *sky* : O. W. Scand. *ský* 'cloud', O. Swed. *skȳ* 'cloud' etc.[1])

M. E. *skītly* 'suddenly' Alex. (Sk.) 5040: O. Swed. *skȳter*, see consonants.

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[1]) Is the *ew* of the plural *skewes*, adj. *skewed* 'pie-bald' (see Stratm.-Bradley, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 366, cf. O. W. Scand. *skjóttr* < *skýjóttr* 'spotted, speckled'), due to the native form (O. E. *scēo* 'a cloud', according to Bosw.-Toller occurring only once and not very certain, cf. Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.), or is it only a spelling? Strictly speaking, *īe* in M. E. *skīe* is, to some extent, analogous to *īe* in M. E. *frīen* (see later on; cf. O. W. Scand. *skýja* gen. pl., *skýjum* dat. pl.) and therefore, taken by itself, hardly an absolute test.

M. E. *tīnen* 'to lose' Gen. and Ex., Hav., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B. I 142, Perc., Min. etc., esp. in Midl. texts, N. E. dial. *tine* 'to lose, be lost' (Jamieson, Wall p. 125) : O. W. Scand. *týna* (cf. *tión* 'loss, ruin'). — Der. M. E. *tīnsel* sb. 'loss, ruin' C. M., R. Br., Hamp. etc. (cf. p. 17).

[Hardly belonging to this heading is O. E. *Tīr* (one form of the name of the runic *T*), see Bosw.-Toller, v. Grienberger, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XV p. 2, 4, 5, 15, 35 [1]), Scotch *Tyr* ('in a phrase which forms the local slogan of the town of Hawick': *Tyribus ye Tyr ye Odin* 'Tyr keep us, both Tyr and Odin', Murray, Dial. South. Count. Scotl. p. 17 f.): the latter, at least, probably from O. W. Scand. *Týr*(*r*) (the god of war and victory, also used as the name of the runic *T*, see Wimmer, Runenschrift 143, 180) < **tieuz-*, according to Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 68, 7, who explains *ý* as depending on ʀ-mutation, which is, however, hardly right, cf. Bremer, I. F. III p. 301 f., Kock, I. F. V p. 167, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *Tuesday*, who assume the groundform **tīwo-*. The native form of the name is O. E. *Tīw, Tīȝ*.]

Because of the sound-change *ēȝ* > *ī*(*ȝ*) (cf. M. E. *dēȝen* > *dīen*), *ī* is no reliable test of Scand. origin in texts where such a change may have taken place, when *ȳ* in the Scand. word was followed by an *į*, and a corresponding English form with *ȝ* after the vowel (*ē*, arisen from Teutonic *eu*) may have

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1) According to v. Grienberger p. 15, 35, *tīr* is a later addition instead of *tī*, but it is somewhat uncertain whether it is in all instances late enough to allow the assumption of Scand. origin. v. Grienberger p. 15 identifies *tīr* (the rune), with the O. E. sb. *tīr* m. 'glory, honour', which word he considers formed with an *r*-suffix from the same root as the name of the Teutonic god in question. If identical with O. E. *tīr* 'glory, honour', the word is not borrowed from Scand. But in the O. E. Runic Poem v. 48 the word *tīr*, no doubt, signifies a star (cf. v. Grienberger p. 15), probably the planet Mars (to this Professor Morsbach calls my attention), and this speaks greatly in favour of the identification of the word with O. W. Scand. *Týr*. Also O. E. *ȳr* in the Runic Poem and in the O. E. runic alphabets may (as Prof. Morsbach points out to me) be a Scand. loan-word: O. W. Scand. *ýr* 'taxus, yew-tree, bow' (also used as the name of a rune, cf. Wimmer p. 180, Bugge, Norges Indskrifter p. 117—148); otherwise v. Grienberger p. 16 f. But this question cannot be satisfactorily solved without deep investigations into the history of the runes and a critical examination of the records, which would carry us beyond the scope of this treatise.

existed. Thus M. E. *frīen* 'to blame' Hav. 1998[1]), if from a base **friujan* or **friuhjan* (which is very uncertain)[2]), could, although undoubtedly from O. Scand. (cf. O. W. Scand. *frýja* 'to defy, challenge, question, taunt') — as far as the form goes — be from an older native form **frēȝen*; cf. M. E. *frēlēs* 'blameless' A. P. I, 431, which, if not an error for **frīelēs* (as is suggested by Mätzner not without good reasons; cf. O. W. Scand. *frýjulaust* 'blamelessly'), is difficult to derive from Scandinavian.

9. Scandinavian *y̆*.

M. E. *sister,* N. E. *sister* cannot be easily explained through English sound-laws (from O. E. *sweostor, swuster* etc.), but no difficulty arises if we assume the influence of O. W. Scand. *systir*, O. Swed. *syster* (as for the explanation of which see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 71, 7). Also the local occurrence of the form in M. E. (Gen. & Ex., Perc., C. M., Gaw., Pr. P. etc.)

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[1]) Also M. E. *friȝȝenn* 'to calumniate' Orrm. 16513 — which Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 19, 24 derives from O. E. *fricȝan* 'to ask', *ȝȝ* instead of *gg* being in his opinion from 2 and 3 sg. pres. — seems to me, because of the sense, to be rather from O. Scand. *frȳja* (cf. Mätzner s. v.). If Orrm's *friȝȝenn* is to be connected with Scand. *frȳja* and the latter is from a base containing *iu*, it must perhaps be borrowed from the same, because Orrm's dialect does not know the sound-change *ēȝ* > *ī(ȝ)* and consequently the native form would have been **frēȝenn* (but the form could perhaps be explained according to Sievers, Ags. Gram.[3] § 162, 2). It was, no doubt, pronounced **frīȝen,* cf. *driȝȝe* (= *drīȝe*) > O. E. *drȳȝe.* The explanation of this spelling is, that O. E. *iȝ* had, when *ȝ* was palatal (cf. Brate l. c. p. 19 ff.), in Orrm's dialect already become *ī* (cf. Brate l. c. p. 21, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 996, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 184 f.), although Orrm, from several reasons, kept the old spelling. This is made probable by the spellings *sīȝe, siȝe, siȝȝe* (< O. E. *siȝe*), all three denoting **sīȝe,* in which *ī* is from O. E. *iȝ* and *ȝ* is a sort of 'glide' or transitional sound (Sweet, A Primer of Phonetics 1890 p. 48 ff.), cf. *þriȝȝes, þriȝes* (= *þrīȝes*), (cf. *driȝcraft, driȝmenn* < O. E. *drȳ*). I suppose that the fact that Orrm often wrote *iȝ* instead of *ī*, is to some extent accounted for by the 'glide', which always followed the vowel *ī* before another vowel, although he may have been to a great extent guided by a tradition from O. E. times. O. E. *iȝ* before an originally back vowel, on the other hand, has not become *ī* but remains as *i* + *ȝh* as is shown by the spellings *hiȝhenn* 'to hasten', *niȝhenn* 'nine'.

[2]) I have not been able to find any words in the Teutonic languages which could throw light upon the Scandinavian word.

points in the same direction. I therefore see no reason for doubting Scand. origin, which is also accepted by most scholars; thus *e. g.* Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 15, Skeat, Et. D., Morsbach, Schriftspr. p. 65, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et., Luick, Arch. CII p. 73.

10. Some remarks concerning the quantity of the vowels as a criterion of Scand. loan-words.

In his treatise in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X, Brate rejects the Scand. origin of some words (in the Orrmulum) which contained a long vowel (from Teutonic short vowel) before a consonant group which in English usually caused the lengthening of the preceding vowel, and he considered these words to be native English words because of their having taken part in the English vowel-lengthening before certain consonant groups. He likewise considered some words containing a short vowel before a consonant group usually causing the lengthening of the preceding vowel, to depend on Scand. influence. Meanwhile Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 69 ff., has made it probable that the Scand. loan-words took part — to a certain extent — in the English lengthening process, and that a long vowel before one of the consonant groups in question is no proof of native origin. The same view is held by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1024 f. To the examples given by Morsbach and Kluge to prove the correctness of their opinion may be added M. E. *oonde* 'breath, anhelitus', *ondin* 'to breathe' Pr. P. p. 50, 364, *aande* Alex. (Sk.), see Skeat's Glossary. On the other hand, it is doubtful to what extent short vowels before the consonant groups in question are to be explained through Scand. influence, as it seems possible, as a rule, to account for them by English sound-laws and as the full extent and the conditions of the English vowel-lengthening are not yet sufficiently settled. Nevertheless there is no denying the possibility of Scandinavian influence as the ultimate cause, in some instances, of the shortness in the case of such dialects as Orrm's, which are the result of such an intimate blending of Scandinavian and English elements. But it would not be possible to point out any single word, in which a short vowel, instead of an expected lengthened one, is definitely to be regarded as a loan-word test.

B. Tests chiefly depending on differences as to the development of consonants in English and in Scandinavian.

1. Scandinavian *sk*.

a) Initially.

O. E. initial *sc-* (as well as *-sc-*, *-sc*, as for which see next heading) appears in M. E. as a simple sound (*š*); this sound-change took place already in O. E. times, but how early is not quite settled, as we have few other proofs of this pronunciation than the M. E. spellings *sh*, *sch* (*ss*, *s* in the South, esp. Kent, which seems to have expressed the same sound), cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 192 f., Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 993 ff. When, therefore, *sk-* appears in M. E., it must be due to foreign influence: from Celtic, Latin (in Latin words of earlier introduction O. E. *sc-* has become *š*, see Kluge l. c. p. 994), Romance languages, Scandinavian, and in a few cases, esp. in later times, from German. The main part of M. E. *sk-* is undoubtedly due to Scand. influence. I will not enter here on the very numerous words in *sc*, *sk* in N. E., not recorded in M. E., and many of them introduced in later times or due to some influence of analogy; my material will be chiefly taken from M. E. Some words, the origin of which is more or less obscure, will be given within brackets. As will be seen, there are some M. E. words in *sc*, *sk* — apparently Teutonic — which cannot be directly derived from Scandinavian.[1]) Although it is not easy to prove anything of the kind for any special word, I think some of these words are to be explained according to the principles laid down p. 10.[2])

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[1]) Attention may be called to the dialect words given by Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122, which contain *sk* corresponding to the *sh* of the rec. language.

[2]) Some analogies are offered by the treatment of loan-words from Swed. rec. speech in the Swed. dialect of Vätö, see Schagerström, Svenska Landsmålen II, 4 p. 34. In Swedish rec. speech, Teut. *sk* before front vowels has become a sort of *š*- sound; in the Swed. dial. in question it has become *s* + front *k* or *kj*. But in words, which in Swedish are pronounced with *š* and which have been introduced from rec. sp. into the dialect, this sound is in the dial. superseded by *sk*(*j*), even when the Swed. *š*- sound is from quite another source than O. Swed. *sk*.

As has been already pointed out, the spelling in O. E. gives no guide to the discrimination of Scand. loan-words of this class from native ones, both being generally written with *sc,* which in late O. E. undoubtedly, as a rule, denoted an *š*-sound, as is proved by the spelling *scœ* 'she' in the Peterb. Chron. (Sweet, H. E. S. p. 192), but also may have denoted *sk* in Scand. loan-words. The O. E. spelling is kept in several M. E. manuscripts; in these the spelling *sc* offers no means of distinguishing native words from loan-words; only spellings with *sk,* which occasionally occur, allow of a conclusion. Thus in the texts of Laȝamon *sc* is the usual spelling for *š* and consequently is no test of loan. The only word in Laȝ., containing a Teutonic *sk-,* and which therefore can be demonstrated to be a Scand. loan-word by the test of spelling, is *skent(t)ing,* Laȝ. A-text v. 19167, 30625. Likewise in Vices and Virtues, ed. Holthausen (E. E. T. S.), *š* is denoted by *sc.* In the MS. Cott. of Cursor Mundi, *sc* is used most frequently as the sign of *š,* as is also shown by the spelling *sco* (= *scho* 'she') MS. Cott. v. 75, 619 etc. But also here *sk* is a reliable criterion of Scand. loan, a glance at the Glossary showing us that *sk* is only written in words, which are proved by other evidence (esp. by other M. E. texts) to have been always or frequently pronounced with *sk* (not *š*).

I now proceed to give a list of Scandinavian loan-words proved to be so by the spelling *sk, sc.* In many instances, it will, however, not be possible to decide whether the word is to be considered a loan-word or a native word influenced by Scand. (cf. p. 13 foot-note 2).

[M. E. *scabbe* sb. 'scab, sore, scabies' Pr. P. p. 442, Wicl., Ch. C. T. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley, *scabbed* Hav., Langl. P. Pl., N. E. *scab.* *sc* may be due to the influence of Lat. *scabies* (it is worthy of note that this is the word given as the Latin translation of *scabbe* by Pr. P.), which may also be the source of O. E. *sceabb*, M. E. *shabbe,* N. E. *shab, shabby,* O. Swed. *skabber* (cf. O. Swed. *scabberosor* 'scabiosa arvensis'),[1]) Dan. *skab,*

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[1]) The word is not found in O. W. Scand.; this fact is perhaps to be explained by regarding the O. Swed. word as a loan-word of rather late introduction.

M. L. G. *schabbich,* M. H. G. *schębic* 'scabby', although it is also possible to consider the word — entirely or partly — as genuine Teutonic, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schaben, schäbig,* Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schabberig,* Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *Skab* (*paa Hud*). It ought to be taken into account that in mediæval as well as in later times, the names of diseases and other medical terms were, to a great extent, taken from Latin or liable to Latin influence (cf. *scurf* later on); in Mod. English times the Latin word has been reimported once again: N. E. *scabies, scabious.* Furthermore, it is to be noticed that in the two doublets *scab* and *shab,* the medical signification is much more perceptible in the former than in the latter; especially noteworthy are the deriv. *shabby, shabbiness* where it is now completely lost.]

[M. E. *scadde* 'cadaver', Pr. P. p. 442 (cf. Halliwell: *scad* 'a carcass, a dead body') is perhaps from p. partic. (O. W. Scand. *skaddr,* O. E. Scand. *skadder*) of O. W. Scand. *skeðja,* O. E. Scand. *skaða* 'to hurt, harm'; for the meaning of M. E. *scadde,* compare Norw. dial. *skad* 'a domestic animal, killed by a beast of prey or by an accident' (Ross, Norsk Ordbog), O. W. Scand. *scaði* m. 'death'.]

[M. E. *scailen*?; cf. p. 59, 123.

M. E. *scāld* sb. 'poet', see p. 96.

[M. E. *scalden* vb. 'to scald' is of Romance introduction rather than from O. Swed. *skālda* (cf. N. Icel. *skálda*), which is itself a loan-word. Cf. Behrens l. c. p. 179.]

M. E. *scāle* sb. 'shanty' (also *schale,* which, although probably an error, may perhaps be explained according to the principles pointed out p. 10), N. E. *scale* dial. 'a hut', see p. 93.

M. E. *scăle, scǫle* sb. 'bowl, lanx', N. E. *scale.* se p. 92 f.

[M. E. *scale,* N. E. *scale* sb. 'shell', see p. 93.]

[M. E. *scalk* 'scalp' Hamp. Ps., may be from some Scand. word of the groups treated by Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 151, Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 65 f., but I do not know any quite corresponding word in the Scandinavian languages.]

[M. E. *scalle, scale* sb. 'a scaly eruption of the skin, scab, scurf, scabbiness' Wr. Voc. 626, 34, Ch., Wicl., Ayenb. etc., M. E. *scalled* 'scabby', N. E. *scall,* is, most likely, from O. Scand. *skal* 'shell' (cf. M. E. *scaled browes* in some MSS. of Ch. Prol. v. 627,

where other MSS. have *scalled*), see Cent. Dict. s. v. The Latin translation of the word *scalle* (*scale*) is in Wr. Voc. 586, 33, 675, 33 (*scale*), 707, 32, 790, 33, 'glabra' (cf. ib. 626, 34: *scrofe or scalle* : *glabra*); in Wr. Voc. 679, 17 *skale* is translated by 'scabia'. Cf. Danish *huden skalles* 'the skin falls off like scales'. As for the sound-development, cf. N. E. *small*; cf. also M. E. *scalle* 's(q)uama' Wr. Voc. 703, 41. If N. E. *scale* (of a fish) ('squama' Wr. Voc. 613, 15, 765, 22) is from the same source (cf p. 93), N. E. *scall* and *scale* are doublets, the first from the M. E. uninflected, the latter from M. E. inflected forms. But the source of M. E. *scalle,* N. E. *scall* may possibly be some other Scand. word belonging to the groups of words (in my opinion, partly still obscure as to their relationship to each other) treated by Zupitza l. c. and Noreen l. c. It cannot be identical with Swed. dial. *skål* 'a skin disease', and is not from O. Scand. *skalle* 'a head, bald head'.]

[N. E. *scalp* sb. 'the top of the head' is perhaps related to M. E. *scalk* (see above) and to O. Scand. *skalle* 'a head', but there is no evidence concerning its origin.[1])]

M. E. *scant* adj. 'parcus' Pr. P. 442, adv. 'scarcely' Mir. Pl. 78, MS. of Barb. Br. XX, 434, 'scantily' Pall. Husb. (E. E. T. S.) p. 140, *scantnesse* 'scantity' Ch. C. T.: O. W. Scand. *skammt*, O. Swed. *skampt* neutr. and adv., from the adj. O. W. Scand. *skammr*, O. Swed. *skamber* 'short'. Cf. Skeat, Et. D., Cent. D. and above p. 19.

M. E. (*pot-*)*scarth* 'pot-sherd' MS. of Hamp. Ps. XXI,15: O. Swed. *skarþer* 'shiver, splinter' (O. W. Scand. *skarð* means 'notch, chink, an empty, open place' and is not the source of our word). The genuine English form is O. E. *sceard*, M. E. *scherd* 'schred, fragment'; as for related words in other Teutonic languages, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *scharte*, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schaard.*

M. E. *skate* 'skate' (the fish) Pr. P., Cath. Angl., N. E. *skate* (is *schate* Wr. Voc. 764, 39, the genuine English form or an 'Anglicised' form of the Scand. word, [cf. p. 10]?): O. W. Scand. *skata*, Dan. dial. *ska*, see Dial. Prov. p. 10, Arch. CIII p. 349.

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[1]) What is the origin of O. It. *scalpo* 'a scalp'?

[M. E. *scateren* (by the side of *schateren*) has been held to depend on Dutch influence, cf. Erdmann, Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 146, Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *scatter*. Another possibility has been pointed out p. 10. It is perhaps also to be taken into account that there were several words in M. E. beginning with *sc-*, *sk-*, *sch-* and with the sense of 'to scatter' or something similar, and that they may have had some influence on each other so that *sc, sk* may have been introduced into words which had originally *sch* and vice versa: M. E. *scailen*, *schailen* 'to disperse, break up', (*to*) *scateren*, (*to*)*schateren*, M. E. *skilien*, *skilen*, *schilien* 'segrego, divide', M. E. *skerren* 'to scare', *toskeȝȝrenn* 'to scatter' (Orrm.), *toschǣden* 'separate' etc.]

M. E. *scathe*, *skathe* etc. sb. 'injury, wound, loss, odium, enemy', *e. g.* Gen. and Ex. (Laȝ., but see p. 120), Hav., A. P., Gaw. etc.; der. *scathe-dede*, *unnscaþefull, scathe-lę̄s* etc. (see Dictionaries); *skaþenn, scaþen* vb. 'to harm, wound', Orrm., Pr. P. etc., *scaþel* adj. 'harmful, noxious', A. P., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc. (loan-words of this stem occur for the first time in the Orrmulum and then very frequently in Midland and Northern texts), N. E. *scathe*: O. W. Scand. *skaði* sb. 'harm, damage', O. Swed. *skaþi*, sb. 'harm, damage', *skaþa* vb. 'to harm, injure' etc. Of native origin are O. E. *scaða* 'one who does harm, criminal, wretch', M. E. *unnshaþiȝ* 'innocent', etc.

M. E. **skauten* vb. 'to push, dart violently', see p. 72.

N. E. dial. *skeel* 'a milking-pail': O. W. Skand. *skióla*, Swed. dial. (Rietz) *skjula*; cf. Wall p. 119.

[M. E. *skey* adj., 'umbraticus' (*schey or skey as horse* Pr. P.), N. E. dial. *skey* 'to shy, shun' (Halliwell, Flügel etc.) may be a contamination of M. E. *schey* (< O. E. *scēoh*) and some Scandinavian word of the corresponding group. But as the word-group — as it appears in literary Scandinavian — seems not to be of native origin (O. Swed. *sky* vb. 'to shun', Swed. *skygg* adj. 'shy' seem to be from M. L. Germ. *schüwen* vb., *schügge* adj.), it is possible that *sk* is to be explained in conformity with the points of view explicated on p. 10. Does M. E. *askie* 'shyly (?)', Gow. Conf. II 50, contain the same word (cf. N. E. D.)?]

O. E. *scæȝð, sceȝð* etc., by other reasons proved to be from Scand., see p. 38.

[M. E. (*to*)*skeʒʒrenn* vb. 'to scatter', see p. 59. Egge, Mod. Lang. Notes I p. 65, thinks the word connected with O. E. *tō-scierian* 'to divide, separate'. Is there any relationship between (*to*)*skeʒʒrenn* and It. *sciarrare* 'zersprengen, zerstreuen', *sciarra* 'Schlägerei' (Diez, Et. Wb.)?]

N. E. dial. *skelly* 'to squint' (Wall p. 134) : O. W. Scand. *skialgr* 'squinting', *skelgia* 'to make to squint', O. Swed. *skiælgher* 'squinting'. Wall's explanation of the word is erroneous.

M. E. *skelle* sb. 'shell' York Pl. II 65, Man. (F.) 14683, N. E. dial. *skell,* Halliw. : O. W. Scand. *skel* 'shell'. The native form *schelle* is the more frequent one.

M. E. (**skellen*), *skillen* vb. 'to make a harsh noise' Oct. (W.) 326, N. E. dial. *skell* 'to squall', Wall p. 119: O. W. Scand. *skella* 'to make a slam, clash', O. Swed. *skælla* 'to clash'.

[M. E. *skelp* sb. 'blow, stroke' York Pl. XXXIII 35, *skelpen* 'to beat, flog' Alex. (Sk.) 1924, York Pl. XXVI,81, N. E. dial. *skelp* 'to beat' Wright, Windh. p. 96; perhaps from Scandinavian, but no corresp. Scand. word is found; O. W. Scand. *skelpa* 'a wry face' does not suit the sense of the English word.]

[M. E. *skelten, skelting*?, see Stratm.-Bradley.]

[M. E. *skemering, skimering* 'shining, brightness' York Pl. XVII 123, may be from Dutch; Swed. *skimmer, skimra* are from German.]

M. E. *skenten* vb. 'to amuse, delight' O. and N., *skemmtinng* sb., Orrm., *skempting* Rel. I 218, *skent*(*t*)*ing* Laʒ., O. and N.: O. W. Scand. *skemta*, O. Swed. *skæmpta* 'to amuse, entertain'.

M. E. *skep(pe)* sb. 'skep, carrying-basket' Pall. III 209, Pr. P. 457, N. E. *skep*: O. W. Scand. *skeppa*, O. Swed. *skæppa* 'a measure, bushel.'

M. E. *sker*(*re*), *skar*(*re*) sb. 'projecting rock' Wicl., Alex. (Sk.), Halliw., N. E. (dial.) *skerry*, *scar*, *skeer* Wall p. 117, 119: O. W. Scand. *sker* 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea', O. Swed. *skær*, Dan. *skjær*. The N. E. form *skerry* may be from the Scand. cases in *i̯* (gen. pl. *skerja*, dat. *skerjum*).

M. E. *sker*(*re*), *skar*(*re*) adj. 'scare, timid' MS. of A. R. 242, Townl. M. 198, N. E. dial. *skarry, skair,* 'easily scared or frightened', Wall p. 117, 119, M. E. *skerren, skarren* vb. 'to scare' Orrm., Pr. P., A. P., Alex. (Sk.), D. Troy, etc., N. E. *scare*: O. W. Scand. *skjarr* 'shy, timid', Swed. dial. *skärr* 'to frighten' (Lind-

gren, Svenska Landsm. XII 1 p. 53); M. E. *a-scürren* 'to scare' drive away', A. R. 296, is from O. Scand. *skirra* 'to frighten, (Fritzner, Ordb.), a verb formed from the adj. in the regular way. — With regard to the sound-development in M. E. *skerr* > N. E. *scare* (also in the dialects, see Wall p. 117, 119, Murray D. S. C., Scotl. p. 145, Ellis, E. E. P. V p. 313, 397, 529, 634, 742 etc.) is to be compared N. E. *chare* (by the side of *char*; also in N. E. — 17th and 18th cy. — *charewoman chairwoman*, now *charwoman*) sb. 'turn, esp. an occasional turn of work, etc.' < *čierr, čerr*, N. E. *chare* vb. 'to turn, to do odd turns of jobs' < O. E. *čierran, čerran*, see N. E. D. — M. E. *skerel, scarle* 'larva', Pr. P., Cath. Angl., may contain the same Scand. word-stem.

M. E. *skēr(e)* 'clear, pure' A. R., Gaw. (rime-word *chēre* Knigge, p. 81), Misc. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), M. E. *skēren* 'to purify' A. R., Rob. Gl. (rime-word *copenere* Papst p. 31), O. and N. etc. N. E. dial. *skeer* (Wall p. 134): O. W. Scand. *skǽrr*, O. Swed. *skǣr* 'pure, clear, bright', O. Swed. *skǣra* 'to make pure, clear, bright, to clean, purify'. *sh* in M. E. *shēre*, N. E. *sheer* may depend on an O. E. **scǣre* (< **skairi-*) or on the influence of O. E. *scīr*, M. E. *schīre*, cf. M. E. *skīre*. Of course, there is, also here, a third, although not very probable possibility: M. E. *schēre*, esp. in *schēre þursday* 'Maundy Thursday',[1]) could depend on an early 'Anglicised' or 'translation' form (cf. p. 10 f.) of O. Scand. *skǣr-*, O. Swed. *skǣra þorsdagher, skǣrþorsdagher*, Dan. *skjærtorsdag* (: O. W. Scand. *skíriþórsdagr*). The O. E. expression was *se þunresdæȝ tōforan ēastran* or *ǣr ēastran*; *schēre þursday* does not occur till M. E. times. It may be noticed that the form *þursday*, itself, depends on Scand. influence. In M. E. times *schēre* in *schēre þursday* was misunderstood and identified with the vb. *schēren* 'to shear', see Taranger, Ags. Kirke, p. 369. But nothing can be, with any amount of certainty, proved about this word in this or any other direction, and Taranger's supposition l. c., that the Scand. *skíriþórsdagr* is from English instead, cannot be positively confuted.

M. E. *skēt(e)* adj. 'quick', adv. 'quickly, soon' Orrm., Hav.,

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[1]) Not 'Holy Thursday', as translate Stratm.-Bradley, see Taranger, Ags. Kirke, p. 369 f.

Oct., Townl. M. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *skiótr* adj. 'quick', *skiótt* adv. 'quickly,' O. Swed. *skiūter*; M. E. *skītly* 'suddenly' Alex. (Sk.) 5040: O. Swed. *skȳter* (Söderwall), by-form to *skiuter*, possibly depending on *i*-mutation (see Kock, Svenska Landsmålen II 12 p. 5, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 353 Anm. 1).[1]) — O. E. *scēot*, Ben. R., is probably from Scandinavian,[2]) no M. E. forms in *sch-*, *sh-* having been found. Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., also gives an O. E. *ȝescēot* 'quick, ready', but I cannot find it in the O. E. literature.

[M. E. *skewed* 'pie-bald', see p. 115 foot-note.]

M. E. *skīe* 'sky', see p. 115.

M. E. *skifft* sb. 'shift, trick' York Pl. XXVI 130, *skiften* vb. 'to change, move away, assign, divide' Amad. (Wb.) 656, A. P. II 709, Gaw. 19: O. W. Scand. *skipta* 'to change', O. Swed. *skipta*, 'to change, distribute'.[3]) O. E. *sciftan*, *tōskiftan* vb. 'to divide, separate, appoint, ordain', (according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 from Scand.), M. E. *shifftenn*, Orrm, N. E. *shift*, may — as far as the form goes — quite as well be of native origin (cf. Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *shift*), although it may also be an 'Anglicised' form of the Scand. word (thus Sweet, H. E. S. p. 193, 300, cf. above p. 10); the latter view is rendered likely by the local distribution of the word in Old and Middle English. It does not seem to occur before the Scandinavian invasion.

[M. E. *skig* 'timid, careful' A. P. II 21: Swed. *skygg* 'timid', see p. 123.]

M. E. *skil(l)* sb. 'skill, distinction, discrimination, reason, excuse, knowledge, understanding' Orrm., A. R., O. and N. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *skil* 'discernment etc.', O. Swed. *skil* 'discernment, knowledge, reason'. The (Kent.) by-form *skel* 'reason, discretion' Ayenb., Shoreh, is from a Scand. form, represented by O. Swed. *skiæl* 'discernment, discretion, knowledge, reason etc.' (Söderwall's Ordbok), O. Dan. *skiæl* (s. Jessen,

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[1]) Other explanations are given by Kock, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XI p. 324, Karsten, Studier öfver de Nord. Språkens primära Nominalbildning Helsingfors, 1895 p. 110, Kock, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII p. 536 and foot-note; cf. also Noreen, Aschwed. Gramm. § 99 Anm.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934.

[3]) As for *pt*<*ft*, cf. O. E. *toft*.

Et. Ordb. s. v. *Skjel*). — Der. M. E. *skilenn* vb. 'to divide, separate' Orrm. 16860, O. E. Hom. II, 119, *skil-læs* adj. 'ignorant' Orrm. 3715, *unnskill* 'indiscretion' Orrm. 827. The ambiguous late O. E. *scilian* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), if pronounced with *š*, as well as M. E. *schil* sb., *schillen* vb. may be of native origin, but may also — like the preceding word — depend on an 'Anglicised' O. E. pronunciation of the Scand. word.

N. E. *skim* 'to take off scum', see Skeat, Princ. I p. 465, Et. D. No Scand. **skȳma*, **skymma* is found. Perhaps the form has arisen on English ground through 'analogical' or 'functional' *i*-mutation; for other such cases see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff.

O. E. *scin*(*n*) 'skin, fur' — also *n*(*n*) is distinctively Scandinavian, see further on — M. E. *skin*(*n*) Ch., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc., deriv. *skinnere* etc.: O. W. Scand. *skinn*, O. Swed. *skin*. M. E. *schynnere* Wr. Voc. 650, 36 may denote an 'Anglicised' pronunciation of Scand. *sk*.

M. E. *skinden* 'to hasten' Gen. and Ex. 1989: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skynda*. The native O. E. *scyndan* occurs before the Scandinavian invasion.

[M. E. *skippen* vb. 'to skip' MSS. of C. M. 19080, Cott. MS. of C. M. 23569, Ch., Pr. P. etc., (see Stratm.-Bradley), *overskippen* Ch., Pr. P. etc., *skip* sb. 'hop, jump' Pr. P., *skippere* sb. 'saltator' Gen. and Ex. 3087, Pr. P., N. E. *skip* vb. — MS. Gött. of C. M. 19080 has *scope* (Cott. has here *skep*; MS. Gött. of C. M. 23569 has *schope*, MS. Trinity ib. *scoupe*, Fairf. ib. *lepe*); *scope* is, most certainly, from O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. *skopa* 'to run, skip', O. Swed., Swed. dial. *skopa* 'to hop, frisk, jump', O. Dan. *skobe* 'to hop, dance' (Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. II p. 110), and this makes the Scand. origin of *to skip* very probable. But no quite corresponding word is found in Scandinavian, a fact which may, nevertheless, be judged in the same way as N. E. *skim* above.[1]) N. E. *to skip* is generally considered to be of Celtic origin.]

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[1]) O. Swed. *skuppa, skoppa* 'to skip, jump' (Söderwall) need not be from *skumpa*, but may in part contain original *pp* and be cognate with M. H. G. *schupfen* 'to swing', O. H. G. *scupfa* 'balancing board' Dutch *schop* sb., *schoppen* vb. (see Franck, Et. Wb. p. 858). This word is connected with O. E. *scūfan* 'to push', Goth. *skiufan*, Dutch *schuiven* etc. (see Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 154, Franck l. c.), and *pp* depends on the

[O. E. *scipian* vb., 'to equip or man', Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, is ambiguous.]

M. E. *skīr*(*e*) adj. 'clean, pure' Orrm. (Brate p. 57), A. P. II 1776 (Knigge p. 65): O. W. Scand. *skírr*, O. Swed. *skīr*. O. E. *scīr* has given M. E. *schīre*; cf. M. E. *skēr*(*e*) above.

[M. E. *skirmen* vb. 'to scream' Alex. (Sk.) 5157. Origin unknown.]

[M. E. *skirmen* vb. 'to fence' A. R. 212, Hav. 2323, etc., is from some Romance language,[1]) hardly from German. O. Swed. *skirma* 'to fence, fight' is from L. German.]

M. E. *skirrpenn* 'to spit out, reject' Orrm. 7389, O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skirpa* 'to spit out.'

M. E. *skirte* sb. 'skirt', 'gremium', Gaw. 601, 865, Wr. Voc. 655, 8, Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *skyrta*, O. Swed. *skiurta* 'shirt'. M. E. *shirte* is from O. E. *scyrte* (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.).

M. E. *skitte* 'excrements' Pr. P. 458, N. E. dial. *skit*, Halliw. : O. W. Scand. *skíta* vb. 'cacare', *skítr* sb. 'stercus', O. Swed. *skīta* vb. 'cacare'. Of native origin is M. E. *schīten* 'cacare'. *-ĭtt-* instead of *-īt-* may depend on the contamination of the Scand. word and O. E. *scitta* 'diarrhœa' or on Scand. words in *-ĭt-*.

[M. E. *scof* sb. 'scoff'?]

M. E. *scogh* sb. 'wood' C. M. 15826, Ant. Arth. V, Alex. (Sk.)

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well-known Teutonic assimilation of lip consonants + *n*. In words of this type, we often find *p*, *pp*, *ƀ* (O. E., O. W. Scand. *f*), *bb*, see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna, Upsala Universitets Årskrift 1897, p. 111 ff., 120 ff. Scand. *skopa* therefore, very likely belongs to the same root as O. E. *scūfan* etc. *bb* we find in Swed., Norw. dial. *skubba* 'to rub', in Swed. dial. also 'to run, hasten' (cf. Swed. *gnida* 'to rub' = Swed. dial. *gni* 'to run', N. E. *scour* 'to clean by rubbing, to rub clean or bright', but also 'to scamper, to run with speed'), which latter sense speaks in favour of my explanation of O. Swed. *skuppa*, *skoppa*, O. W. Scand., O. East Scand. *skopa*. An O. Scand. **skyppa* by the side of *skoppa* would be quite as natural as M. H. G. *hüpfen*, M. E. *hüppen* 'to bound, jump' by the side of O. E. *hoppian* 'to leap, dance', M. E. *hoppen* 'to hop, jump', M. H. G. *hoppen* 'to jump' etc., and a corresponding West Teut. form is actually to be found in M. H. G. *schüpfen* 'to swing', N. West. Flem. *schippen* (see Franck l. c.).

[1]) Probably from O. French, cf. Behrens, Beiträge zur Gesch. d. frz. Sprache in England p. 46, 182. Cf. also It. *schermire* 'to fence' from German (see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schirmen*). The form *schirme* O. and N. 306 is to be compared with M. E. *schurge* etc., as for which see Behrens l. c. p. 202.

3915, 5157: O. W. Scand. *skógr,* O. Swed. *skōgher*, O. Dan. *skōgh* 'wood'.

[M. E. *scolde* sb. 'scold, blamer', *scolden* vb. 'to scold, blame, reprimand'. It is perhaps to be judged on the principles suggested p. 10.]

M. E. *scolle*, see *sculle.*

[M. E. *scōne* 'beautiful' see p. 77 f.]

M. E. *scope* 'to skip', see above.

[M. E. *scōpe* sb. 'scoop, alveolus' Pr. P. 450, Man. (F.) 8168, N. E. *scoop*, M. E. *scōpen* vb. 'to lade out water' A. P. III 156, Man. (F.) 8164: O. Swed. *skōpa,* N. Swed. *skopa* sb. 'a scoop', cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 458, Et. D. But O. Swed. *skōpa* seems to be from L. Germ. *schope*; cf. Flemish *schoepe* (Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schop* [*spade*]), O. H. G. *schuof,* French *escope, écope.*]

M. E. *score* sb. 'notch, number, score, twenty' Langl. P. Pl B. X 180, Arth. and Merl. 3109, Pr. P. 450 etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), M. E. *scoren* vb. 'to score' Pr. P. etc., N. E. *score* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *skor* sb. 'notch', *skora* vb., O. Swed. *skora* sb. — M. E. forms with *sch-*, *sh-* are probably from corresponding native O. E. words[1]) or depend on the influence of the verb O. E. *scieran*, past partic. *scoren*, M.E. *shêren*, past partic. *shoren.*

[M. E. *scoren* 'to thrust'(?), Stratm.-Bradley. Sense and origin uncertain.]

M. E. *scorrcnenn* Orrm. 1474 (: *swā summ itt wǣre scorrcnedd lāf þatt iss wiþþūtenn crummess*), 8626 (: *forr þatt tē lánd wass driȝȝedd all annd scorrcnedd þurrh þē druhhþe*) has been translated by some scholars 'to scorch' and derived from French (thus White-Holt, Gloss. to the Orrmulum, Behrens, Beitr. p. 46, 202, Kluge, Engl. Stud. XXII p. 181). Others translate it by 'to crack, furrow' or 'to dry up' and derive it from Scand. (O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skorpna* 'to shrink, shrivel', O. W. Scand. *skorpinn*, *skorpnaðr* 'shrivelled'; thus Stratmann, Engl. Stud. VI p. 442, Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 19); as for the supposed sound-change $p > k$ in this position,

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[1]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 gives an O. E. *scor*, which in his view is a Scand. loan-word, but I have not been able to find any O. E. use of the word.

Stratmann l. c. and Stratm.-Bradley s. v. compare M. E. *drūknen* < O. Scand. *drūpna* (see later on), and Zupitza l. c. gives some parallel cases from several languages, among others Swed. dial. *skorkn̥* < *skorpna.* In my view, the suffix *n* in *scorrcnedd* speaks for Scand. origin, cf. p. 14 f.[1]) Halliwell gives a N. E. dial. (Lincsh.) *scarped* 'dried up or parched, as when in fever the skin becomes dry and hard, it is said to be *scarped*', which is evidently the Scand. word (cf. Wall p. 117), and the same sense 'dried up' seems to suit the translation of M. E. *scorrcnedd* in the two passages quoted from the Orrmulum.

M. E. *scot* sb. 'scot, tribute, payment' R. Gl., Ayenb. etc., M. E. *scotten* vb. 'to pay scot' A. R. (O. E. *scot* 'tribute', *sāwol-ʒescot* 'payment to church on death of person', Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällsk. Förh. 1882-85 p. 146 f., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, is ambiguous as far as the pronunciation of *sc* is concerned): O. W. Scand. *skot*, O. Swed. *skot* 'tribute' (see Fritzner, Ordbog III p. 372). As for the history of the word in English, reference may be made to Fry, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1867 p. 167 ff. — M. E. and N. E. forms with *sch-*, *sh-* either depend on a native O. E. *scot* 'shot' or on forms of the verb O. E. *scēotan,* M. E. *shēten.*

[In (O. E. *Scottas*), M. E. *Scottes*, *Scotland*, N. E. *Scotland* etc. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 994, considers *sc* to depend on Scand. influence. I prefer to assume learned (Latin) influence (cf. Ackermann, Dissert. Göttingen 1898 p. 52) — very frequent in such words, cf. *e. g.* German *Thüringen.*]

M. E. *scragen* adj. 'scraggy' MS. of A. R. p. 4, N. E. *scrag*, *scragged*, *scraggy*: Swed. dial. *skragg* sb. 'something haggard, old or torn', *skragget* adj. 'old and torn, lean' (Magnusson, Svenska Landsmålen II, 2 p. 63), *skragger* sb. 'one who cannot walk without difficulty, weak old man' (Rietz), Norw. dial. *skragg* sb. 'a shrivelled, wretched person; a lean horse', *skraggen* adj. (Ross). The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D., is erroneous. There is also a M. E. *schragge* 'scrag, jagged end' D. Arth. 3473.

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[1]) M. E. *scorclen* 'ustulo' in which *l* may depend on the M. E. change of *l-* and *n*-suffix, appearing also in other words (cf. Stratm.-Bradley s. v.), reminds one, as far as the sense is concerned, more of the French word.

M. E. *scrapen* vb. A. P. II 1546, H. S., Pr. P., Pall. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. *to scrape*: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skrapa* 'to scrape'. But also O. French *escraper* 'to scratch off' (Mackel p. 47). M. E. *schrapen*, *shrapen* is from O. E.

M. E. *skratt*, *scrate* sb. 'wizard, monster, hermaphrodite' Wr. Voc. 695,2, 793,31, N. E. (dial.) *scrat* (Wall p. 117): O. W. Scand. *skratti* 'wizard', O. Swed. *skratte* 'brownie', Swed. dial. *skrate, skratte* 'ghost, brownie' (Rietz).

[M. E. *scratten* 'to scratch' Pr. C., Pr. P., C. M. MS. Fairf. 11823, MS. of A. R. Origin obscure.]

[M. E. *screde* 'presegmen, shred' Wr. Voc. 655,11, M. Sc. *skreid* Dougl. (see Gerken p. 57).]

In the M. E. forms *skriken, skrichen,* N. E. *to screak, screech* N. E. dial. [*skrīk*] (Wright Windh. p. 50), *skreych, skreik* (Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122), *sk, sc* seems to depend on Scand. influence (: O. W. Scand. *skrǽkia*, O. Swed. *skrika*), whereas in M. E. *schrichen, schriken*, N. E. *to shriek sh* points to O. E. forms of native origin. The forms are very characteristic of the close relations between native and Scand. elements in M. English.

M. E. *scrēmen* vb. 'to scream' H. M. 37, P. S. 158: O. W. Scand. *skrǣmask* 'to take to flight', Norw. *skræma*, Dan. *skræmme*, Swed. *skrämma* 'to scare, terrify'. Other formations from the same root are O. W. Scand. *skrǽkia* 'to cry aloud, howl' (cf. prec. word), O. Swed. *skrǣna* 'to howl', Norw. dial. *skræla* 'to cry aloud,' O. Swed. *skrāla* 'to howl, scream.'

[M. E. *scrennkenn* 'to supplant, deceive' Orrm.: Swed. dial. *skränka* 'to turn out of joint' (Rietz). The O. E. *screncan* 'to put stumbling-block in the way of' has given M. E. *schrenchen*; M. E. *screnchen* (see Stratm.-Bradley) is possibly a hybrid form. It is difficult to find any native word quite corresponding in Scand.; Swed. (*in-*)*skränka* seems to be from German. Related Scand. words are given by Karsten l. c. p. 76. Perhaps the word is to be judged on the principles suggested p. 10.]

M. E. *scrinken, skrinken* 'to shrink', see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *schrinken*, Böddeker, Altengl. Dichtungen, Glossary: Norw. dial. *skrøkka, skrøkkia* < **skrinkw̨an*. O. E. *scrincan* has given M. E. *schrinken*, N. E. *to shrink*.

[O. E. *scrippe,* M. E. *skrippe,* N. E. *scrip* is not a Scand. loan-word, see Archiv CI p. 391 f.]

[M. E. *scrið* 'urging, entreaty' Gen. and Ex. 1419. It is uncertain what combination of sounds *scr* denotes in this text.[1])]

M. E. *skrithen* 'glide, escape' Min. (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. *skriða*, O. Swed. *skridha* 'to move smoothly' (= O. E. *scrīðan* 'to move smoothly, glide'). *sc* in *scriðen* Laʒ. may denote *š*. As for *sc* in M. E. *scrōd* pret. Gen. and Ex., where *ōd* depends on the O. E. verb, cf. prec. word.

[M. E. *scrof* 'rough' A. P. II 1546[2]): Swed. *skrof-lig* 'rough', *skrofis* etc. (Noreen, Svenska Etymologier, Uppsala 1897 p. 64, von Friesen, Mediageminatorna, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1897, p. 83).]

[N. E. *scrofe* 'glabra', see *scurf*.]

[M. E. *scrog* 'shrub, brushwood' D. Arth., *scroggi* 'covered with brushwood' Gest. R., N. E. dial. *scrog*(*s*.) Origin unknown; the explanation given by Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Wall p. 118, is not to be accepted. M. E. *shrogges* Townl. Myst. 110, N. E. *shrogs*, Wall l. c., suggest the existence of a corresponding O. E. word.]

M. E. *scrubben* vb. 'to scrub' Alis. 4310, N. E. *to scrub*: O. Swed. *skrubba* etc., see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 81; N. E. *shrub* 'a dwarf tree' is possibly a related word from O. E; cf. Norw. dial. *skrubba* 'Cornus suecica', see v. Friesen l. c. p. 80.

[M. E. *scue* sb. 'shadow' Gaw. 2167, Pr. P. 450, may be a hybrid of O. W. Scand. *skuggi*, O. Swed. *skugge* etc. and O. E. *scua*, *scuwa*.]

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[1]) According to Fritzsche, Anglia V p. 73, O. E. *c* is in Gen. and Ex. always kept as *c* in the sound-group *scr*-. This is not quite accurate, as O. E. *scr* is, in some cases, represented by the spelling *sr* (see Glossary to Gen. and Ex.) — A glance into the Dictionaries of M. E. and Mod. E. shows that *sc*-, *sk*- appears in a comparatively greater number of words before *r* than before vowels. In O. E. *scr*-, has *sc* (*š*) become ME. *sk* sporadically in the same way as O. E. *sl*- (or perhaps *šl*-, see Bülbring, Anglia Anz. IX p. 104) has perhaps dialectically become O. E. *scl*- (Sievers Ags. Gramm.[3] § 210, 1, but cf. Bülbring l. c.), M. E., N. E. dial. *scl*-, *skl*- (cf. Stratm.-Bradley p. 536, 551, Knigge p. 60, Varnhagen, Anglia Anz. VII. p. 87, Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122, Gerken, Douglas p. 61, E. D. D. s. v. *asklent*)? Scand. influence may have supported such a sound-change.

[2]) The MS. has *strof*, but the alliteration requires *scrof* (*when hit þe scripture hade scraped with a strof penne.*)

N. E. *scug*, see p. 35.

[M. E. *scowk* sb., 'hoc congelima' Wr. Voc. 725, 31. Origin unknown.]

M. E. *scūlen* vb. 'to scowl' Pr. C., Pr. P., N. E. *to scowl*: Dan. *skule* (see Jessen, Et. Ordb.), Swed. dial. *skula* 'to cover, hide' (= Dutch *schuilen*, Franck, Et. Wb., M. H. G. *schūlen* etc., Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 153).

M. E. *sculken*, *scolken* vb. 'to skulk, lie hid, loiter' R. Gl., Ps., Pr. C. etc.: der. *skulkere* etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: Norw. dial. *skulka* 'to lie in wait, to lurk', *skulkar*, sb. 'a spy' (Aasen), O. Swed. *skulkare* sb. 'skulker' (Söderwall), Swed. dial. *skolk* (Magnusson, Svenska Landsmålen II, 2 p. 62), early Dan. *skulke* vb. 'to lie hid' (Jessen, Et. Ordb.); see Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 277, Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 155.

M. E. *sculle*, *scolle* sb. 'skull, cranium' R. Gl., Wr. Voc. 626, 17, 631, 6 etc., see Stratm.-Bradley, N. E. *scull*: Swed. dial. *skulle* 'a scull', Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 65 f. The spelling *sch* is found in *schulle* A. R. p. 296. — The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D. is erroneous.

M. E. *skŭm* (*skūm*?), *scŏm* sb. 'scum', *skŭmen* (*skūmen*?), *skummen* vb. 'to scum' Fer., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. Swed. *skūm* 'scum'.[1]) Cf. *skim* p. 127.

[M. E. *scūren* vb. 'to scour, verbero', N. E. *scour* is perhaps a Romance word, cf. Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 310 f., Et. D.[2]). — O. Swed. N. Swed. *skura*, Dan. *skure* are, very likely,

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[1]) As for the shortening of *ū*, see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 67, Holthausen, Anz. f. deutsch. Altert. XV p. 291, Luick, Anglia XVI p. 501 f. In East Scand. there was early a tendency to shorten a long vowel before *m*, see Lyngby, Udsagnsordenes bøjning p. 7 and footnote 2, Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 133, 300, but this tendency cannot have been so early as to have caused the shortening in the M. E. word, which shortening depended merely on English sound-laws or tendencies. The explanation of *ŭ* in N. E. *plum*, given by Pogatscher, Lehnworte p. 131, is not, therefore, necessarily the only correct one. Cf. N. E. *thumb*, *crumb*, Morsbach l. c., Skeat, Tr. Ph. Soc. 1899 p. 267.

[2]) Phonetically there is nothing speaking positively against such a supposition, as O. Fr. *ṻ* (< Lat. *ū*, cf. Nyrop, Grammaire Historique p. 155) has in some dialects actually given M. E. *ū*; see Behrens, Beitr. p. 118 ff., Paul's Grundr.² I p. 973 (to the examples given by Behrens may be added M. E. *dour* 'hard, stiff, obstinate' Barb. Br. X 159, N. E. dial. *dour* 'hard, stern etc.', E. D. D. [= Fr. *dur*]). But it is to be noted, that if Skeat's

from L. Germ. *schūren* (cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb.), and Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *scheuern,* thinks that the English word also might be from L. Germ. Frank, Et. Wb. s. v. *schuren,* holds it possible that the whole Teutonic word-group might be of native Teutonic origin and not ultimately from Lat. *excurare.* As long as all these questions are unsettled, it is not possible to decide the origin of M. E. *scūren.*]

M. E. *scoures* Alex. (Sk.), 'showers': O. W. Scand. *skúr,* O. E. Scand. *skūr* 'a shower' (= O. E. *scūr*, M. E. *shūr*, N. E. *shower*).

[M. E. *scurf* 'rubbish', *scrof* 'glabra' Wr.Voc. 626, 17 (= *scalle*), N. E. *scurf* 'a dry miliary scab formed on the skin': Icel. *skurfur*, Swed. *skorf*, Dan. *skurv* (perhaps also Swed. dial. *skrovsjuka* 'a skin disease of cattle', v. Friesen l. c. p. 83); cf. O. E. *scurf, scruf* sb. 'scurf', *scurfede* adj. 'scurfy', M. E. *schroff* Dep. R. II 154, *ssorved* 'scabby' Ayenb. 224. If the word is of native Teutonic origin — as it may be (thus *e. g.* Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 19, Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 9, 102, 105 f., Svenska Etymologier p. 64,[1]) Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scurf*, Jessen Et. Ordb. s. v. *skurv*) — *sc* most probably depends on Scand. influence. Still some influence may have been exercised by Lat. *scrophula* (O. E. *scrofel*, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., may be from Latin, although possibly native and cognate with Swed. *skruvel* 'roughness', Noreen, Sv. Et. l. c.); cf. *scab* p. 120 f.

M. E. *skūten* vb. 'to project' Alex. (Sk.) 4865, *skūte* sb. 'cave formed by projecting rocks' Gaw. 2167, N. E. dial. *scoot, scout,* Wall p. 117: O. W. Scand. *skúta* vb. 'to project', *skúti* sb. 'projecting rock' (Fritzner), Norw. dial. *skuta* 'to project.

N. E. *scout* vb. to ridicule an idea': O. W. Scand. *skúta, skúti* 'a taunt', cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 460, Et. D. It is perhaps a doublet form to M. E. *schūten* 'to shout, vocifero', N. E. *to shout,* cf. Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 538. Gerken, Sprache des Bischof

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etymology be right, this would be the only case known of O. Fr. *ṻ* being represented by N. E. (rec. sp.) *ou* [*au*].

[1]) It is, for our purposes, quite immaterial, whether the etymology given by Wadstein or that given by Noreen is the right one. — The word may, in my opinion, belong to the group treated by v. Friesen l. c. p. 80 ff. — Swed. dial. *skryvla* 'to shrivel' (cf. Swed. dial. *skruvel* 'roughness'), Noreen, Svenska Etymol. p. 64, depends on the same Teutonic base which has given N. E. *to shrivel*, erroneously explained by Skeat, Et. D.

Douglas, p. 53, thinks that M. E. *schūten* might be from Scand., too, with Anglicised *sch* instead of *sk*, which is, of course, possible.

[M. E. *scotile, scotylle* 'dish, scutella, a winnowing fan' Wr. Voc. 726, 7, 770, 21, N. E. *scuttle* 'shallow basket or vessel': O. W. Scand. *skutill* 'a dish'. Cf. Pogatscher, Lehnworte p. 151, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *scuttle,* Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scuttle.* But *sc* may depend on fresh Latin influence.]

M. E. *squelen* vb., M. H., C. M., N. E. *to squeal*: Swed. dial. *skväla* 'to squeal', O. W. Scand. *skvala* 'to shout', cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 462, Et. D.

b) Internally and finally.

O. E. *-sc-, -sc* (internal and final) seems also to have become M. E. *š* by sound-law, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 994 f., Bülbring, Engl. Stud. XXVII p. 84 f., but there are actually some cases in which M. E., N. E. *sk* appears and in which there seems to be no reason for assuming foreign influence. Thus *sk,* instead of *sh,* is often to be accounted for as developed from O. E. *cs, x,* M. E. *ks, x* (which was often developed from O. E. *sc* through metathesis, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 204, 3, Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 103 f.),[1]) *e. g.* M. E. *asken* 'to ask', M. E. *aske* 'a lizard' (< O. E. *āðexe*), M. E. *tusk* (also *tusch*), N. E. *tusk* (O. E., M. E. *tux,* in Scand. occurring only in the nom. pr. *Ratatoskr,* see p. 114). M. E. *sk* instead of *š* is, therefore, taken by itself, no very reliable loan-word test; only when there are other circumstances, too, speaking for Scand. origin, *sk* instead of *š* is of consequence.

M. E. *aske-fise* 'one who blows the ashes, ciniflo' Pr. P. p. 15 etc., see N. E. D., Way, Pr. P. p. 15 foot-note 3,[2]) also *askebaðie* 'one who sits in the ashes' A. R. etc., see N. E. D.:

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[1]) Kluge l. c. p. 995 thinks that the sounds preceding or following *sc, sk* have been of some consequence for the M. E. development to *sk* or *sh.*

[2]) Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 555, thinks that the original meaning was 'in cinere pedens'. But the original meaning of Scand. *fīsa* was 'flare' (cf. O. W. Scand. *físibelgr* 'small bellows'), which meaning is still alive in Norw. dial. *fisa* 'to blow, esp. the fire' (Aasen, Ross, Tamm, Et. Ordb., Bugge, Svenska Landsmålen IV 2 p. 227), and this harmonizes very well with the translation 'ciniflo', given in the Pr. P., Med. Gramm. and other vocabularies (see Way l. c.).

Norw. dial. *oskefis, oskeladd, oskunge, oskefisl, oskefot, oskelabb, oskelamp* etc. (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *askefis, askepask, askepjesk, askepjakks* etc. (Rietz), Dan. *askefis, askebager, askepot* etc. (Kalkar I p. 82, Storm, E. Ph.[2] I p. 555). The simplex *aske* 'ashes', itself, occurs rather frequently, esp. in texts where the Scand. loan-words are numerous (see Dictionaries, esp. N. E. D.), and it is probable that *sk* partly depends on Scand. influence, although it may partly rest on the O. E. form *axe* (< *asce*). But in the compounds *askefise, askebathe* there is no *sh* known, and if there were such forms (with *sh*) to be found, they would probably be due to the secondary influence of the native word *ashe*. The compound words in question are, no doubt, borrowed from the Scand. languages, all of which were very prolific in word-formations of this description.[1])

M. E. *basken* 'to bask' Gaw. etc., is most certainly a Scand. word, although there may be different opinions about the question as to which Scand. word was the source of the English one. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, Skeat, Et. D., N. E. D., and others derive M. E. *basken* from O. W. Scand. *baðask*, Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 543 and others from O. W. Scand. *bakask*, whereas I have tried (Dial. Prov. p. 6 f.) to derive it from a Scand. base *baska*, still found with different meanings in several Scand. dialects (Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 6). If I am right in this supposition, the word is identical, etymologically, with N. E. (obs.) *baske* 'to strike with a bruising blow' (N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *bask* 'to beat severely' (E. D. D.).[2])

M. E. *beȝȝsk, baisk, bask,* N. E. dial. *bask* (see Dial. Prov. p. 7) 'bitter' is, also from other reasons, a Scand. word, see p. 40.

[M. E. *bisskopp* (Orrm.) is regarded by Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 995, as the regularly developed form from West Teutonic

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[1]) The word *fīs*, as a simplex, only occurs once in M. E. (Wr. Voc. 679, 23, see Dictionaries), and is apparently from Scand. The true English word shows a *t*-suffix (O. E. *fīsting*, M. E. *fīst, fīsten*, cf. M. L. G. *vīst* etc.). The sense of Scand. *fīsa* 'to blow' found in M. E. *askefise* is another evidence of the Scand. origin of our word.

[2]) N. E. dial. *besk* 'to bask' in the dialect of Windhill (Wright p. 29) is not due to *i*-mutation, but depends on a change of $a > e$ before $s +$ consonant, as does also *kest* 'to cast' in the same dialect; cf. *plesh* in the same dialect < *plaš*, M. E. *plasche*.

biskop. But as the sound-law given by Kluge l. c. is rather doubtful and as forms with metathesis do not seem to have existed, *sk* may depend either on fresh Latin influence or on Scandinavian influence according to the principles and possibilities pointed out p. 4 footnote 3, p. 10.]

N. E. *brisk,* by most scholars considered a Celtic loan-word, is rather to be derived from Scand., see Johansson, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXX p. 451 foot-note, Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 544.

[M. E. *buske* sb. 'bush, shrub' Gen. and Ex., Langl. P. Pl., Gaw., Pr. P. etc. It is not settled whether the word *bush, busk* is ultimately of Teutonic or Latin origin, and it is therefore uncertain how to consider the English word-form in *sk.* Its distribution (chiefly in the northern dialects, see N. E. D.) suggests Scandinavian influence.]

M. E. *busken* 'to prepare, get ready, deck, adorn, to prepare oneself' C. M., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.) etc. (frequent in W. Midland and Northern texts), N. E. *to busk* ('exc. Sc. and North. dial.', N. E. D. s. v.): O. W. Scand. *búask* 'to get oneself ready' (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 4).

M. E. *cask* adj. 'swift, lively', *crask* '? burly', 'crassus' will be dealt with in another connection.

[M. E. *dusk* 'dusk', *dusken* vb. 'to darken, make or grow dark', N. E. *dusk* is from O. E. **dux* < **dusc* (cf. O. E. *dosc, dox, dohx*) and need not be derived from the cognate Scand. words, cf. Kluge, Engl. Stud. XI p. 511, N. E. D., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v.]

[M. E. *fissk* sb. 'a fish', *fisskenn* vb. 'to fish' (Orrm.) probably depend on a native form with *x, ks* (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 40), although in a text like the Orrmulum Scand. influence may be possible.]

[M E. *fisken* vb. 'to scamper about, wander, roam' Gaw., Langl. Pl. P. C., Pr. P., early N. E. *fisk* (see Way Pr. P. p. 162 foot-note 3), N. E. dial. (Shropsh.) *fisk* 'to wander, roam about idly' E. D. D.: Norw. dial. *fjaska* vb. 'to flatter, fawn, bungle, huddle, hoax', *fjask* sb. 'a fawning person, a stroller, vagrant' (Ross), Swed. dial. *fjaska, fjäska* 'to scamper about fussily, to bustle about' (Rietz, Tamm, Et. Ordb., Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 17). But the word might be a frequentative of O. E. *fȳs(i)an* 'to hurry', formed with a *k*-suffix, see N. E. D.

s. v. If this be the case, *sk* instead of **sh* is quite natural, especially if the verb was formed in late times from analogy to such verbs as *to walk*, *to talk* etc.[1])]

[M. E. *frosk* sb. 'frog', N. E. dial. *frosk* (Wall p. 100) is rather from O. E. *frox* than from O. W. Scand. *froskr.*]

M. E. *harsk* C. M. 21339, D. Arth., Pr. P. 'harsh': Dan. *harsk* 'rancid' (cf. Swed. *härsken* 'rancid'), related to O. W. Scand. *harðr*, Engl. *hard* (cf. M. L. G. *harsch* 'asper'). N. E. *harsh* cannot be the phonological continuation of M. E. *harsk*, but may depend on some suffix change.

[M. E. *huske*, N. E. *husk* is not a Scandinavian word. Several attempts to explain the word have been made, see Skeat, Et. D. s. v., Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. The word seems to me to be related to O. E. *hos* 'a pod' (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.),[2]) Scotch dial. *hose* 'the seed-leaves of grain' (Jamieson), cf. N. Germ. dial. *hosen* 'a husk'. This O. E. *hos* (*hosa, -e, -u*?) might ultimately be the same word or be from the same root as O. E. *hosa, -e, -u,* N. E. *hose,* N. H. G. *Hose,* probably originally meaning simply 'a covering', cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 127 f.]

M. E. *les*(*s*)*ke* Orrm. 4776, D. Arth., Pr. P. 'loin, inguen', N. E. dial. (Lincsh.) *lesk* 'groin or flank', Halliw. II p. 515: O. Swed. *liuske,* O. Dan. *liuske,* Dan. *lyske* (Jessen, Et. Ordb.), cf. Brate p. 48 (= M. Dutch *liesche,* M. L. G. *lēsche*). Kluge, Et. Wb.[5] p. 234 gives an O. E. *lēosca,* but I have not been able to find any O. E. use of the word.

[M. E. *maske* sb. 'a mesh (of a net)', Pr. P., may be from

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[1]) Scand. *fjaska* etc. seems to be related to M. H. G. *viselen* 'kleine Bewegungen machen, knabbern', O. H. G. *vasôn* 'hin- und herfahrend und zupfend suchen', N. H. G. *faseln* 'to talk foolishly' (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fasa*); cf. Norw. dial. *fjas* 'foolery, buffoonery', Swed. dial. *fjas* 'a fool', also 'a useless bustling about' (Lindgren, Svenska Landsmålen XII 1 p. 54). Are these words allied to N. E. dial. *firk* 'to move in a jerking manner, to fidget, hitch, etc.', E. D. D. (also with other, quite different, meanings; cf. O. E. *fer*(*e*)*cian,* M. E. *ferken,* which seems related to O. E. *faran* etc.)?

[2]) It cannot be decided whether this was the nom. form; it is given as *hosa* by Bosw.-Toller, who translate the word by 'a husk, a covering for a grain or seed'.

O. E. *max* (< *masc*) 'net' quite as well as from O. W. Scand. *mǫskvi*, O. Swed. *maske* 'mesh of a net'.]

M. E. *mennissk* adj. 'human' Orrm. Dedic. 218, *mennissk-leȝȝk* sb. 'humanity' Orrm. 85, *menskeliche*, *menskly* adv. 'honorably' A. R. 316, Gaw. 1312, 1983, *mennissknesse* sb. 'humanity' Orrm. 1373, *menske* sb. 'dignity, honour' Kath., Maih., Jul., (Stodte p. 64), A. R., A. P. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradly), *menskeful* adj. 'honorable', *menskefully* adv. 'honorably', *mensken* vb. 'dignify, honour', *e. g.* Langl. P. Pl. (see Stratm.-Bradley). *sk* is in these words far more frequent than *sh* and is, no doubt, due to Scandinavian influence. Also the distribution of the words, taken as a whole, speaks for the same. Cf. O. W. Scand. *menska* sb. 'humanity', *menskr* adj. 'human, belonging to man', O. Swed. *mænska* sb. 'goodness, mildness, liberality, generosity', *mænskhet* sb. 'liberalitas', *mænsker* adj. 'mild, liberal, generous', *mænsklika* adv. 'liberally, generously', *mænskliker* adj. 'human' (Söderwall's Ordbok), O. Dan. *menske, meniske* 'kindness, good-will' (Kalkar's Ordbog).

[M. E. *pasken* (also *paschen*) 'to dash', see Stratm.-Bradley. Etymology obscure.]

[M. E. *rusken* vb., see Stratm.-Bradley. Sense and etymology obscure.]

M. E. *wisk* sb. 'whisk, swift stroke' Barb. V 641, N. E. dial. *wisk* sb. and vb., N. E. *whisk* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *visk* 'a wisp of hay etc.', Swed. *viska* 'a whisk, small broom'; see Cent. D. s. v., Skeat, Princ. I p. 471, Et. D.

2. Scandinavian *k*.

West Teutonic *k* was, owing to a sound development which began at a very early date, under certain circumstances (see *e. g.* Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 206, Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. IX p. 74 ff.; references are given by Wyld, Tr. Philol. Soc. 1899 p. 123 f.),[1]) represented in the earliest O. E. by a front *k*-sound (*ċ*) which in late O. E. (at least West Sax., Kent. and Merc.) became

[1]) I cannot here more closely enter on the question as to the pronunciation at different times of the sounds written *c* in O. E. and represented by M. E. *ch*, which question is rather irrelevant for the present purpose.

č (*tš*) (probably through the intermediate stage *ċχ*, cf. Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. IX p. 102),[1]) evidence of such a pronunciation being offered by spellings like *feccean* (< O. E. *fetian*), *orceard* (< O. E. *ortzeard*), see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 993, Bülbring l. c., Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 206, 4. In M. E., the Scand. combination *tš* is written *ch* and easily distinguished from the *k*-sound. In the same way, West Teutonic *kk* was, under certain circumstances, represented by late O. E., M. E. *ttš* (in M. E. written *ch, cch, chch*). Although, in Scandinavian, Teutonic *k* may, at the date of borrowing, have been liable to a slight fronting in the neighbourhood of front vowels and semi-vowels, it had in no case become *tš*. In M. E. the spelling *k, c* (*ck, kk, cc*), may therefore be regarded as a test of Scandinavian influence.

Unfortunately, it is in many instances still unsettled whether, according to regular native sound development, M. E. *ch* or *k* is to be expected, and in these instances, *k* is more or less unreliable as a loan-word test. The question concerning non-palatalisation of Teutonic *k* as a Scandinavian sign cannot, therefore, be successfully dealt with until, by means of a statistic examination of the O. E. and M. E. spellings, it has been ascertained which was the regular native sound development in the different English dialects at different dates.[2]) What renders the problem extremely difficult, is that, in the dialects North of the Humber, the transition of *ċ* > *tš* seems, indeed, as far as the records accessible to us are concerned, not to have taken place (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Morsbach, Literaturbl. X p. 101, Me. Gramm. p. 14, see also Murray, D. S. C. Sc. p. 122) — and to what extent Scandinavian influence may have prevented such a transition, will never be sufficiently ascertained. But also in some of the Midland dialects, *k* seems to be the regular correspondence of O. E. *ċ*, in others *ch* was

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[1]) Otherwise Wyld l. c., p. 136 f. As a rule, I cannot agree with the views taken by Wyld in his treatise; at any rate, he is decidedly wrong in rejecting Scand. influence altogether as the cause of the non-palatalisation of *k*.

[2]) Collections for this purposes (dealing only with medial and final *k, ch*) have been made by Wyld in his treatise in Tr. Philol. Soc. 1899.

confined to only a part of the positions, in which it appeared in the South.[1]) Only the more southern dialects (where the Scandinavian influence was less important) give us more reliable information. But even here it is often difficult to decide whether *k* was due to analogy or to Scandinavian influence. In some instances the possibility of northern influence is to be taken into account.

As matters stand now, I must content myself with giving the cases in which *k* is certainly to be accounted for by assuming Scandinavian influence and with discussing a few more or less questionable instances. The problem as a whole must be made the subject of a special work.[2])

a) Initial Scandinavian *k* in cases where the corresponding native words would have shown *tš*.

The starting-point must be made from the vowels before which *k* would have stood, if the words had been native English, at the prehistoric times when the palatalisation first began to take place.

α) *æ* < West Teut. *a* (Sievers, Ags. Gram.[3] § 49 ff.); this transition (*a* > *æ*) took place before the palatalisation of *k*, and both these transitions were earlier than the *i*-mutation. The regular development of West Teutonic *k* is shown by such forms as M. E. *chaf* (< **cæf*), *chetel* (< **cætil-*).[3])

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[1]) In the case of dialects in which the Scand. influence has proved especially important, the points of view brought forth with regard to Scand. *sk*, O. E. *sc* (p. 10) are to be taken into consideration also in respect to Scand. *k*, O. E. *ċ*, *č*.

[2]) I have not had the opportunity of using B. D. Woodward's Palatal Consonants in English, Dissertation, Columbia College, New York 1891.

[3]) Several difficulties are involved by the treatment of West Teut. *k* before the English correspondences of West Teut. *ă*, cf. Kluge, p. 991 f., Morsbach, Anglia Beibl. VII p. 329 f., especially before *r*, *l* + consonant; *ch* is found in M. E. *charken* (< O. E. *čearcian*) 'to creak' (Pr. P. etc.) cf. Kluge l. c.: M. E. *carl* 'man', N. E. dial. *carl* (E. D. D.), *carl-cat* (Wall p. 93, E. D. D.; cf. O. E. *carl-fuȝol, carl-man*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 932), *carpen* 'to talk' therefore probably show a distinctively Scand. form. M. E. *chalf* 'calf', *cháld, chǫ́ld* 'cold', *chalk* 'chalk' are southern forms: *c* in M. E. *calf* 'sura', *calf* 'vitulus', *callen* 'to call', N. E. dial. *keld* sb. 'a spring' (< O. W. Scand. *kelda*, O. Swed. *kælda*, see Wall p. 108;

M. E. *casten, kesten* 'to cast, throw', also in texts like A. R., 'Katherine group' (Stodte p. 10) : O. W. Scand. *kasta,* O. Swed. *kasta* 'to throw'; the regular native form would have shown *ch* as is proved by M. E. *chester* < O. E. *čeaster, čester* (< Lat. *castra*) if introduced before the time when Teut. *a* became *æ* in this position and consequently before the time of the palatalisation, cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. der griech., lat. und rom. Lehnw. p. 178, 189 (but cf. Pogatscher, E. St. XIX p. 348).

M. E. *ketel* 'kettle', although chiefly a Northern form, is probably — at least in part — due to Scand. *ketill*; the southern native form is *chetel.* Pr. P. has both forms.

M. E. *kevel, cavel* 'bridle-bit, clamp, hook; lot', *kevelen* vb. 'to put a *kevel* on': O. W. Scand. *kefli, kafli,* O. Dan. *kæfle* etc., cf. Pogatscher l. c. p. 189 foot-note.

[β) *ēa* < W. Teut. *au.* The Scandinavian correspondence is *au* (*ou*); M. E. *coupe* (see p. 70), therefore, does not belong to this heading.]

γ) *ë, i.*

[M. E. *kele* 'keel (of a ship)', possibly from O. W. Scand. *kiǫlr,* O. Swed. *kiøl* 'keel' (= O. E. *čele*), is, no doubt, a loanword, but the direct source of the English word is by no means certain.[1])]

M. E. *ker* sb. 'marshy ground' Pr. P. etc., *alderker, -kyr, -kar* 'alnetum' Pr. P., N. E. dial. *car* 'a pool, hollow place', *aldercarr* 'bog or fenland, overgrown with aldertrees' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. *kiarr,* Dan. *kjær,* Swed. *kärr.*

[M. E. *kerven* vb. pret., *carf* are due to the influence of pret. pl. and past part.]

M. E. *ket* 'flesh' Rel. I 218, N. E. dial. *ket* 'carrion', Wall p. 109 : O. W. Scand. *kiǫt,* O. Swed. *kiøt.*

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cf. Finnish *kaltio*), therefore, offers no phonetic test of loan. M. E. *kerling* 'old woman' C. M., N. E. dial. *carlin(g)* (see E. D. D.) is also to be taken into consideration (O. W. Scand. *kerling* < **karlingō-*).

[1]) German *Kiel* 'keel' is probably from a base **kiul-* (cf. O. E. *čēol* 'ship', O. W. Scand. *kióll* 'ship', Finnish *keula* 'stem (of a ship)', see Liebich, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII p. 223 ff. This renders an adequate judgement of the English word still more difficult.

M. E. *kide* 'kid, hædus' Orrm., MS. of A. R. (Morton's ed. has *ticchenes*), Gen. and Ex., Wicl., Ch., Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *kið,* O. Swed. *kiþ*, Dan. *kid.* In texts like the Orrmulum which show *ch* before *i* (< Teut. *i*) in native words, Scand. origin is unmistakable; it is also to be taken into account, that the Orrmulum cannot easily be supposed to have adopted forms from the English dialects North of the Humber. *d* instead of *þ* is remarkable, but is no evidence against Scand. origin, as is supposed by Jessen, Et. Ordb. Brate has omitted the word. Skeat, Et. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 299, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. assume Scand. origin.

[M. E. *kiken, keken* 'to look, peep', of uncertain origin, is hardly from Scandinavian: the Scand. languages seem not to have had the word, Swed., Norw. *kika,* Dan. *kige* etc. being borrowed from German (Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgeschichte p. 45). It is perhaps originally a Northumbrian word, in which case *k* could be due to native sound-development, see Luick, Arch. CII p. 71 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 291).]

M. E. *kilp, kelp* 'handle of a vessel' (also 'scabbard, sword-belt'?), N. E. dial. *kelp* (Wall p. 108): O. W. Scand. *kilpr* 'handle of a vessel', Swed. dial. *kälp* 'handle of a vessel'.

[M. E. *kinken* 'to pant, gasp' Townl. Myst., N. E. dial. *kink* 'to cough', Wr. Windh. p. 37, is probably not a Scand. loanword. As it is a northern word, the form is no criterion of loan.]

M. E. *kippen* 'to seize, take up hastily' may, in some instances, be due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *kippa* 'to snatch'. The ultimate source of the Scand. word is not, it seems to me, quite settled; an attempt to give its etymology is made by Wadstein, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXII p. 233 ff.

M. E. *kirrke* Orrm. is distinctly Scandinavian in form, see *kide* above. Cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194. In other M. E. texts the form may be regarded as ambiguous.

M. E. *kyrne* 'churn', Wr. Voc. 666, 12, is perhaps due to O. W. Scand. *kirna.* N. E. dial. *kirn* (see N. E. D. s. v. *churn*) is a Northern form and therefore ambiguous.

M. E. *kist*(*e*), *kest* 'chest, box', N. E. dial. *kist* (Wright,

Windh. p. 37). It is impossible to decide to what extent Scand. influence is to be assumed.

Other words, in which *k* before an etymological *e* or *i* occurs, in most cases probably depending on northern sound development, are here omitted. The examples given show sufficiently the difficulty of the problem.

b) Non-initial Scandinavian *k* (*kk*).

The difficulty of discriminating forms depending on Scand. influence from native ones is here enhanced by the fact that in O. E. the development of *tš* < *ċ* did not take place when *ċ* was immediately followed by a consonant (see Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194, Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 102), and from forms in which *k* was due to the position before a consonant it was often introduced by analogy into other forms; such forms occur as early as Rush.[1]: *cīken, besenked,* Bülbring l. c. p. 291.[1]) It is also to be taken into consideration that the alleged northern transition into *k* might have taken place within a larger territory of English dialects with regard to one position in the word than with regard to another.[2])

Some material for the treatment of the question may here be given.

M. E. *beck*, N. E. *beck* 'a stream' is the northern form of M. E. *bach, bæch, batch* etc., see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143;

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[1]) Concerning the words *sēkenn, þennkenn, þinnkenn* in the Orrmulum, which have been explained in various ways by scholars (cf. Brate p. 17, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 195, Morsbach, Literaturbl. X p. 101), Professor Morsbach has kindly put the following explanation of his to my disposal. The syncope of *i* which is to be found in O. E. (West Sax.) *sēcð* etc., was originally common to all O. E. dialects. The O. E., M. E. forms with *e* in the ending depend on analogy and were developed after the time of the syncope (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 358 Anm. 3, 378 and Anm. 5). Owing to the syncope and the subsequent transition of *ċ* > *k* before a consonant (Bülbring l. c.), the prehistoric Anglian form **sœ̄kð* (**sēkð*) arose (< **sœ̄ċð* < **sœ̄ċið* < **sōċið*). This **sœ̄kð, *sēkð* subsequently became *sēkeð* owing to analogy, and the *k* was introduced into the inf. etc. (> *sēkenn* in the Orrmulum). In the same way *þennkenn, þinnkenn* are to be explained. It is consequently unnecessary to assume the influence of O. W. Scand. *sǿkia*, O. Swed. *sēkia* etc.

[2]) Wyld l. c. p. 156 and passim is of opinion that the *k*-forms are not originally a northern characteristic. I am not at all convinced by his arguments.

no uses of *beck* are known for which the assumption of Scandinavian is necessary (cf. O. W. Scand. *bekkr,* O. Swed. *bækker*).

M. E. *bennk* 'bench', *bennkedd* 'supplied with benches', *bennkinnge* 'row of benches', in the Orrmulum, may depend on the influence of O. W. Scand. *bekkr* (< **benk-*), O. Swed. *bænker,* Dan. *bænk.* The true native form *bennche* in the Orrmulum is noteworthy and speaks in favour of the Scand. origin of *bennk* etc. M. E. *benk* in other M. E. texts (N. E. dial. *bink*) is the northern, native form of *bench,* cf. N. E. D.

M. E. *dīk*(*e*), N. E. *dike* compared to M. E. *dich*(*e*), N. E. *ditch*; it is not possible to decide whether and in what instances Scandinavian influence is to be assumed.[1]) Moreover, we should expect to find native forms with *k* also in the South, as *tš* seems to depend on the development of *c* > *ċ* > *tš* when it was final after *i* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 992), and *k* would have been regular in inflected forms; cf. M. E. *ich* 'I' and the M. E. doublets *-lik* and *-lich, pik* and *pich* (Lat. *picem*), *wik* and *wich* (Lat. *vicum*) in which *k,* when occurring in more southern texts, is preserved by O. E. case-inflections.

M. E. *fiken* 'to fidget, hurry about, trifle, flatter' (also in southern texts) is probably from O. W. Scand. *fīkia*(*sk*), O. Swed. *fikia* 'to hurry about etc.' (Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fika*). Its relationship to N. E. *fidget* is obscure.

[M. E. *heck* 'hatch, wicket-gate' is a native by-form of *hacche*; cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143.]

[Likewise M. E. *heckle, hekyle* sb. 'heckle (for flax)', *hekelen*

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[1]) N. E. dial. [*daik*] and other words in *k* instead of *ch* in the dial. of Windhill (Wright § 312) are supposed by Bülbring, Ind. Forsch. Anz. VI p. 201, to depend on Scandinavian influence. It seems, however, probable that *k* when corresponding to southern *tš* is, on the contrary rather, due to the regular development of this dialect and that *tš* (which occurs some times in this dialect) depends on southern influence. Professor Morsbach kindly informs me that in his opinion the dialect of Windhill belonged originally to the northern dialects (cf. Arch. C p. 286) and that it consequently had *k* where the Southern and Midland dialects had *ch.* — I cannot here enter on the different opinions concerning the treatment of O. E. *c* when preceded by an *ī*, *i.* — Concerning the distribution of the word in Mod. E. dial., see Wyld p. 255.

vb. 'to hackle (flax)' are native by-forms of *hechel, hachel* etc., see N. E. D.]

[M. E. *irken* vb. 'to be irksome', *irk* adj. 'distasteful' are not related to O. W. Scand. *yrkja* 'to work' (thus Skeat, Et. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 324); see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Ekel*, Stratm.-Bradley s. v. No corresponding Scandinavian word known.]

M. E. *kirrke* Orrm. etc., the medial *k* in the Orrmulum is probably also due to Scand. influence; cf. p. 143.

M. E. *cleken* vb. 'to hatch, bring forth', N. E. dial. (chiefly Scotch) < *cleck* vb. and sb., see N. E. D., E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *klekja,* O. Swed. *klækkia.* N. E. dial. *cletch* sb. 'a brood, a family, set, clique' shows that the word existed in O. E. as a native word; M. E. *cleken,* N. E. dial. *cleck* are possibly native.

M. E. *linke* (or *sawcistre*) sb. Pr. P. p. 306 'hilla', N. E. dial. *link* 'a sausage, chitterling', Halliwell (originally 'anything doubled and closed like a link'), M. E. *linken* 'to link, make a chain', N. E. *link* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *hlekkr,* O. Swed. *lænker, lænkia* sb. 'chain, link' (= O. E. *hlenče*), cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 313, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *link.*

M. E. *merrke* sb. Orrm., *merke* sb. A. R. etc. 'mark, sign', *merken* vb. Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *merki* sb., O. Swed. *mærke* sb., O. W. Scand. *merkia* vb., O. Swed. *mærkia* vb. But *k* in M. E. *mark* sb. (< O. E. *mearc*), *marken* (< O. E. *mearcian*) would account for *k* in M. E. *merke, merken,* if native.

M. E. *mikell* Orrm., Gen. and Ex. etc. 'much, great, large', To what extent *k* depends on Scand. influence, cannot be decided, as *mikel,* when occurring in Midland texts, is easily accounted for by the O. E. inflected forms in which *c* was situated before *l.*

M. E. *mirke* 'dark, obscurus', *mirken* 'make dark' is, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940, distinctly Scand. in form (O. W. Scand. *myrkr,* O. Swed. *myrker*). But O. E. *mirce* (Bosw.-Toller, not in Sweet's A. S. Dictionary) probably need not have contained *č,* as there was originally a *w* after *k* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[3] § 72, 5), which *w* may in some cases have remained during the time of the palatalisation (see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 173, 2), and even if the adj. was pronounced with *č,* the adv. formed from it is to be taken into consideration as doubtless containing *k.*

M. E. *seck* Gen. and Ex., Hav., A. P., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *sekkr,* O. Swed. *sækkr* (= O. E. *sæċċ,* M. E. **sach, zech* in the South, *seck* in the North, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143). Some uses of the word south of the Humber may be due to Scandinavian influence, cf. Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 299.

M. E. *serk* Langl. P. Pl. B., Hav. etc.: O. W. Scand. *serkr* O. Swed. *særker* (= O. E. *sierċe, syrċe*).

M. E. *scrennkenn* 'supplant, deceive' Orrm. As is shown by the undoubtedly English word *cwennkenn*, *k* need not absolutely depend on Scand. influence. Cf. p. 144.

M. E. *slekkenn* vb. 'to slake, abate, extinguish' Orrm., *slekken* Pr. P. can, as far as the form goes, be either from Scand. (O. Swed. *slækkia,* O. W. Scand. *sløkkua*) or from O. E. *sleċċan* 'weaken' (from O. E. *slæc* and not related to O. W. Scand. *sløkkua,* see Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 93), but is, at least in the phrase *to slekkenn fīr,* probably from Scand.[1])

M. E. *slīke* 'such' Ps. is from O. W. Scand. *slíkr,* O. Swed. *slīker,* but *k* is no test as is shown by the material given by Wyld p. 163.

M. E. *þikke* 'thick' is perhaps to be explained like *mirke* above; Sweet, H. E. S. p. 203, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *thick* explain *kk* through Scand. influence. Another explanation is given by Kluge, E. St. XIII p. 507. It is to be taken into account that no M. E. **mirche, *þicche* are to be found. If there was no *w* after *kk* in O. E. *þicce* at the time of the palatalisation, there must still have arisen a change of *kk* and *ċċ* within the paradigm of this original *u*-stem.

M. E. *wirrkenn* Orrm. may owe its *k* to the sb. *werrk,* cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194, or is to be explained in the same way as *sekenn, þennkenn* above p. 144.[2])

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[1]) Brate p. 58 has not noticed this phrase *to slekkenn fīr* Orrm. v. 10126 (cf. *slekken* 'extinguo' Pr. P. p. 459). The use of the word in the phrase *slekken þirrst* in the Orrmulum, is not, taken by itself, as Brate supposes, to be regarded as an evidence in favour of Scand. origin, as is shown by N. E. *to slake one's thirst* (< O. E. *slacian,* formed, like O. E. *sleċċan*, from the adj. *slac*). O. E. *sleċċan* is represented by M. E. *slech* 'to abate, lessen' (*of the sorow sum del he wold slech*) Metr. Tales ed. Hartshorne, London 1829 p. 200.

[2]) Since writing the above, Professor Morsbach has kindly placed the

3. Scandinavian *g*.

a) Initial *g*.

Teutonic *ʒ* appears in the Scandinavian languages, initially, as the stopped sound *g*, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 178. In

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following remarks of his concerning the question of palatalisation at my disposal. I give these remarks here as throwing some light also on the question of non-palatalisation as a Scand. loan-word test.

Apart from the development in the northern dialects, O. E. *ċ*, later *č* becomes M. E. *ch* [*č*]:

1. *ċ* initially before a stressed primary front vowel (also *ea* before *l* and *r* + consonant; but *ea* + *l* + cons. only belonged to a few O. E. dialects).

2. medial *ċ* only immediately before a following *i*, *i̯*.

3. final *ċ* after (stressed or unstressed) *ĭ* (but not after other primary front vowels!); thus without a following *i*, *i̯* or other front vowel: *līch* (also in the Orrmulum), *wīch*, *pich*, *ich* (O. E. *iċ*); *swilch* (< **swiliċ*), *hwilch* etc.

But no palatalisation took place — as has been erroneously assumed — when *c* was situated between originally front vowels (apart from No. 2 above): thus the sound-combinations *ë-ce*, *æ-ce* and also *ĭ-ce* become M. E. *e-ke*, *a-ke* (early M. E. *e-ce*, *æ-ce*), *ĭ-ce*. There were consequently no forms with palatalisation in the inflected cases of sbs. like O. E. *bæc* (as for O. E. *bæčč* see later on), *fæc*, *ʒebrëc*, *ʒesprëc*, or in the inflected forms with a front vowel after *c* : *ræce*, *wræce*, *sæce* (nom. *racu*, *wracu*, *sacu*) or in adj. like *blæc*, *frëc*, *wlæc*. Forms with *ch* of such word-stems, as M. E. *wlach*, *wlech*, depend on the influence of formations with an *i*, *i̯* after the *c* (cf. O. E. *wlæce*, *i*-stem, and O. E. *wleččan* vb.). Only in *ĭ-ce* doublets could arise owing to forms in which *c* was originally final (cf. No. 3 above).

M. E. *wacche*, *smacche*, *macche* etc. (cf. Me. Gr. p. 143) are proved by the *cch* and by the by-forms in *ę* to depend on an original *i̯* after the *c*. The same is to be assumed with regard to *bach* and *zech* (cf. Me. Gr. p. 143). Orrm's *obacch* is an old locative like O. E. *tō dæʒ*, *on merʒen* etc. (*i*-mutation; cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 237 Anm. 2, 3). N. E. *quitch(grass)* is from a M. E. **cwicche* < O. E. **cwičče* owing to the word having passed into the *ja*-flexion. Also O. E. *čiriče*, M. E. *chirche* must depend on a base **kirikja* (cf. N. E. D.). A ground-form without *i̯* after *c* could never have given M. E. *chirche*. Orrm's *racches* depends on *i*-mutation, as is shown by the *cch*.

Consequently, prehistoric O. E. *c* could only become *č* in an unstressed syllable:

1. in the sound-combination *-ič*,

2. in the combination *-či*, *-čči̯* (not *-ce*, *-cæ*).

The distribution of the palatalised forms in Midland and in Southern dialects depends, apart from Scand. influence in the Midland dialects, on

O. E. the same Teutonic sound is represented by a guttural spirant before consonants and primitive back vowels, by a palatal spirant before primitive front vowels, *i. e.* which at the time when the palatalisation of *ȝ* took place, were front vowels; but not before *i*-mutated, originally back vowels.[1]) At the beginning of the M. E. or at the and of the O. E. period, the guttural spirant became a stopped consonant (as in N. E. *good, glad*), but the palatal spirant remained unchanged. A small number of 12[th] century manuscripts employ two letters (*g* and *ȝ*) in order to distinguish between the sounds.[2])

Most M. E. manuscripts after the year 1200 distinguish between the two sounds.[3]) *g* instead of an expected *ȝ* or *y* in M. E. manuscripts is therefore often a sign of Scand. influence. This problem as a whole involves some difficulties which are, as a rule, analogous to those of *k* : *ch*.

Before Teutonic *ă* there are some difficulties, it being in some cases uncertain whether Teutonic *ă* was at the time of

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different tendencies of generalisation. In the South, generalisation, for the most part, took place in favour of the palatalised forms, in the Midland dialects more often in favour of the non-palatalised ones. Non-palatalisation is originally to be found in forms where *c* stood before a consonant or between front vowels (with the exception of vowel + *či*, *ččį*). Thus Orrm's *swillc, whillc, illc, sēkenn, þennkenn* etc., *līc* (adj. and *līke* adv.), *mikell* (*michel* is often the Midland form) are to be explained as due to the generalisation of *k*. When, in the Orrmulum, *ch* occurs by the side of *c* (*k*), as in *līch*, *bodiȝlīch*, *līc* (sb.), *bennche*, *bennk*, the *k*-forms are most probably due to Scand. influence.

Orrm's *icc* (by the side of the unstressed *ī* < O. E. *ih*) either depends on the position of the word before a word beginning with a consonant or on Scand. influence (cf. O. W. Scand. *ek*), since final *ĭ* + *c* gives also in Orrm's dialect regularly *ich* (cf. *līch*). The form *ic* occurs also in other Midland monuments. In the Midland dialects O. E. *ic* (stressed) became M. E. *ic*, *ich*, and O. E. *ih* (unstressed) became M. E. *ī*, whilst the stressed form *ich* preponderated in the South, where the unstressed *ī* occurred more rarely.

[1]) See references given by Wyld l. c. p. 148.

[2]) See Napier, Academy XXXVII p. 133 ff., (Febr. 22, 1890), Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1000. According to Napier, the majority of 12[th] cy. MSS. still retain the old *ȝ* as a sign for both sounds and some few have entirely replaced it by *g*; cf. also Wyld l. c.

[3]) Gen. and Ex. has *g* for both sounds, cf. Förster, Anglia Anz. VII p. 54.

the palatalisation represented by *ă* or *ǣ̆*. In other cases there was a change between *ă* and *ǣ̆* and consequently also between O. E. *γ* and *ȝ*, depending on different forms within a paradigm. On such a change many M. E. doublets — as M. E. *ȝat* (*ȝeat*) and *gate* sb. 'a gate' — depend. Before *a* + *l* + consonant, *g* was the regular development in such dialects as had *k* before the same Teut. sound-combination (*viz.* such as showed no 'breaking' of *a* into *ea* before *l* + cons.; cf. p. 141 foot-note 3). Scandinavian loan-words containing such sound combinations are therefore left out of consideration in the following list.[1])

The material I give here is chiefly taken from such M. E. texts as discriminate in their orthography between the spirant and the stopped sound. Words not found until N. E. are only incidentally treated of.

M. E. *gap* sb., N. E. *gap*, M. E. *gapen* vb., N. E. *to gape*: Swed. *gap* sb., *gapa* vb., Dan. *gab* sb., *gabe* vb. For further particulars, see N. E. D. An O. E. **ȝapian* would also have given M. E. *gapen*. In the O. E. paradigm of the sb., if existing in O. E., there would have been a change of forms with *γ* and *ȝ*, which would have led to M. E. forms in *g* and *ȝ* (*y*). The absence of forms of the sb. and vb. in *ȝ* (*y*) points to Scandinavian origin, as does also the fact that the word is not recorded in O. E.

M. E. *garn* sb. 'yarn' Townl. Myst., Cath. Angl. p. 150 (also *ȝarn*), also in the compounds *garnwyn* (see N. E. D.), *garnwyndylle* Pr. P. etc. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *garn* (= O. E. *ȝearn*, N. E. *yarn*).

M. E. *garth* sb. 'a small piece of enclosed ground, usually

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[1]) The only cases known to me of *ȝ* in this position are M. E. *ȝelstren* 'to boast' (= O. H. G. *galstaron*) A. R. p. 128 (: *ȝelstreð ase þe uox deð and ȝelpeð of hore god*; MS. T. has *galstres*, MS. C. *galieð*) where *ȝ* may be due to the following *ȝelpeð*, and in M. E. *ȝelte* 'scropha' Wr. Voc., which seems to be a southern form and to represent a Teut. **galtiō* (cf. Arch. CI p. 394). But there is no reason for seeing a criterion of loan in the *g* of M. E. *gelden* 'to castrate', *geld*(*e*) 'barren', most probably from Scand. (but cf. O. E. *ȝielde* 'sterile', Sweet). M. E. *ȝ* before Teut. *a* + *l* + cons. may have been confined to some southern dialects in which Teut. *a* was liable to 'breaking' before *l* + cons.; cf. Teut. *k* before the same sound-groups, p. 141.

beside a house or other building, a fence or hedge etc.' (also in numerous compounds, see N. E. D. s. v. *garth*) Hamp. Ps., Pall. etc.; still current in the eastern and northern dialects of English, but obsolete in Scotch (N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *garðr*, O. Swed. *garþer*, Dan. *gaard* (= O. E. *ʒeard*, N. E. *yard*).

M. E. *garsell(e)*, N. E. dial. *garsil* 'brushwood used for fencing or (mod.) for burning': Dan. *gjærdsel*, Swed. *gärdsel*; see N. E. D.

[M. E. *gaspen* vb., N. E. *to gasp*, see p. 53 ff.]

M. E. *gate* sb. 'a way, road' Orrm., C. M., E. E. Ps., Hav., Fer. etc., N. E. *gait*, see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *gata*; the Teut. ground-form **gatwōn* would hardly account for N. E. *gate* as a native word.

M. E. *gein, gain* sb. 'advantage, use, gain', St. Marh., Gaw. etc., M. E. *gein, gain* adj. 'strait, near' Gaw., A. P. etc., *geʒʒnlike* 'conveniently' Orrm., *geʒʒnenn, geinen, gainen* vb. 'to be suitable, useful' Orrm., H. M., A. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *gegn* adj., *gegna* vb. 'convenire', see N. E. D., cf. p. 112. The Teutonic base **gagin-* would have given English native forms with initial *ʒ, y*; cf. M. E. (native) *(on)ʒein* etc. prep. and adv. (< **gagin-*; M. E. *(on)gain*, N. E. *again* is from a base **gagani-*, cf. N. E. D. s. v. *again*), M. E. *ʒeinen, ʒēnen* 'to meet', see Stratm.-Bradley, Mätzner, Stodte p. 49. The words are undoubtedly in most cases, probably in all, due to Scandinavian influence; cf. M. E. *gaghenn* p. 112.

[M. E. *gēmen* according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941 depends on the influence of O. W. Scand. *gøyma* etc. (= M. E. *ʒēmen*). If the form exists (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 17), it is, no doubt, a hybrid of the native M. E. and the Scand. word.]

M. E. *gere* 'equipment, apparatus, all sorts of instruments, manner, habit, etc.', deriv. M. E. *geren* 'to adorn, equip, harness (a draught animal)', Laʒ., C. M., A. P., Townl. Myst., see Dictionaries, M. Sc. *geir* (Gerken p. 25, Curtis § 263), N. E. *gear* sb.: O. W. Scand. *gørvi, gervi* (< Teut. **garwīn*, cf. O. E. *ʒearwe* pl. 'clothing, attire'). Concerning the loss of *w*, see ten Brink Ch. Gr. § 210 Anm., N. E. D. s. v. *gear*.

M. E. *geren, gerren, garen, forgaren* vb. 'to do, perform, make, cause', C. M., Hamp. Ps., Townl. Myst. etc., N. E. dial.

to gar : O. W. Scand. *gørva, gerva,* O. Swed. *gøra* etc. (= O. E. *ʒierwan,* M. E. *ʒarwen, ʒaren*). See N. E. D.

M. E. *gersume, gærsume, garsume* sb. 'treasure' Laʒ., O. E., Hom., Marh., Kath., A. R. : O. W. Scand. *gørsemi, gersemi,* O. Swed. *gørsem* (Söderwall), O. Dan. *gørsom* (Kalkar II p. 125). O. E. *ʒersuma, ʒærsuma* Chr., also is the Scand. word, cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 301, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.

M. E. *gerþ, gerth* Rich. 5733, Pr. P. p. 190, *garth* Wr. Voc. 665, 34 'cingula', Th. Erceld 57 'saddle-girth etc.' (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *garth*), *horsgarthe* Wr. Voc. 727, 37, N. E. dial. *garth* 'a hoop', Wall p. 101 : O. W. Scand. *gjorð* (< **gerðō-*), *gerð* 'girth, girdle' (Swed. *gjord* 'girth' is ambiguous as to its ground-form, see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v.); N. E. *girth* is probably due to a contamination of M. E. *gerth* and M. E. *gird* (< O. E. **ʒyrd*) 'girth' (Alis. 2272), *girden, girdel* (< O. E. *ʒyrden, ʒyrdel* < **gurdjan, *ʒurdil-*).

[M. E. *gessen* 'to guess' is as yet unexplained, see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *guess*; cf. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *gissa* who thinks the Scand. word is borrowed from L. German.]

M. E. *gest, gesst, gist* Orrm., A. R., R. Gl. (Pabst p. 81), Ayenb. etc. (deriv. M. E. *gesten* 'to lodge, feast', *gestnen* 'to entertain, lodge'), N. E. *guest*; *g* no doubt depends on Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *gestr,* O. Swed. *g(i)æster* etc. (< **gasti-* = O. E. *ʒiest, ʒyst*). In O. E. *ʒest-hus* in Alfric, the *e*-vowel points to Scand. influence, see Sweet, H. E. S. p. 312, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 75 Anm. 2. The frequent *i*-vowel in this word, and in M. E. *gistnen* 'to lodge, be entertained', *gistning* 'entertainment, banquet', when not depending on West-Saxon *y* (the *i*-forms are chiefly southern), is probably due to O. W. Scand. *gista* 'to entertain, to receive and treat with hospitality, to be entertained as a guest, to pass the night with one', O. Swed. *gista* 'to visit'.[1]) Scand. *gista* is, according to Wadstein, Ind.

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[1]) It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Scand. word-stem *gist-* and the French stem *gist* (*dž*), see the instances in Mätzner and Stratm.-Bradley. Is M. E. *giste* 'refreshment, food' (Horstmann, Altengl. Legenden p. 8) from a Scand. word resting on a base **ga-wist-* (cf. O. E. *ʒewist-fullung* 'abundance, feasting, *deliciæ*' Bouterwek, Haupt's Zeitschr. IX p. 444) or from a Romance (French or A. French) word

Forsch. V p. 31, Bezz. Beitr. XXII p. 117, unrelated to *gestr* and represents a Teutonic **gawistōn* (but cf. Lidén, Bezz. Beitr. XXI p. 115 f.); if this was the base of M. E. *gist-nen* (which is by no means certain, cf. Lidén l. c.), this M. E. word is also distinctly Scandinavian in form (cf. O. E. *ȝewistian* 'to feast').

M. E. *geten,* pret. *gat,* pl. *gēten,* [*gǭten*], p. part. *geten* Orrm., Hav. etc., also in compounds and derivatives, N. E. *to get, forget* etc. : O. W. Scand. *geta,* O. Swed. *giata, g(i)æta*[1]) (= O. E. *ȝietan*). In the native word there were no forms in which *g* would have been regular, *ǭ* in the M. E. pret. pl. *gǭten* being from Scand. (cf. p. 86). In compounds like M. E. *biȝeten, ȝ* remained longer (cf. Dictionaries), because there was no Scand. **begeta.* The Orrmulum has *biȝetenn* but pret. *bigatt,* the latter owing to the influence of the simplex **getenn,* pres. sg. *gett* v. 10219; *ȝetenn* v. 17418 which White-Holt translate by 'to procure' means 'to cast, found' and is from O. E. *ȝēotan,* cf. Brate p. 43).

M. E. *gift,* see M. E. *given.*

M. E. *gigge, hwirlgigge* 'a whirling thing', N. E. *gig, whirligig.* Scandinavian origin is questionable, no Scandinavian corresponding word being known. Norw. dial. *giga, gigla, gigra* vb. 'to be loose, wabble, waver, sway to and fro', *gigl* adj. 'loose, wavering, rocking', *gigl* sb. 'something loose etc.' (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *gikkäl* vb., *gikkel* sb. (with a similar sense, see Rietz p. 192) seem to be related words; cf. O. W. Scand. *geigja* 'to rove at random', O. E. *forȝǣȝan* 'to transgress, prevaricate', representing another ablaut. Swed. *gigg,* Dan. *gig,* are borrowed from English; cf. Tamm s. v. *gigg,* Jessen s. v. *gig.*]

M. E. *gile, gille* 'gill (of a fish), throat' A. P. III 269, Wicl., Pr. P. etc., M. E. *gillen* 'to disembowel (fish)' Pr. P., N. E. *gill* : Dan. *gjelle,* Swed. *gäl.* The *i*-vowel of the English word is obscure.

M. E. *gill, gille(-strēm)* D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.), Gav. Dougl. 'a deep rocky cleft or ravine', N. E. *gill* sb. 'a narrow valley

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borrowed from Teutonic (also O. E.) *wist* 'sustenance food, feast', or is it formed from a vb. **gistan* < Scand. *gista*?

[1]) O. Swed. *giata, g(i)æta* is from a base **gëta,* cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 78 Anm.

with a stream in it' (Wall p. 102, Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 284): O. W. Scand. *gil* sb. 'a crack, fissure, narrow glen'.

M. E. *gilde* E. Gilds p. 29, Pr. P. p. 193 etc., N. E. *gild* (*guild*) : O. W. Scand. *gildi,* O. Swed. *gilde.* There are also M. E. forms in *ȝ* (*y*), and there was an O. E. *ȝield* which also meant 'guild, fraternity' and has given M. E. *yélde,* E. Gilds p. 370. Kluge-Lutz derive M. E. *gilde,* N. E. *gild, guild* from an O. E. *ȝyld.* I cannot decide whether such an O. E. form (from a base **guldio*) actually existed; it is not in Sweet's Dictionary.

M. E. *gildire, gilder* sb. 'snare', *gildiren, gilderen* vb. 'to catch in a snare, deceive', C. M. 23307, Hamp. Ps. : O. W. Scand. *gildra* sb., O. Swed. *gilder, gildre* sb., early Dan. *gilder* sb. 'snare, trap', O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *gildra* vb., early Dan. *gildre* vb. An attempt to give the etymology of the Scand. words is made by Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 14.

N. E. dial. *guizend* 'leaky', Wall p. 105 : O. Swed. *gistin,* Dan. *gisten* etc., see Tamm s. v. *gisten.*

M. E. *giuen,* pret. *gaf, gǣven, gę̄ven,* [*gǭuen*], p. part. *giuen*; the forms with *g* are first recorded in the Orrmulum, where forms with *ȝ* are still to be found by the side of such depending on Scandinavian influence (cf. Brate p. 43, N. E. D. s. v. *give*); the distribution of the forms with *g* in other M. E. texts is easily seen from the dictionaries: O. Dan. *givæ,* O. Swed. *giva, g(i)æva,* O. W. Scand. *gefa* (= O. E. *ȝiefan*). Like in *geten* above, *g* may in no case be explained as native (*ǭ* in M. E. *gǭuen* being from Scand., cf. p. 86). — The frequent forms with an *i*-vowel (M. E. *giuen, ȝiuen,* N. E. *to give*) have been explained in different ways by scholars and may in this connection be once more dealt with. In his 'Untersuchungen zur engl. Lautgesch.' p. 302 f., Luick sums up the different opinions concerning this question. Luick himself is of the opinion that the *i*-vowel depends on the influence of the verb O. E. *niman,* M. E. *nimen.* Brate's opinion that the *i*-vowel depends on the influence of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. is rejected by Luick on the ground that this explanation would hardly account for the predominance of the *i*-vowel in the Anglian dialects in late Middle English, especially as in the Anglian dialects generalisation in such verbs always took place early

in favour of the non-mutated verb-forms. He also thinks that Brate's explanation does not account for the fact that in the M. E. verb *ȝeten, geten* (O. E. *ȝietan,* O. Scand. *geta*) the *e*-vowel is universally preserved, although one may have reasons for expecting these two verbs, which belonged to the same class of strong verbs and were in other respects analogous, to develop in the same way. Against this it may be pointed out that in O. Swed. the *i*-vowel was far more frequent in the verb *giva* than in *gita,* the usual form of this latter verb being *g(i)æta* (< **gĕta*),[1]) see Söderwall, Ordb. s. v. *gita, giva, gäta.* And O. Swed. *giva* cannot depend on the influence of O. Swed. *nima,* as this verb had very seldom the sense of O. E. *niman* 'to take' (cf. Söderwall s. v.), the usual O. Swed. word for 'to take' being *taka* (cf. O. Swed. *hælaghare ær at giwa æn taka,* Söderwall p. 405). O. Swed. *giva* therefore cannot be otherwise explained than as depending on the generalisation of the *i*-vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 78 Anm., § 164). In my view, the *i* of O. E. *ȝibaen* p. part. (Epin.), which cannot depend on the influence of the preceding *ȝ* (cf. Luick p. 202), is actually to be explained in the same way as O. Swed. *giva,* O. Dan. *givæ,* O. Swed., O. Dan. p. part. *given,* viz. through the generalisation of the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres.; cf. M. E. *dreien, dreihen* 'to draw', rightly explained by Stodte, Spr. der Kath.-Gruppe p. 50, as depending on the influence of the *i*-mutated forms. In many instances, especially in the South-West, the *i* of M. E. *ȝiuen* is the continuation of O. E. (W. Sax.) *ȝiefan, ȝifan, ȝyfan.* In the Anglian dialects the *i*-vowel may perhaps, to some small extent, depend on the generalisation of the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd pres. sg., but, as Luick remarks, such an explanation would not well account for the very great frequency of the *i*-forms. But, as I hold, these *i*-forms are very easily explained without assuming them to depend on the influence of O. E. *niman.* It seems to me quite natural to attribute the main part of these Anglian *i*-forms to the influence of East Scand. *giva.* In fact the *g* of M. E. *giuen,* N. E. *give* cannot be otherwise

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[1]) O. Swed. *gēva,* N. Swed. *ge* 'to give' is from an O. Swed. groundform *giva,* cf. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *giva.*

accounted for, and the frequency of the *i*-vowel therefore, so it seems to me, is very well accounted for in the same way. It is true that forms with *ȝi-* occur much earlier than such containing the stopped sound, but they are to be considered as depending on the O. E. (Anglian) *ȝefan,* which may have early adopted the *i*-vowel through the influence of the Scandinavian word. M. E. *ȝiven*, when not depending on W. Sax. *ȝyfan*, is therefore probably, to a great extent, a hybrid form; to what extent, however, the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. occurred natively in English at the time of the Danelag and thus facilitated this process, and in what instances the *i*-vowel may depend on southern influence, cannot be decided. The constant *e*-vowel of M. E. *ȝeten, geten* is probably, in a great degree, to be accounted for by the assumption that in the Scandinavian dialects spoken in England the verb 'to get' had the form *geta* (*giata*) more frequently than *gita,* whereas the usual form of the verb 'to give' was *giva.*[1]) — In M. E. *gift*, N. E. *gift,* the *g* is also due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *gipt,* O. Swed. *gipt, gift* 'a gift, present'. O. E. *ȝift* meant 'price of a wife', and in M. E. *ȝift* the sense 'a gift' may be from Scandinavian.

b) Non-initial *g.*

Non-initial Scandinavian stopped *g* only occurred in the combinations *gg* and *ng* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 37, Altschwed. Gramm. § 34). Teutonic *gg, ng* became at the time of the prehistoric English palatalisation *ġġ* (in O. E. written *cȝ*), *nġ* before a following *i̯*, and these sound-groups became M. E. *ǧǧ, nǧ* (or *ddž, ndž*). M. E. *gg, ng* when occurring in cases where one had to expect *ǧǧ*, *nǧ* if native, would therefore point to Scand. influence. But, as a rule, the M. E. spelling does not discriminate between the sounds *ǧ* (*ǧǧ*) and *g* (*gg*), cf. Wyld p. 154 ff. Only the Orrmulum uses two different symbols for the two sounds, as has been discovered by Napier, E. E. T. S. 103 p. 71 ff. (cf. Academy 1890 p. 188). Thus the

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1) The O. Swed. dialect represented by the O. Swed. Law of Småland (Cod. Skokloster 155 4°) had consistently *i* in *gifva*, but *iæ* (< *ë*) in *giæta* (cf. Björkman, Svenska Landsmålen XI 5 p. 10), and the same may have been the case in many O. East Scand. dialects.

Orrmulum uses the sign for the stopped sound in *eggenn* 'to egg on, urge, incite', *henngde* pret., *henngedd* p. part. 'suspended, crucified', *þrenngdenn* 3. pl. pret. 'thronged, pressed', but it cannot be decided whether these words depend on the influence of the O. W. Scand. *eggja,* O. Swed. *æggia,* O. W. Scand. *hengja,* O. Swed. *hængia,* O. Swed. *þrængia* or on an O. E depalatalisation before a following consonant, analogous to the depalatalisation of O. E. *ċ* in the same position (see p. 144); in the northern dialects O. E. *ġġ, nġ* seem not to have become *ǧǧ, nǧ, ddž, ndž*, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 998. As for *eggen,* there are still other reasons for assuming Scandinavian origin, see Napier l. c. p. 71 foot-note. — A treatment of the question of *g* (instead of *ǧ*) as a criterion of loan must consequently, considering the scarceness of the M. E. material, be based almost entirely on Mod. English and its dialects.[1])

4. Scand. guttural spirant *ʒ*.

a) The native O. English correspondence of Scand. *a* + guttural *ʒ* (in O. W. Scand. written *g,* in O. E. Scand., as a rule, *gh*) was in some cases *æ* + palatal *ʒ*; the former became M. E. *aw,* the latter M. E. *ai.* Early M. E. *a* + guttural *ʒ* (> M. E. *aw*) instead of *æʒ* (> *ai*), in some cases, points to Scand. origin, see p. 108 ff.[2])

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[1]) In this connection I take the opportunity of offering a few remarks concerning the Mod. E. adj. *big,* M. E. *big.* As its earlier occurrence was chiefly northern (see N. E. D.), it does not contain any distinctive mark of Scandinavian introduction, although it is probably from a base **buggjo-*. I identify this word with O. E. *Bicʒa* nom. prop. (*Æʒelric Bicʒa* circ. 1040, see Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Series VII p. 149 f., Searle p. 48) which I consider meant 'the proud, mighty, powerful'. A non-mutated form of the same word is to be found in O. E. nom. pr. *Bucʒe* fem. (as early as A. D. 736), *Bucʒa* masc. and fem., *Buggo* Lat. (Napier and Stevenson l. c. p. 56, Searle l. c.), which is probably cognate to Norw. dial. *bugge* sb. 'a mighty man' (Aasen, Ross), *bugga* adj. 'rich, wealthy, powerful' (Ross), probably identical with N. E. dial. *bug, buggy* 'conceited, vain, proud etc.' (see N. E. D.). The early and dialectal senses of Engl. *big* adj. (M. E. *big* chiefly meant 'validus, potens', see N. E. D.) very well agree with that of Norw. *bugge, bugga,* which words Ross s. v. refers to N. E. *big.* The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D., cannot be right (cf. Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 544).

[2]) It is most uncertain whether Scand. *-ʒ* in *aʒ* (*eʒ, iʒ* etc.) was in any loan-words represented by *gg* instead of forming a diphthong with

b) M. E. *drūnen* < Scand. **druȝna,* see Scandinavian dissimilation.[1])

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the preceding *a* (*e*, *i* etc.), and, if there were some instances of such a process, whether it was confined to words from Scand. and did not also in some dialects take place in native words.

N. E. *crag* 'the neck' (cf. M. E. *crawe* 'craw, throat' < O. E. *craȝa*) may perhaps be from an O. E. by-form **cragga* sb. (allied to Norw. dial. *kragga* vb. 'to cram, esp. with food'?).

M. E. *draggen*, N. E. *to drag*, *draggle* Murray, N. E. D. thinks are Northern dialect-forms of *to draw, drawl* (Swed. *dragga* vb. is from English, cf. Tamm s. v.).

N. E. dial. *feg* 'fair, handsome', may be depend on the Scand. superl. *fegst*, see E. D. D.

N. E. *flagge*, N. E. *flag* 'a piece cut out of or pared off the sward, a turf, sod' is, according to N. E. D., a dialect form of M. E. *flawe* of a similar sense.

Very obscure is N. E. *flag* 'an ensign', see Tamm s. v. *flagga,* N. E. D. s. v. *flag.*

E. E. dial. *fleg* 'a fly' is apparently from O. E. (Angl.) *flēȝe,* cf. E. D. D.

N. E. *gaggles* 'lines of geese flying' (Wall p. 101) seems to be from O. W. Scand. *gagl* 'a goose', although possibly influenced by N. E. *to gaggle* (= N. H. G. *gackeln,* Dutch *gaggeln*).

N. E. *gig,* see p. 153.

N. E. *to nag,* N. E. dial. *naggle* vb. (Wall p. 133), but cf. Scand. *nagga* (Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 854 foot-note 2).

N. E. dial. *sprag* sb. 'spray, twig' (Wall p. 121), but Swed. dial. *spragge, sprag* (Rietz).

N. E. dial. *sug* 'a sow', Wyld l. c. p. 231; but cf. Swed. *sugga* 'a sow'.

N. E. *swag, swagger* : Norw. dial. *svaga* (Ross), but also *svagga,* cf. Westphalian *swacken* 'schwanken, wackeln' (Woeste).

The dialect of Windhill (Wright 102, cf. Luick, Anglia Anz. IV p. 165) has *dreəg* 'to drawl', *eəg* 'the berry of a hawthorn', *ig* (cf. O. E. *hyge* 'mind'), *neəg* 'to gnaw', *seəg* 'a saw'. The dialect of Blackburn (North Midl.), Ellis V, has *sage* 'a saw', *nage* 'to gnaw'. Some other instances are to be found in the list given by Wyld l. c. p. 229 ff., 258 f. I must postpone the treatment of this question till another opportunity.

[1]) *ȝ* in the M. E. adj. and adv. suffix *-liȝ > lī,* is no phonetic criterion of Scandinavian origin. There are early instances of the transition of O. E. *c > ȝ* (*h*) in unstressed syllables; cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 144 f., 196. Moreover the Scand. suffix *-ligr, -liga* cannot be explained through a Scand. phonetic change of *k > ȝ* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 192, Anm. 4), but is either due to analogy (Noreen l. c.) or to another Teutonic ground-form (**-liȝ- < *-lih-,* owing to Verner's law); cf. Greek *πηλίκος, τηλίκος, ἧλιξ* (perhaps allied to O. Bulg. *lice* 'face', *zŭlolikŭ* 'malicious' given by Uhlenbeck s. v. *leiks*). Scand. *-liga,* if from a Teut. form **-liha,*

5. Scandinavian *ð* (*þ*).

Initial Teutonic *þ, ð* retained in O. W. Scandinavian, as a rule, their character of spirants (as a rule, they became both Scand. *ð*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 223, 340), whereas in Old English Teutonic *ð* was represented by *d* (< W. Teut. *d*). In the loan-words from Scandinavian, the spirant was, as a rule, kept and is in some words a distinctive token of Scand. influence. In some loan-words, however, the Scandinavian spirant seems to have been superseded by the stopped sound. This stopped sound sometimes depends on the influence of native English words. In other cases the cause of the *d* is more or less obscure. The following cases of English *d* possibly from Scand. *ð* may be taken into consideration.[1])

M. E. *addlenn* Orrm., also M. E. *adilen, adil* Townl. M., Alex. (Sk.) etc., N. E. dial. *addle* (N. E. D., E. D. D.) vb. 'to earn, acquire': O. W. Scand. *ǫðlask* (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 8). At the time of the Danelag, the sound-combination *ðl* must have been very rare in English; in most cases Teutonic *þl* had early become *dl* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201, 3, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1006), and there seems to have been a sound-law in Middle English to change the few instances of *ðl* (as in compounds like *lǭð-lich*) into *dl* (cf. Kluge p. 1008). The sound-change of O. E., M. E. *ðm, ðn* > *dm, dn* (Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge IX p. 220 ff., Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201 Anm. 3, Kluge l. c.) is analogous to this change. *dd* in *addlenn* in the Orrmulum is therefore due to a sound-change analogous to that which has taken place in *maddmess* 'treasures, gifts' in the same monument.

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would be a doublet to the O. Swed. adv.-ending *-la* (< **liha*), as for which see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *arla*. — Although, from a mere phonological point of view, M. E. *-liȝ, -lī* may be accounted for by English sound-laws (cf. Sweet l. c. p. 196, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1059), it is probable that Scand. influence has greatly contributed to the frequency of the form. In fact, the local distribution of the suffix renders its Scandinavian origin practically unquestionable; cf. ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 53, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 157.

[1]) The treatment of the spirant in the Scand. proper names introduced into English must be made the subject of a special examination. In the list given above p. 24 ff. there are instances of *ð* as well as of *d*.

O. E. *barda* 'rostrata navis' Wr. Voc. 289, 12 : O. W. Scand. *barði* 'a kind of ship', cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937.

M. E. *braid* sb. 'trick, deceit, stratagem' may, as far as its sense goes, have been to some extent influenced by O. W. Scand. *bragð,* O. Swed. *braghþ* (cf. N. E. D. s. v., Gerken, Dougl. p. 14, Skeat, Glossary to The Wars of Alexander), but its form rests entirely on O. E. *brægd.*]

M. E. *flærd* in the Orrmulum, *flerd* Misc. 14 (= Bestiary v. 452: *So was herodes fox and flerd*) seems to mean 'fraud, deceit; deceiver', and this sense agrees better with that of O. W. Scand. *flǽrð,* O. Swed. *flærþ,* O. Dan. *flerdh* than with that of O. E. *fleard* given by Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., as meaning 'folly, superstition', which O. E. word, as far as the form of the word is concerned, would very well account for the M. E. word. But there is an O. E. *flearde* (in the Aldhelm Glosses, ed. by Bouterwek in Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 442) serving as the translation of Latin *fraude, vel deceptione vel opprobrio*, and this fact renders the derivation of M. E. *flærd* from Scandinavian superfluous, as this word is in all respects accounted for by the O. E. word. Moreover the adequate sense of M. E. *flærd* as well as, in some instances, of O. E. *fleard, ʒefleard* sb., *fleardian* vb. cannot be considered fully settled. The view of the N. E. D., where the M. E. word is given as the continuation of the O. E. one and where both are translated by 'deceit, fraud, mockery', is probably right.[1])

O. E. *gladu* in the sentence *ǣr sunne gā to glade* Ben. R., M. E. *glade* Trev. (cf. N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *glade* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933) : O. W. Scand. *sólarglaðan* 'opening for the sun to shine through in clouds', Swed. dial. *solen gladas* 'the sun sets', Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *glad.* Scand. origin is by no means certain.

O. E. *heden* sb., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Bosw.-Toller (cf. *hedclāþ* 'a chasuble'). Scand. origin is, for several reasons, questionable.

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[1]) It seems difficult to identify O. E. *fleard* as cognate with Scand. *flærð,* if the latter is, as is supposed by Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *flärd,* from a base **flaih* + an *r*-suffix, since the vowels would not then very well correspond. But it is difficult to find any other etymology of the word.

Late O. E. *hird* 'retinue, court' : O. W. Scand. *hirð*; but cf. *hīred* of which *hird* (*hīrd*), M. E. *hīrd, hĭrd* (Orrm. etc.) may be a contraction.

O. E. *hofding* 'a chief, captain', cf. p. 77 foot-note 2.

M. E. *kid,* N. E. *kid.*

O. E. *rōda,* see p. 68 f.

O. E. *sumor-lida* m. 'summer army of Danes (which does not winter in the country)' : O. W. Scand. *lið* n., *liði* m., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934. *d* may be accounted for by O. E. *lid* 'ship', *lida* 'sailor'.

O. E. *ridesoht* : O. W. Scand. *riðusótt* etc., see Scand. *t*(*t*) < *ht.*

M. E. *stad* sb. 'position, status' : O. W. Scand. *staðr,* O. Swed. *staþer*; cf. O. E., M. E. *stede.*[1])

As for *ð* as a sign of Scand. influence, it is, in the first place, to be taken into account that, owing to Verner's law, *d* and *ð* are in O. E. often only different resultants of the same original Teutonic *þ*. Only when the Teutonic ground-form contained a *ð* which cannot have arisen from *þ* by this law, is Scandinavian influence fully certain as the cause of Engl. *ð*, provided that the *ð* cannot be accounted for by some sound-development of later dates (as for cases of Engl. *d* > *ð*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1009, Skeat, A Stud. Pastime p. 353). Instead of giving any abstract principles according to which *ð* in English is to be considered a sign of Scand. influence, it will be better to discuss every word separately.

For the sake of completeness, I give here also some loan-words in *ð* representing a Teut. *þ* and some more or less doubtful words. Words in which *ð* (*þ, th*) is, in my opinion, no criterion of Scand. influence are given within brackets, although doubtless most of them are, for other reasons, Scand. loan-words.

M. E. *baiþen* : O. W. Scand. *beiða* (= Goth. *baidjan,* O. E. *bǣdan* 'to compel'), see p. 41.

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[1]) Most curious is the final *d* in M. E. *ded,* M. Sc. *deid,* N. E. dial. *dead* sb. 'death' (cf. Stratm.-Bradly, E. D. D.). It cannot, however, as has been supposed, depend on Scand. influence. Is *d* due to the influence of the adj.?

O. E. *barþ* 'light ship' Wr. Voc. 181, 29 : O. W. Scand. *barð* n. 'part of a ship', *barði* 'a sort of ship', cognate with O. E. *beard,* Germ. *Bart* etc. (see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *bard*, pl. *barder*).

M. E. *burþe, bürþe, byrþe,* N. E. *birth,* oldest quotation in N. E. D. from circ. 1200: O. W. Scand. *burðr,* O. Swed. *byrþ,* Dan. *byrd* (see Tamm s. v. *börd*). The native form is O. E. *ȝebyrd,* M. E. *ibürde, ibirde* (= O. Sax. *geburd,* O. Germ. *giburt*), and as the word in the West Teutonic languages points to a base *(*ga*)*burdi-*, (there is, however, exceptionally, a Friesic *berthe* 'nativitas', see De Haan Hettema, Idioticon Frisicum p. 59, Richthofen, Altfries. Wb. p. 628), *þ* in M. E. *bürþe* etc., N. E. *birth,* is probably due to Scand. influence, although *d* in West Teutonic *(*ga*)*burdi-* is from *þ* (cf. Sanskr. *bhṛti-*) and native forms in *þ* are therefore theoretically possible, and although related words, as O. E. (*ȝe*)*beorþor* etc. 'birth', may have influenced the O. E. word.

[M. E. *bōþe* 'booth, stall' Orrm., Pr. P. etc. : O. Swed. *bōþ,* Dan. *bod* (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 24). The Scand. *ð* is from Teut. *þ*.]

[M. E. *brāþ* 'angry' etc., see p. 68 f. *ð* in the Scand. word may be from Teut. *ð* quite as well as from Teut. *þ,* cf. O. H. G. *brādam* 'heat', *brātan* 'to roast', cf. Noreen, Sv. Etym. p. 9.]

M. E. *breiþen* 'to rush, run' A. P. II v. 1421 (: *wine breiþed uppe into his braine*) : O. W. Scand. *bregða* tr. 'to move quickly', O. Swed. *bræghþa* 'to turn, change, transform' (= O. E. *breȝdan,* M. E. *breiden*), cf. Knigge p. 56.

M. E. *brand-riþe* etc., see p. 63 foot-note.

[M. E. *forþ,* by-form of *ford* 'ford, vadum' is from a Teut. **forþo-*, see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. There is no Scand. **forð*.]

[M. E. *froþe* sb. 'froth' Gaw., Pr. P., *froþen* vb. Ch., A. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *froða* (Dan. *fraade* is probably the same word, see Tamm s. v. *fradga*). Although the word is most probably from Scandinavian, it is doubtful whether *þ* is to be considered a criterion of loan, the Teutonic ground-form being uncertain.]

[M. E. *fullnaþ* 'fullness', see *livenað* further on].

M. E. *garþ,* N. E. dial. *garth* (= O. E. *ȝeard,* N. E. *yard*), see Scand. *g,* above.

M. E. *gerth*, N. E. *girth* (see above). The Teutonic base contained *ð* (> W. Teut. *d*).

M. E. *greȝȝþenn* vb., *greiþe* sb., *greiþ* adj. : O. W. Scand. *greiða* etc. (= O. E. *ȝerǣdan* vb., *ȝerǣde* adj.), see p. 43 f.

O. E. *grið* (Steenstrup p. 245 ff.), M. E. *griþ* sb. 'peace, truce', O. E. *griðian*, M. E. *griþien* vb. 'to make peace' : O. W. Scand. *grið*, O. Swed. *griþ*. Only in English and Scandinavian. The Teut. base of the Scand. *ð* was probably *ð*, cf. Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. VI p. 382, Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 28, Uhlenbeck s. v. *grids*.

[M. E. *hāð-ful* adj. 'scornful' O. E. Hom. I 279, *hǣþe-liȝ*, *hę̄þe-lich* adj. 'contemptuous' Orrm., Trist. etc., *hǣþenn*, *hę̄þen* vb. 'to mock, scorn' Orrm., Spec. 37, *hǣþing*, *hę̄þing* sb. 'scorn, contempt' Orrm., Ps., A. P., Hamp. Ps. etc. : O. W. Scand. *háð*, *hǽða*, O. Swed. *hāþ*, *hǣþa* etc.; the English words are undoubtedly Scand. loan-words, cf. p. 90. The base of *ð* is unknown.]

[O. E. *hæðen* 'mastruga' Wr. Voc. 450, 35, is probably from O. W. Scand. *heðinn* 'a fur coat', cf. *heden* above.]

M. E. *heþen*(*n*) adv. 'hence' Orrm., Pl. Cr., Hav., A. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *heðan*, O. Swed. *hæþan*. *ð* in the Scand. word was probably, according to Tamm s. v. *dädan*, from Teutonic *ð* (> W. Teut. *d*); according to Kluge, E. St. XX p. 234, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1021, Scand. *ð* in this word is due to the dissimilation of *-n-n-* > *-đ-n*, not occurring in English. See Scandinavian dissimilation. A third etymology of *-ðan* is given by Hirt, I. F. I p. 210 (= Greek *-θεν* in *οὐρανόθεν* etc.).

O. E. *hundrað* Lind. Gosp. (Cook, Glossary p. 119) 'hundred', M. E. *hundreth* A. P., Gaw. (Knigge p. 56), Pr. C. 4524, Man. (H.) 35, Minot (Scholle p. XVII) Ipom. 2236, 2238 etc.: O. W. Scand. *hundrað*, O. Swed. *hundraþ* (= O. E. *hundred*).

M. E. *hweþen*, *wheþen*(*n*), *queþen* 'whence', contains the same *ð* as *heþen*(*n*).

[M. E. *iþen* adj. 'diligent', *iþenly* adv. C. M., M. H., Barb. : O. W. Scand. *iðinn*, O. Swed. *iþin* 'industrious, diligent'. It is not settled whether the Teutonic ground-form contained *ð* or *þ*.]

[M. E. *quethe* sb., supposed by Knigge p. 56 to be due to

Scand. influence, depends on the influence of the verb *quethen,* O. E. *cweðan*, see Morsbach, Me. Gr. p. 152.]

[M. E. *laþe* sb. 'barn' Gen. and Ex., M. H. 146, Wr. Voc. 670, 24, Pr. P. etc., N. E. dial. *lathe* 'a barn' : O. W. Scand. *hlaða,* O. Swed. *laþa* 'barn', allied to O. E. *hladan* vb. 'to load, draw water', *hlæd* 'mound, pile; cf. O. W. Scand. *hlað, hlaði, hlaðr* 'pile, heap, receptacle, place into which something is received and in which it is contained', whence N. E. *lathe* 'a machine for turning wood etc.'. As there were Teutonic forms in *þ* as well as in *ð* (Teut. *þ* appears in Goth. *afhlaþan,* O. H. G. *ladan*), the Teutonic base of *ð* in Scand. *hlaða* is not quite certain.]

[M. E. *livenað, liveneð, lifnoð,* O. E. H. I 63, A. R. (often), H. M., Best., Ayenb. 'food, means of living' : O. W. Scand. *lifnaðr,* O. Swed. *lifnaþer* 'life, manner of life'. The suffix may be English quite as well as Scandinavian, see Kluge, Stammbildungslehre § 136 (concerning the Scand. suffix, see Tamm, Afledningsändelser hos svenska substantiv, Upsala 1897, p. 71 ff.). The Scandinavian origin of the word is questionable.]

[M. E. *lið* sb. 'fleet etc.', *liðsmann* 'sailor' (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934) : O. W. Scand. *lið* 'troop, assembly, help', O. Swed. *liþ* 'help', O. W. Scand. *liðsmaðr.* M. E. *liþ* Laȝ. 5213, Langl. P. Pl. B. XVI 181 may be the same word, although its sense is not fully settled. It is somewhat uncertain whether the Scand. *ð* is from Teutonic *ð* or *þ*; the word is allied to the verb, O. W. Scand. *líða* 'to go', O. E. *līðan* (prt. *lidon,* p. part. *ȝeliden*) and to the sb. O. E. *lid* 'ship' (= O. W. Scand. *lið* 'a ship'), *lida* 'sailor'. It seems probable that Scand. *lið* 'troop' is from the same Teutonic base as Scand. *lið,* O. E. *lid* 'ship', and, if it be so, *ð* is a distinctive mark of Scand. origin.]

[M. E. *līðen* 'to listen', N. E. dial. *to lithe,* see p. 115.]

[M. E. *nāþe,* see p. 91; *ð* is from Teut. *þ*.]

[O. E. *nīðing* sb. 'infamous man, villain', M. E. *nīðing* 'wretch, villain', O. E. *unnīðing* are generally considered Scand. loan-words (cf. Steenstrup p. 26 ff., Stevenson, Engl. Hist. Review 1887, April, p. 332, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f.). Doubtless they are so, but *ð* being from Teutonic *þ* is no criterion of loan; cf. O. E. *nīð* 'enmity'.]

M. E. *ōþ* adj. 'mad, furious' : O. W. Scand. *ōðr,* O. Swed. *ōþer* (= O. E. *wōd,* M. E. *wōd*), see later on.

O. E. *Ōðen* etc. (= O. E. *Wōden*), see later on.

[N. E. dial. *raths* 'ancient mounds or earth-works', see Wall p. 115. The *th* is not, as is assumed by Wall, distinctly Scandinavian, since it is uncertain whether it is from Teutonic *ð* or *þ*.]

M. E. *rāþ* sb. 'counsel, advice', *rāþen*(*n*), *rǫthen* vb. 'to counsel', *wanndrāþ* 'suffering', is for other reasons distinctively Scand., see p. 91. The *ð* is also a distinctive Scandinavian sign, the forms of the word in Gothic and in West Teutonic pointing to a Teutonic *ð*.

M. E. *rauþ,* see p. 72.

[M. E. *scaþe* sb. 'injury, loss', *scaþen* vb. 'to injure, harm' etc. (cf. p. 123); *ð* is no criterion of loan.]

[O. E. *sceʒð, sceið* etc. 'a swift vessel' (see p. 38 f.). *ð* in the Scand. word is probably from Teut. *þ,* cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *ske* sb.]

[M. E. *slehþe* 'sleight, contrivance' : O. W. Scand. *sløgð,* O. Swed. *slōghþ.* Suffix *-iþō,* see Tamm, Om fornnord. feminina på *ti* och på *iþa,* Upsala 1877, p. 35, Kluge, Stammbildungslehre § 121.]

[M. E. *slōþ* sb. 'track' Orrm., C. M., *sleuth* Barb., *sl*(*e*)*uth-hund* Barb., Cath. Angl., N. E. *sleuth-hound* : O. W. Scand. *slóð* 'track or trail, way', Swed. dial. *slo* (< **slōð*), Rietz p. 627. Only in Scand. and English. The Teutonic base of the Scand. *ð* is unknown. It is probably a relic of some old suffix, cf. Tamm l. c. p. 47.]

[M. E. *sowwþ* 'sheep', see p. 72. O. W. Scand. *sauðr* (cf. Goth. *sauþs*) is allied to O. E. *sēoðan* 'to boil' etc., and *ð* is, no doubt, from Teut. *þ*.]

[M. E. *sparþe* sb. 'halberd' Gaw., Ch., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. : O. W. Scand. *sparða* 'an Irish hatchet'. But the Scand. word may, itself, be a loan-word.]

M. E. *stith*(*e*), *steþe* sb. 'anvil, stithy' : O. W. Scand. *steði,* O. Swed. *stæþi, stæþ* 'an anvil', allied to O. E. *stede,* N. E. *stead* etc., and in all probability from a Teutonic base containing *ð*.[1])

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[1]) The ending *y* in N. E. *stithy* probably depends on the Scand.

[M. E. *striþþe, striþe* sb. 'position of legs when placed firmly' Gaw. 846, 2305, influenced by O. W. Scand. *stríðr* 'hard, firm, stubborn, vehement, violent', Norw. dial. *strid,* O. Swed. *strīþer* (ð < Teut. ð)? Cf. N. E. dial. *strithe* 'to stride the legs', Halliw.]

M. E. *swarth*(*e*) sb. 'sward, skin' D. Arth. 1466, N. E. dial. *swarth* (Lincolnsh., Yorksh.) 'skin, rind, grass-land', Wall p. 123 : O. W. Scand. *svǫrðr* 'hairy skin, sward, grass-land', N. Swed. *svål* (**svard-*) (= O. E. *sweard,* N. H. G. *Schwarte,* Dutch *zwoord,* see Kluge's and Franck's Dictionaries); ð in O. W. Scand. *svǫrðr* is, no doubt, from Teut. ð. Forms in *d* and *th* exist side by side in the same N. E. dialects, see Wall l. c. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1008, considers the M. E. word a Scand. loan-word.

[M. E. *swīþen* 'burn, light up' Ps., A. P. etc., *for-swīþen* 'burn up' A. R. (cf. N. E. dial. *swid, swidden, swither* 'to burn', Wall p. 123, O. W. Scand. *sviðna, sviðra*) : O. W. Scand. *svíða* 'to burn, singe, scorch', O. Swed. *swīþa,* Dan. *svide.* The Scand. ð is probably from Teutonic *þ.*]

[M. E. *taþen* 'stercoro' Pr. P. p. 487, N. E. dial. *tath* etc., Wall p. 124 : O. W. Scand. *tað,* Swed. dial. *tad* 'stercus', cf. O. W. Scand. *teðja* 'to manure'.]

[M. E. *teþren* vb. 'to tether' Th. Erceld. 437 (printed *teyr-*) : O. W. Scand. *tióðra* 'to tether', *tióðr* sb. 'a tether', O. Swed. *tiūþer,* early Dan. *tiudre,* Dan. *tøir.* There is also a M. E. *tedyre* 'ligatorium' Wr. Voc. 728, 1. It is doubtful whether ð in M. E. *teþren,* N. E. *tether* is original or from an earlier *d,* and it cannot be considered a criterion of loan. On the other hand, M. E. *tedyre* does not prove native origin (from a Teut. base **teuðra-* > W. Teut. **teudra-,* cf. O. H. G. *ziotar*; see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 42), as *d* may be from an earlier ð owing to the sound-transition mentioned by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1008, cf. *brodyr* 'frater' Wr. Voc. 690, 12, *weder* 'aries' ib. 698, 27, *fedyre* 'pluma' ib. 703, 34, 742, 15 (< O. E. *feðer*), all in the same glossary where *tedyre* occurs.]

M. E. *tīþennde* sb. 'tidings' Orrm., *tiðindi* Laȝ., *tythande*

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cases with ʒ + vowel in the ending, cf. *skerry* p. 124. It is to be noticed that the word, if native, would have contained *dd,* owing to the W. Teut. consonant gemination.

Sev. Sag. 3276 etc. : O. W. Scand. *tíðindi,* O. Swed. *tīþande.* Also M. E. *tiþing(e)* A. R., O. and N., R. Gl., A. P., Ip. etc. *ð* (*þ, th*) is a distinctive Scandinavian sign, and *d* in O. E. *tīdung* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), M. E. *tidinde* Laȝ., *tiding(e)* Laȝ., Gen. and Ex., Ip. etc., N. E. *tidings* is, no doubt, chiefly attributable to the influence of the native O. E., M. E. *tīd* (= O. H. G. *zīt* etc., containing Teutonic *ð,* W. Teut. *d*), O. E. *tīdan* vb. 'to happen', M. E. *tīden,* although the word (O. E. *tīdung* etc.) itself may partly be a thoroughly native formation (cf. M. L. G. *tīdinge,* Dutch *tijding,* N. H. G. *Zeitung* etc.).

[M. E. *waith* sb. 'hunting', see p. 52 f.]

[M. E. *wāþe, wǭþe* 'peril, hurt', see p. 94.]

N. E. dial. *wath* 'a ford' (Wall p. 126) : O. W. Scand. *vað,* O. Swed. *vaþ,* allied to O. E. *wadan* 'to go, advance, wade'; Scand. *ð* is from Teut. *ð.*

O. E. (or early M. E.) *þaþan* 'thence' (Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 934), M. E. *þeþen(n)* : O. W. Scand. *þaðan,* O. Swed. *þæþan,* see M. E. *heþen(n), hweþen* above.

6. Scandinavian ʀ.

Teutonic final *-z* has in Scandinavian become -ʀ (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 174), in historic times often appearing assimilated with a preceding consonant, but otherwise regularly represented by *r.* In English, the corresponding Teutonic sound had been prehistorically dropped (Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 182). Scand. -ʀ is to be found in the following loan-words in English:

Scandinavian nominatives in -ʀ, see p. 17 ff. Especially noteworthy is O. E. *þrǣ̆ll,* M. E. *þrăll* etc., see p. 19.

M. E. *helder, hildire* 'rather, preferably' Gaw. 376, Sev. Sag. ed. Wright v. 1835, Alex. (Sk.) v. 4657, N. E. dial. *helder, eilder* 'rather', Wall p. 97, 106 : O. W. Scand. *heldr,* O. Swed. *hælder,* O. Dan. *helder* (= Goth. *haldis* < **haldiz,* O Sax. *hald,* O. H. G. *halt,* cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *halt*).

M. E. *sēr* adj. 'separate, several, particular' Orrm., Gaw. etc., *sēr-lepi* adj. 'separate, various', *sēr-liche* adv., *sērnes* sb., *sērte* sb. (see Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. dial. *ser* 'different, several, divers', Wall p. 74, 118 : O. W. Scand. *sér* (dative of the refl. pron. *sín,* acc. *sik*) 'separately, especially', *sérligr* adj., *sérliga*

adv., O. Swed. *sǣr*, *sǣrlika* etc., Dan. *sær* adj. etc. The corresponding native form would have been O. E. **sē* (cf. O. E. *mē, ðē* = O. W. Scand. *mér*, *þér*).

7. Scandinavian consonant assimilation.

a) Scandinavian *dd.*

Teutonic *zð* is in Scandinavian represented by *dd,* in English, as a rule, by *rd,* cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208, Altschwed. Gramm. § 221 Anm. 2, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 181, 2, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 372, 1018. The instances of Scand. *dd* from Teut. *zð,* so far as occurring in Scand. loan-words, are:

M. E. *bred* in the adj. *bredful, bretful* ($t < d$ owing to the following *f*) 'full to the brim' Trin. Coll. Hom. (O. E. H II) 167 (cf. N. E. D.), A. P., Langl. P. Pl., Ch. Prol. v. 687, Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. Swed. *brædd(er)*, N. Swed. *brädd* 'margin, brink', N. Swed. *bräddfull* 'full to the brim', Norw. *bredd,* Dan. *bred* etc. (< Teut. **brezða-,* cf. Tamm, Etym. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *brädd*). The corresponding native form is O. E. *brerd, breord, brerdful* (Ælfr. Lives of Saints VI 282), M. E. *brerd, brerdful(l).* The M. E. by-form *bratful* MS. of Langl. P. Pl. B. Prol. 41, may depend on Scand. *bradd* (Tamm l. c.), cognate to O. E. *breard.*

M. E. *brod(d)* 'shoot, sprout, spike, brad' Orrm. (cf. Brate p. 35), Pr. P. p. 53 ('clavus acephalus'), M. E. *broddenn* vb. 'to shoot, sprout' Orrm.,[1]) N. E. dial. *brod* sb. 'a goad, a short nail, an awl, a rod of pliant wood etc.', *brod* vb. 'to prick, pierce, goad, poke' (N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *broddr* 'nail, spike, shaft, goad, point', O. Swed. *brodder, brudder* 'a brad or nail without a head', N. Swed. *brodd* 'first blade of grass, brad, nail' (= O. E. *brord* 'point, first blade of grass, young plant', M. E. *brurd*; Teut. base **brozða-,* **bruzða-,* cf. Tamm s. v. *brodd*). M. E., N. E. *brad* may either depend on a dialectal development of $\breve{o} > \breve{a}$, or is from Scand. *bradd* (< **brazda,* cf. Tamm s. v. *brädd, brodd*).

M. E. *gad(d)* 'a sharp spike of metal, a bar of metal, esp. of iron or steel, a pointed rod or stick, used for driving oxen,

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[1]) Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., gives an O. E. *broddian* 'to be luxuriant'; its relationship to M. E. *broddenn* etc. I cannot decide not knowing where it occurs. There is a N. E. dial. *broddle* 'to assume, swagger', E. D. D.

a measuring rod for land, etc.' (often difficult to distinguish from M. E. *gād* > N. E. *goad*, cf. N. E. D.) Kath. 1945 (*gadien*), Gen. and Ex. 3185, Hav. 279, D. Arth. 3621 (*gaddes*), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *gad* : O. W. Scand. *gaddr* 'goad, spike, sting', O. Swed. *gadder* etc. (= Goth. *gazds*, O. H. G. *gart*; O. E. *ʒierd, ʒyrd, ʒęrd* 'rod, twig', O. H. G. *gert(e)a*, N. H. G. *Gerte* etc. are probably not related, cf. Uhlenbeck s. v. *gazds*, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIX p. 520, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 173).

M. E. *gedd(e)* sb. 'the pike or luce', first use about 1325 (see N. E. D.), Barb. Bruce II 576, N. E. dial. *ged* (Wall p. 102) : O. W. Scand. *gedda* 'a pike', Swed. *gädda*, Dan. *gjedde*, from Scand. *gaddr* (see Tamm s. v. *gadd*).

M. E. *od* sb. 'point, mucro' Man. (F.) 4614 : O. W. Scand. *oddr*, O. Swed. *odder, udder*, Dan. *od* (= O. E. *ord* 'point, spear', O. H. G. *ort*).

M. E. *odde* 'odd, unique, distinguished, special' A. P., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *odd* : O. W. Scand. *oddi* sb. 'odds, quarrel, odd number', O. Swed. *odda, udda*, N. Swed. *udda tal* 'odd number'. Cf. preceding word.

b) Scandinavian *kk* < *nk*.

For this assimilation, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 207, 3, Altschw. Gramm. § 235, c. There are no instances known of this assimilation in the loan-words in Middle English; in the M. E. words in a primitive *nk* which may have been introduced from Scandinavian, *nk* is kept. In N. E. dialects there seem to be some cases of this assimilation, see Ellis V 14, Wall p. 61, 67, 97, Wright, Windhill § 368, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 6 foot-note 1. The only case in standard English would be N. E. *ruck* vb. 'wrinkle, crease', sb. 'wrinkle or plait', if from W. Scand. *hrukka* (Skeat, Et. D.).[1])

c) Scandinavian *ll*.

α) Teutonic *lþ* became English *ld* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201, 2) but was in Scandinavian early assimilated into *ll* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 215). An English *ll* corresponding to Teutonic *lþ*, therefore, proves Scandinavian influence.

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[1]) No instances are known to me of the Scand. assimilations *mp* > *pp*, *nt* > *tt* in the loan-words.

The cases are:

[M. E. *fell* sb. 'hill, mountain' C. M., Gaw. 723, Ant. Arth. I, D. Arth. 2489 etc., N. E. and dial. (Wall p. 99) *fell* 'a barren or stony hill' : O. W. Scand. *fell, fjall,* O. Swed. *fiæll,* N. Swed. *fjäll,* Dan. *fjæld.* The Scandinavian word has by some scholars been identified with O. E. *feld,* N. E. *field,* Dutch *veld,* N. H. G. *Feld* (from a base **felþa-*), see Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fjäll.* But it seems to me rather to be allied to N. H. G. *Felsen,* O. Sax. *felis* etc. in which case *ll* is from *lz* (> Scand. *lʀ* > *ll*), and this is the most current opinion (cf. Tamm l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 217, 2, b, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Felsen*). In both cases Scand. origin is unquestionable.]

M. E. *hellen* vb. 'to pour out' Hamp. Ps. (often), Alex. (Sk.), Cath. Angl., Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195), N. E. dial. *hell* 'to pour out' (Wall p. 106) : O. W. Scand. *hella* 'to pour out (a liquid etc. by holding its receptacle in a slanting position)', O. Swed. *hælla* 'to put into a slanting position, bend aside, incline, to pour out' from the adj. O. W. Scand. *hallr* 'inclined, slanting, sloping' (= O. E. *hieldan* 'to bend, incline, bend down', M. E. *helden* 'to incline, bend aside, pour', O. H. G. *heldan* etc.).

M. E. *will* 'bewildered, having lost one's way, lost in error, uncertain' Gen. and Ex., Hav., Rel. I 209, Isum., Barb., Alex. (Sk.), N. E. dial. *will* 'astray' (Wall p. 110, 127) : O. W. Scand. *villr* 'astray, bewildered', O. Swed. *vilder* (< **villr*), N. Swed. *vill* in the phrase *fara vill* 'to go astray', *råd-vill* (and other compounds, cf. N. Swed. *villa* sb. 'error'), early Dan. *vill* etc. (= Goth. *wilþeis,* O. E. *wilde, wild* 'untamed', M. E. *wilde,* N. H. G. *wild* etc.). In compounds like *wildrēm* sb. 'delusive dream', *wilgate* sb. 'going astray', *wilsom* 'dubious' (cf. O. W. Scand. *villusamr,* O. Swed. *vilsamber*) the first member is probably the Scand. word as showing the typical Scandinavian sense, although it may, as far as the form goes, be from the O. E. word with the loss of *d* between two consonants (cf. O. E. *wildēor, wilder* < *wilddēor*).

β) The Scandinavian sound-transition of *lʀ* (< *lz*) into *ll* (such a sound-change occurs also in O. E., Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 180), is represented by O. E. *þrǣ̆ll,* M. E. *þrall, þrell, þrill*

(see p. 19 and foot-note 2) and possibly by M. E. *fell* 'hill, mountain', N. E. *fell,* see above.

γ) The Scandinavian change of *ðl* into *ll* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 210, 4, Altschwed. Gramm. § 285, 3) is, no doubt, represented by M. E. *ā mel(le), ī melle, ē melle,* N. E. dial. *a mell* etc. (Wall p. 89, 112, N. E. D.) : O. Dan. *mellum, mællin, melle,* O. Swed. *mællum* etc., N. Swed. *emellan, imellan.*[1]) Taken by itself, *ll* is here hardly to be considered an absolutely reliable loan-word test, as there seem to be some instances of M. E. *ll* from *ðl* in native words (cf. p. 104 footnote 3).

δ) M. E. *ille* adj. 'evil, bad', Orrm., O. E. Hom., Gen. and Ex. etc., *ille* adv. Orrm., Hav. etc., *illen* vb. 'to make, become evil, to do harm to' : O. W. Scand. *íllr, illr* adj., O. Swed. *īlder, ilder* adj., O. W. Scand. *ílla, illa* adj., O. Swed. *īlla, illa* adv., early Dan. *ill* adj., Dan. *ilde* adv. *ll* in this typical Scand. loan-word is a test of Scandinavian introduction, provided that the etymology of the word given by Kock, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XL p. 199 ff., is right.

d) Scandinavian *nn.*

α) Teutonic *nþ* became English *þ* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 186), whereas it was assimilated into *nn* in Scandinavian (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 215). Scandinavian *nn* (< *nþ*) occurs in the following loan-words:

O. E. nom. pr. in *Gunn-* (= O. E. *ȝūþ* 'war, battle'), see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937.

M. E. *minne* sb. 'memory, remembrance' C. M. 8835. Mir. Pl. 1965, M. E. *minnen* vb. 'to have in mind, remember', C. M., Gaw., A. P. etc., *minning* 'memory' C. M. : O. W. Scand. *minni, minning* sb., *minna, minnask*, O. Swed. *minnas* etc. In the Scandinavian words, *nn* is from *nþ*, cf. Goth. *gaminþi* sb.; in pret. *minta* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 444) *t* is due to the *nn* from Teut. *nþ* being originally unvoiced (Noreen l. c. § 183, 2, b). But the verb *minnen* is very often difficult to distinguish from M. E. *münnen* (*müinien*), see Stratm.-Bradley. Dubious is *mineþþ* Orrm. (Brate p. 51).

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[1]) The *e*-vowel in M. E. *ā mell* etc. is probably distinctively East Scandinavian, cf. Dial. Prov. p. 25.

N. E. dial. *mun* sb. 'mouth' (Wall p. 112) : O. W. Scand. *munnr* (*muðr,* Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 201), O. Swed. *munder* (< **munnr*), early Dan. *mun*(*n*), Swed. *mun,* Dan. *Mund* (= O. E. *mūþ,* N. E. *mouth*).

M. E. *sannen* 'to maintain, prove, demonstrate' Orrm. v. 11289, Böddeker, Ae. Dicht. W. L. I 29 : O. W. Scand. *sanna,* O. Swed. *sanna* etc. 'to prove'. The native development is shown by O. E. *sōþ* 'true' (< **sanþa-*), *sēþan* 'to assert, prove' (< **sanþian*).

O. E. *scinn,* M. E. *skin*(*n*), see p. 127. *nn* is from *nþ,* see Lidén, Bezz. Beitr. XXI p. 95, 117.

β) The regular development of Teutonic *zn* in English is somewhat uncertain, cf. Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XVIII p. 409, Brugmann, Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.[2] I p. 779, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1018, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *tweern.* In Scandinavian, Teut. *zn* is represented by *nn* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208). Owing to the uncertainty of the question as to the regular development of Teut. *zn* in English, an English *nn,* supposed to represent a Teutonic *zn,* is not, taken by itself, a reliable criterion of Scandinavian influence. The material to be taken into consideration is very scanty.

M. E. *ransaken* Ps., Gen. and Ex., Ch., etc., N. E. *to ransack* : O. W. Scand. *rann-saka,* O. Swed. *ransaka, ranzaka* 'to search (a house), investigate, etc.', cf. O. W. Scand. *rann* 'house' (= Goth. *razn,* O. E. *ærn*).

O. E. *twinn* (Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 467) 'double', *ȝetwyn* 'geminus', *ȝetwinnas* 'twins' (see Bosw.-Toller), M. E. *twinn*(*e*) 'two, double' Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Rel. I 218 etc., *twinn*(*e*) 'geminus' Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *tvinnr* 'double', O. Swed. *twinni* (cf. Brate p. 78). *nn* in the Scand. word is considered by Brate l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208, Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 118 to be from *zn.* But not even this is certain, cf. O. H. G. *zwinelinc,* M. E. *twinling.* O. E. *ȝetwinn,* M. E. *twinn*(*e*) 'a twin' is probably native; the adjective (originally a different word-stem?) may, very likely, be from Scandinavian.

M. E. *twinnen, a-twinnen, to-twinnen* vb. 'to separate, divide', *twinnunge* 'separation', cf. prec. word.

O. E. *þrinna* acc. pl. m. (: *mid þrinna* XII) in the Laws of King Æthelred (see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 235 foot-note, Bosw.-Toller s. v.), M. E. *þrinn(e)* 'threefold, triple, three' Orrm., Hav., M. H. : O. W. Scand. *þrinnr,* O. Dan. *thrynnæ,* O. Swed. *þrinni.* Cf. prec. words, Brate l. c., Noreen l. c., Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge IX p. 269, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 329 Anm. 2, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935. The word is, most likely, from Scandinavian.

γ) The Scandinavian sound-change of *nnʀ* into *nn* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 217, 4, b) is represented by M. E. *minne* adj. 'lesser' Ps., Gaw., Flor. etc. [*min* adv. 'less' L. C. C. 22] : O. W. Scand. *minni* adj., O. Swed. *minne* adj., *minna, minne* adv. (= Goth. *minniza,* O. H. G. *minniro*), cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938. But the adv. M. E. *min* may either be from O. W. Scand. *minnr* etc. (Noreen § 372) or may, as far as the form goes, be a native word corresponding to Goth. *mins,* O. H. G., M. H. G. *min.* Although the Scand. origin, at least, of M. E. *minne* 'lesser' seems to be beyond any doubt, as occurring only in texts, which show numerous traces of Scand. origin, the question of *nn* as a criterion cannot be settled, until the O. E. *min,* n. pl. *minne* 'small, mean, vile' (Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, A. S. Dict.) has been fully cleared up.

e) Scandinavian *tt* (*t*) < Teut. *ht.*

Teutonic *ht* remains in O. E. In Scandinavian it was assimilated into *tt*; under some circumstances it seems to have become *t,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] 209, Altschwed. Gramm. § 233. In some loan-words Scand. *ht* remains, as in O. E. *Ohtor,* M. E. *ha(ug)hte* 'peril' (see p. 99), possibly in O. E., M. E. *saht* etc. (see p. 100), M. E. *dra(ug)hte, sla(ug)hter* etc., (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936) perhaps owing to earlier introduction, or owing to the influence of some Scand. dialects in which *ht* may have remained longer (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 233, Anm. 2). *ht* in Scand. loan-words is, of course, no criterion of loan. But in some loan-words, Teut. *ht* is represented by *tt, t,* and these words are distinctively Scand.

M. E. *atl(i)en, attlen, attelen, ettlen* vb. 'to think, esteem, purpose, tend, aim, arrange, set out' Laȝ., O. E. Hom., Gaw., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc., *etlunge* sb. 'estimation' H. M., O. E.

Hom. I 263 (= Sawles Warde), N. E. dial. *ettle, eckle* (N. E. D): O. W. Scand. *ǽtla* 'to think, guess, conjecture, esteem, aim, intend, decide etc.', O. Swed. *ǣtla* (< **ahtilōn*). M. E. forms in *ht* may depend on the influence of native words like O. E. *eahtian* 'to deliberate, consider', *ȝeeahtle* sb. 'esteem', or — and this I consider more likely — are to be explained in the same way as M. E. *ha(ug)hte* etc., above.

[O. E. *ȝeatan* 'to grant', M. E. *ȝaten, ȝetten* etc. (cf. p. 109) : O. W. Scand. *játa, játta,* O. Swed. *iata, iatta,* early Dan. *iate, iætte*; *tt* in *játta* need not necessarily depend on *ht,* cf. Lidén, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 238 ff., Hellquist ib. VII p. 55 foot-note 2, XIV p. 37. *tt* in M. E. *ȝetten* etc. is no criterion of loan, especially as it would be easily accounted for by the explanation given p. 109 foot-note 1 or by assuming a Teutonic base in *-atjan,* cf. M. E. *naiten* 'to say no' (p. 48) : O. W. Scand. *neita,* Hellquist, Ark. XIV p. 142.]

M. E. *gǽte-* in *gǽte-lǽs* 'without care', Orrm. 6190,[1]) *gę̄te* 'heed, attention' Frag. Ælfr. Gramm. 6, M. E. *gǽtenn, gę̄ten* ,guard, keep, take care of' Orrm., A. R., C. M., Hav., R. Brunne, Barb. etc., *gę̄ter* (an English formation from *gę̄ten*) sb. 'keeper, guardian' D. Troy, *gę̄tenlike* adv. 'diligently' O. E. Hom. II 121 : O. W. Scand. *gǽta* vb. 'to take care of, guard, keep', *gǽta* sb. 'heed, attention', *gǽtinn* adj. 'careful', O. Swed. *gǣta* (perhaps a loan-word from O. W. Scand., see Söderwall), Swed. dial. *gēta.* O. W. Scand. *gǽta* possibly depends on two different stems, both containing *ht,* see Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 16, Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 32, Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIII p. 164.

[M. E. *kēte* 'brave, strong, joyful',[2]) *dōm-kēte* 'swift of judgment', *kētly* 'quickly', according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, is from a Scand. **kǽtr,* an *i*-mutated by-form of O. W. Scand. *kátr* 'glad, joyful', O. Swed. *kāter* 'glad, joyful, licentious, dissolute, wanton, lustful', Dan. *kaad* (cf. O. W. Scand.

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[1]) Cf. N. E. dial. *gatless* 'half-witted, shiftless', Wall p. 101, perhaps from M. E. **gāt-lǽs* (cf. Icel. *gát* 'cura', Noreen, Sv. Etymologier p. 74), *ă* probably depending on shortening before the consonant group *tl.*

[2]) The sense is not quite obvious, and various translations of the word are given by scholars. Skeat, Glossary to Langl. P. Pl., translates the word by 'intelligent, sharp'.

kǽti f. 'joy', *kǽta* vb. 'to make glad, cheer', Norw. dial. *kjæta, -e* sb., *kjæta* vb., *kjætefull* adj., *kjæten* adj., O. Swed. *kǣte* sb., Swed. dial. *käta* sb., *käta* vb.). The Scand. words have been assumed by Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 17 ff. to rest on a base **gaha*[*n*]*ht-*. Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 2 foot-note, refers the words to Swed. dial. *kång,* according to which etymology we should have to assume the groundform of *kátr* etc. to have likewise contained *-a*[*n*]*ht-*. Although neither of these etymologies is fully evident, the Swed. dial. *kåt, käta* vb. with nasal *å, ä* (cf. Noreen l. c., Sv. Landsm. IV, 2 p. 108, 110), render it probable, that the base of the Scand. words contained *-a*[*n*]*ht-*.[1]) — But as no Scand. **kǽtr* is recorded, I am not quite sure that the Engl. word is connected with the Scandinavian ones. — There is a Swed. dial. *katig, katug* 'vigourous, bold, hardy, valiant' (Rietz), the source and history of which is obscure. Is M. E. *kete* connected with this word?]

M. E. *sīt*(*e*) sb. 'grief, sorrow, pain, ailment' Orrm., C. M., Ant. Arth., Alex. (Sk.) etc., *sīten* vb. 'to be sorrowful, anxious' C. M. 11675 : O. W. Scand. *sýta* vb. 'to afflict; to regret, to grieve at, to lament, to take care (of)', O. Swed. *sȳta* 'to take care (of)', O. W. Scand. *sýtiligr* 'sorrowful', *sýting* sb. 'grief, sorrow', *sýtning* sb. 'care, attendance', all formed from the Teut. sb.-stem **suht-* (= Goth. *saúhts,* Germ. *Sucht,* Dutch *zucht*); cf. O. W. Scand. *sút* 'grief, sorrow, illness', a by-form of O. W. Scand. *sōt*(*t*), O. Swed. *sōt* 'illness' (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 55, Anm. 3, 209, Anm. 1, Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 131). The *ī*-vowel in M. E. *sīt*(*e*) sb. either depends on a Scand. by-form **sýt*[2]) (cf. Brate p. 56, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1043) or on the influence of the verb.[3]) No

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[1]) In some cases the Swed. dialectal nasal vowel depends on analogical formations (cf. Noreen, Ark. III p. 21 f.) and does not always prove the words in which it occurs to be from a base containing a nasal consonant.

[2]) Aasen gives a Norw. dial. *syt* f. 'care, attendance'; cf. Swed. dial. *syta* sb. 'care, attendance, trouble'.

[3]) *ý* in O. W. Scand. *sýta*, O. Swed. *sȳta* vb. is quite regular, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 84, 2, a (from a base **suhtian*). *ū* in *sút* probably depends on the generalisation of *ŭ* (regular before *-hti-*), by means of which generalisation *ŭ* superseded *ŏ* (regular when no *i, į* followed). This generalisation must have taken place before the time of

corresponding native word of this root seems to be found in O. E., as O. E. *suht* 'illness' is probably from O. Saxon (cf. Bosw.-Toller s. v., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict. s. v.) and O. E. *ride-soht* 'fever' (R.[2]) is probably from O. W. Scand. *riðusótt,* O. Dan. *rithæsott* (Harpestrengs Lægebog, ed. Molbech), O. Swed. *ridhu-sōt* 'febres tertianæ' (Söderwall), introduced into English, before the time of the assimilation of *ht* > *t*(*t*). M. E. *soght* 'sickness' C. M., therefore, is probably a loan-word from Scandinavian, as is also *soht* in M. E. *ʒalousouʒt* 'jaundice' (Halliwell p. 950), M. E. *gulsoght* 'jaundice' (Cath. Angl. p. 168), *golsoght* (Halliwell p. 409), cf. O. Swed. *gulasōt, golasōt.* The first member *gul-, gol-* (O. W. Scand. *gulr,* O. Swed., Dan. *gul*) in the M. E. compound *gulsoght, golsoght* also speaks for the Scand. introduction of *-soght* in this compound, as representing the typical Scand. ablaut of this adj. (cf. Germ. *gelb,* Engl. *yellow*).

8. Scandinavian consonant dissimilation.

a) Teutonic *mn* became in prehistoric Scandinavian times *ƀn* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 181, Altschwed. Gramm. § 226); this *ƀn* (written *fn* in O. W. Scand.) changed to *mn* again in several Scand. dialects (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 183, 2, Altschwed. Gramm. § 256, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 583).

Scand. *ƀn* < Teut. *mn* appears in M. E. *nevenen* 'to name, call, tell' Gaw., A. P. (Knigge p. 85), Alex. (Sk.), D. Troy etc. : O. W. Scand. *nefna,* O. Swed. *næfna, næm(p)na* etc. (= O. E. *nemnan,* M. E. *nemnen*), cf. Arch. CI p. 394 foot-note 6, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940.

b) Analogous is the Scand. sound-change of *ŋn* > *ʒn* which I have assumed in Arch. CI p. 934 f. to have taken place in M. E. *drūnen* C. M., A. P., Barb. etc., N. E. *to drown* from a Scand. **druʒna* < **druŋna* < *druŋkna.*[1])

c) Concerning the possible Scandinavian dissimilation of *-n-n* > *-ð-n* in M. E. *heþen, hweþen, þaþan, þeþen,* see above.

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the *i*-mutation. An analogical (prehistoric Scand.) **suht-* (with *u* from **suhti-*) became *sút*(*t*) and the regular **soht-* became *sót*(*t*).

[1]) Professor Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 271, differs somewhat from this explanation of mine but now kindly informs me that he fully agrees with my view. — *u* in Scand. *drukna* (< *drukkna* < *drunkna*) was decidedly

9. Scandinavian loss of consonant.

a) Initially.

α) Scand. *w* (*u̯*) was dropped, in prehistorical times, before *ŏ, ŭ, y̆, ø̆, l* and before *r* when one of the vowels mentioned followed (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 228, 1).[1]) In O. E., *w* was kept in these positions; before vowels O. E. *w*, as a rule, has remained up to the present time, and before *l, r* it seems to have remained — at least in the spelling — throughout the whole M. E. period, although, before *l*, it may actually have been dropped earlier in the pronunciation (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I

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short. It is therefore erroneous to derive from this word — as has very often been done — the early Mod. E. *drouk, drook* 'to drench as with heavy rain, to drip with moisture, to drizzle', (see N. E. D., Cent. D., E. D. D.), M. E. *droukening* 'a slumbering, slumber, doze' (Deb. of Body and Soul 1, 1: *Als I lay in a winteris nyht in a droukening before the day*, L. H. R.), M. E. *droukynge* in the Pr. P. (translated by 'latitatio', probably meaning 'drooping' or 'crouching, cowering'). It must be noted that two of the MSS. of Deb. of Body and Soul offer the reading *droup(e)ning* in the passage in question and that one MS. of the Pr. P. offers the reading *drowpynge*. I hold *droukening* to be from *droup(e)ning*; a change of *pn* > *kn* is by no means without analogies (cf. p. 129 f., Zupitza, German. Gutt. p. 19, Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm.[2] p. 521). The word is formed with an *n*-suffix from the stem *drūp-* (found in the verb *drūpen* 'to droop, to hang or sink down, as from weariness or exhaustion, to go down, descend, to become dejected, dispirited, etc.', and in the adj. *drūp* 'drooping') from Scand. *drūpa* 'to droop, drip' (cf. O. W. Scand. *driúpa*, Swed. *drypa* 'to drip, let in rain'). The words without the *n*-suffix (N. E. *drouk, drook*, M. E. *droukynge*) may depend on the subsequent loss of the same, owing to the analogy of the numerous word-stems in which there was a change of forms with and without the *n*-suffix (*e. g.* *drūpnen* : *drūpen* = *drūknen* : *x* [= *drūken*], cf. M. E. *sloken*, p. 16). As for the sense of N. E. (obs. and dial.) *drouk, drook*, the numerous related words in the Teutonic languages with a similar sense-development are to be compared. I may here mention O. E. *drīepan* (< **draupian*) 'to let drop, to cause to fall in drops', but also 'to moisten, to wet with drops', M. E. *dropen* 'to let fall, to sprinkle with drops'. This supposition is supported by the early N. E. and dial. to *drowk* 'to droop as a flower or plant' N. E. D. (which is ultimately the same word as *drouk* 'to drench') and by N. E. dial. *droup, droop* 'to drench' (E. D. D.).

[1]) Scand. medial loss of *w* is found in M. E. *sister*, cf. p. 117 f. and Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 71, 7, 244. M. E. *hǫsten* 'to cough', *hǫten* (cf. O. E. *hwōstan*, Goth. *hwōta*) need not be explained as Scand., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1019.

p. 1020); *wr* remains in the pronunciation during some part of the Mod. E. period, cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 268. The loss of *w* in these positions is a distinctive Scandinavian sign.

M. E. *ēpeþþ* vb. 3. pres. sg. 'cries, calls' Orrm. (cf. Brate p. 40) : O. W. Scand. *ǿpa*, O. Dan. *ǿpæ*, Dan. dial. *øbe* (Kok, Danske Folksprog i Sønderjylland I p. 426), O. Swed. *ǿpa* (= O. E. *wēpan*, M. E. *wēpen*, Goth. *wōpjan*).

M. E. *leʒʒtenn* Orrm., *laiten* : O. W. Scand. *leita*, O. Swed. *lēta* etc. (= O. E. *wlātian*), see p. 47.

M. E. *lipsen, lispen* vb. 'to lisp' Ch., Pr. P. : Norw. dial. *lespa* (Aasen), O. Swed. *læspa*, Dan. *læspe, lespe* (cf. O. E. *wlisp, wlips* adj. 'lisping', M. L. G. *wlispen, wlispeln* (Lübben), M. E. *wlispen*, Barb.). In the MSS. of Chaucer's works, O. E. *wl-* seems to have remained (cf. *wlatsome* Nonne Preestes T. v. 233, Monkes Tale v. 634); *lispen* may therefore here be due to the Scand. word. In Pr. P. there is no material to show whether in the dialect represented by this text *w* had been dropped or not. M. E. *lispen, lipsen*, also when occurring in Ch., is generally held to be of native origin.

M. E. *lit* 'colour' Gen. and Ex., Spec. 36, *littis* (pl.) Alex. (Sk.) : O. W. Scand. *litr* 'colour, appearance', O. Swed. *liter* 'countenance, appearance, colour, complexion' (= O. E. *wlite* 'brightness, beauty, appearance, form', M. E. *wlite* 'face, form, beauty' Orrm., Gen. and Ex. 2288 etc., Goth. *wlits* 'face'). In the texts in which the word *lit* occurs, *wl-* is preserved in native words.

M. E. *liten* 'to dye, tingo' A. R., Kath., Ps., Hamp. Ps., D. Troy., Pr. P., Cath. Angl., der. M. E. *litestere, listare* Ch., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *lita* 'to dye'; cf. prec. word. In most text where the M. E. word occurs, *l* is a distinctive Scand. sign.

[M. E. *littnenn* Orrm. v. 6115 seems to mean 'look, belong, respiciunt' [1]) and may be a formation with an *n*-suffix from

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[1]) M. E. *littenen* Hav. 2700 no doubt means 'to diminish' (: *Hwan Hauelok saw his folk so brittene and his ferd so swiþe littene, He cam driuende upon a stede*); it is formed either from M. E. *lite* 'small', or from East Scand. *liten* 'small'. The etymology, given by Mätzner, cannot be right.

O. W. Scand. *líta* (= O. E. *wlītan*). Brate p. 49, objects to this explanation of the word, because he thinks that we should then have to expect an initial *wl-*. As is shown by the preceding material, this objection is erroneous. But nevertheless I do not consider the etymology unquestionable.]

M. E. *oker* 'usury' A. R., Ps., Cath. Angl. etc., *okeren* vb. 'to increase by usury', etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. *okr* sb. 'rent, interest', O. Swed. *oker* sb. 'interest, usury', *okra* vb. 'to acquire by usury, to lend money at an illegal rate of interest', Dan. *aager* sb. (< O. Dan. **oker*) 'usury' (= O. E. *wōcor,* Goth. *wōkrs,* O. H. G. *wuohhar,* etc.).

O. E. nom. pr. *Orm, Orm-, Urm, Vrm*[1]) (cf. p. 27 f.), M. E. nom. pr. *Or(r)m, Orrmīn, Ormsbī* etc. : O. W. Scand. *Ormr* (n. pr.), O. Swed. *ormber*, Dan. *Orm* (= O. E. *wyrm, wurm,* Goth. *waúrms,* O. H. G. *wurm,* O. Sax. *wurm*).

M. E. *ōþ* adj. 'mad, furious' Hav. 2009, Pr. P. 215, 372, 531 : O. W. Scand. *óðr,* O. Swed. *ōþer* (= O. E. *wōd,* M. E. *wōd,* Goth. *wōds* (*wōþs*), O. H. G. *wuot* etc.), cf. above.

O. E. *Ōðen, Ōðon* etc. (see p. 27) : O. W. Scand. *Óðinn,* O. Swed. *Ōþin* (= O. E. *Wōden*).

O. E. *Ulf, Vlf, Ulf-* (see p. 28) : O. W. Scand. *Ulfr,* O. Swed. *Ulver* (= O. E. *wulf,* M. E. *wulf,* O. H. G. *wulf,* Urnord. *-wulafʀ, -wolafʀ* etc.).[2])

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[1]) The *u*-vowel in *Urm, Vrm* is worthy of notice and seems to support the opinions concerning the *a*-mutation held by Kock, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII. In this connection I take the opportunity of offering a few remarks on the stem-vowel in M. E. *bule, bole.* M. E. *bule* is undoubtedly from East-Scand. *bule* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 287, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 24), M. E. *bole* in many cases represents East Scand. *bule* but may, theoretically, in some cases be from O. W. Scand. *boli.* In fact, the rime *bole* : *hole* Hav. 2438 (if *hole* does not denote **hule*; cf. O. Swed. *hula, hul,* O. Dan. *hule, hul*) seems to prove the existence of a M. E. *bǫle.* Luick l. c., Arch. CIII p. 75 foot-note, seems inclined to reject this latter possibility.

[2]) As for the presumed loss of Scand. *w* in O. E., M. E. *rōt, runkel,* see Dial. Prov. p. 23 and foot-note 2. As I do not consider it quite certain that the Teutonic ground-form of these words contained *wr-*, I do not give them as distinctively Scandinavian in form. Still O. Scand. *rōt* is very likely from **wrōt-*, cf. Kluge-Lutz s. v. *root.*

β) Scand. *j* (*i̯*) was dropped initially before historic times, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 175. This Scand. sound-transition is represented by N. E. dial. *oast* sb. 'fresh curdle for cheese' (Wall p. 113): O. W. Scand. *ostr,* Swed. *ost,* cf. Finnish *juusto,* a loan-word from Scand.

b) Medially and finally.

In Scandinavian *n* was dropped before *r,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 239, 3. In English *nr* remained.[1])

O. E. *þūr, þōr, þūr-, þōr-*[2]) (see p. 27 f.), *þūresdæȝ,* M. E. *þurrsdaȝȝ, þursdai, þursdei, þorsdai,* N. E. *Thursday* : O. W. Scand. *þórr, þórsdagr,* O. Swed. *þōr, þōrsdagher,* O. Dan. *Thōr, Thūr,* etc. (= O. E. *þunor, þunresdæȝ,* M. E. *þuner, þunresdai* N. E. *thunder*). Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1022 (cf. ib. p. 1057), assumes the loss of *n* in O. E. *þūresdæȝ,* M. E. *þursdai* to depend on an English sound-law and compares the word with M. E. *mīre* < *mīnre, þīre* < *þīnre.* But these cases are not analogous as the loss of *n* here depended on these words being usually or often weakly stressed,[3]) which was not the case with the first member of the O. E., M. E. compound, *þūresdæȝ, þunresdai, þursdai.* Concerning the change of *ū* and *ō* in *þūr, þōr,* see Dial. Prov. p. 25; cf. Kock, Ark. f. nord. fil. XV p. 327 ff.

The consonant loss in such words as N. E. dial. *awned* (cf. Scand. *auðna,* see p. 80) 'ordained', O. E. *fēolaȝa,* M. E. *fēlaȝe,* M. E. *nowcin* (cf. O. W. Scand. *nauðsyn,* see p. 71) 'necessity, want', M. E. *þarrnenn* (cf. Scand. *þarfna, þarna*) 'to lack, need', O. E. *þrǣl* (< **þrahila-*), etc., is in accordance with English as well as with Scandinavian sound-laws, and does not offer any criterion of Scand. origin.

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[1]) Loss of *n* was, in some other cases, common to English and Scandinavian and is consequently no criterion of loan in the loan-words in which it has taken place. Some cases in which the loss of *n* had another influence on the preceding vowel in Scand. than in English have been treated of above p. 98 ff., 113 f.

[2]) The vowel *ō* in O. E. *þōr, þōr-* is distinctly Scandinavian, see p. 114.

[3]) The loss of *n* was here somewhat analogous to that in M. E. *o, i* (< *on, in*), p. 101. *mīre* is from *mīnre* (not from **mĭnre,* **min(d)re*), in which *ī* depends on analogy; cf. *ǭre* < *ǭnre* < *ānre.*

Worthy of notice is the loss of *h* in O. E. *hā* < **ha(n)h-*, see p. 99, M. E. *spā* (< **spāh-*, see p. 93), *wrā* (< **wra(n)h-*, see p. 100),[1]) whereas Scand. *h* is kept in O. E., M. E. *þoh*, cf. p. 74 above. Although this may depend on the earlier introduction of this word, it is to be noticed that *-h* in *þoh* did not occupy a position quite analogous to that of *h* in the other words. *h* in Scand. **þōh* was always final (Scand. *h* seems to have been kept longer finally than medially); in the other words *h* could only have been final in some cases and this only provided that the Scand. loss of *h* took place later than the syncope of the following vowel (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 130, 234). And — on the other hand — if *h* was kept at the time of the introduction of the words *hā, spā* etc. (which I consider very doubtful), the loss of *h* in the M. E. words would be easily accounted for by English sound-laws (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 218).[2])

Scandinavian *w* has been dropped in M. E. *blā, blǭ* (see p. 82 foot-note), M. E. *fā fǭ* (see p. 102), M. E. *grā, grǭ* (see p. 89) and perhaps in M. E. *þrā* (see p. 107).

10. Metathesis and non-metathesis.

Metathesis of *r* from before to after a vowel (esp. when this vowel was followed by *nn* or *s* + cons.) and in the converse direction before *ht*, frequently takes place in O. E. and *r* seems, as a rule, to remain in M. E. in the position it received through this O. E. metathesis. The conditions and the history of this metathesis are, as yet, unsettled in many particulars. See Sweet, H. E. S. p. 137, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 179, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1018 f., Brown, Lang. of the Rushw. Gl. II p. 18. In Scandinavian there are also some cases of metathesis of *r*, but they are, as a rule, of a different nature from the O. E. metathesis: in O. W. Scand. the metathesis is only of a sporadic nature, and in O. Swed. it is chiefly confined to weakly stressed syllables, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 248, Altschwed. Gramm. § 339, 2. The appearance

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[1]) Possibly a *h* has been lost also in M. E. *þrā*, see p. 106 f.

[2]) Scand. loss of *h* is assumed also to have taken place in M. E. *wār*, explained from Scand. **wār* (< **warha-*), an etymology which nevertheless is very doubtful, see p. 104 f.

in Middle English of *r* + vowel when we should expect vowel + *r*, is very often to be explained by Scand. influence. In most cases it is impossible to decide with certainty what is due to Scandinavian influence and what to independent English development.[1]) The material (of words in which the vowel originally preceded by *r* was followed by *nn* or *s* + cons.)[2]) to be taken into consideration as decidedly or probably due to Scand. influence will here be shortly summed up.

M. E. *brennen* vb. tr. and intr. 'to burn', pret. *bren(n)de* Chron. 1137 (*brendon* tr.), Orrm. tr., Gen. and Ex., Hav. tr. and intr., Ch., A. P. etc. (see N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *bren(n)* 'to burn' (E. D. D.) : O. W. Scand. *brenna* tr. and intr., O. Swed. *brænna* tr. and intr., O. Dan. *brænnæ* (cf. O. E. *biernan, bærnan, beornan,* N. E. *to burn*).[3]) Although *bren(n)-* may occasionally have originated by metathesis from *bern-* (in pret. *bernde,* p. part. *bernd*; M. E. *brande* pret. is doubtless from *barnde*), it is, no doubt, mainly due to Scand. influence (cf. N. E. D.). The M. E. distribution of the word points in the same direction. Moreover, *nn* in *brennen* (Hav., Ch., A. P. etc.) is not accounted for by assuming this form to be the result of a metathesis from *bernen.*

M. E. *brenne* sb. 'burning, conflagration' Hav. 1239 : O. W. Scand. *brenna* sb., O. Swed. *brænna* sb.

M. E. *brenstone* sb. 'sulphur' : O. W. Scand. *brennusteinn,* O. Swed. *brænnestēn.*

M. E. *brinnen* vb. intr. Rel. I 215, Ch., C. M., Isum : O. W. Scand. *brinna* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 139, 2), O. Swed. *brinna*; cf. M. E. *brennen* above.

M. E. *brest* sb. 'damage, defect, want, need' C. M., A. P., Pr. P., etc., *brist* sb. C. M., Pr. C., Erl of Toul., Alex. (Sk.) etc.,

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[1]) In M. E. *fresch,* N. E. *fresh* (O. E. *fersc*), M. E. *frosch* (O. E. *forsc*), M. E. *þreschen,* N. E. *thresh, thrash* (O. E. *þerscan*), M. E. *þreshwold,* N. E. *þreshold* (<*þerscwold, þerscold*) *re, ro* cannot easily be accounted for by Scand. influence, as *sch, sh* proves native origin.

[2]) Scand. loan-words in *r* + vowel + other cons. than *nn, s* + cons. are here omitted.

[3]) Concerning the Scand. words and their etymology, see Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *brinna.* In Scand. the word is tr. (strong in W. Scand.) as well as intr. (weak), cf. Tamm l. c.

bresten vb. Ch., A. P., Pr. P., Wycl. etc., pret. sg. *brast, brest* Gen. and Ex., C. M., Ch., Langl. P. Pl., A. P., Townl. M., etc., pret. pl. *brosten, brustin* Oct., Gaw., A. P., Man. (F.) etc., p. part. *brosten, brustin* Gaw., York., Myst., Pr. P. etc., *brist* inf. C. M. 22395, Gav. Dougl. (rime-word: *wist,* Gerken p. 34), N. E. dial. *brist* vb. (Wm., Yorksh.), E. D. D., pret. sg. *brast* etc., pl. *brosten* etc., p. part. *brossen, brusten* (see N. E. D. s. v. *brust* : O. W. Scand. *brestr* sb., O. Swed. *bræst, brist* sb., O. W. Scand. *bresta* vb., O. Swed. *bræsta, brista* vb., Dan. *briste* vb. (cf. O. E. *berstan,* N. E. *to burst*). The M. E. forms are probably to a great extent due to Scand. influence (cf. N. E. D.); the N. E. dial. forms are more difficult to judge. The *i*-vowel in *brist, bristen* may, to some extent, be due to East Scand. *brist, brista,* although it may generally be accounted for by the English change of $e > i$ before *st* (Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 144); cf. also O. E. *byrst* 'loss, injury'.

M. E. *brynie* sb. 'coat of mail' Chr. 1137, *brünie, brinie, briny, brenie* O. E. H., Laȝ., A. R., K. Horn, Hav. etc. (see N. E. D.) : O. W. Scand. *brynja,* O. Swed. *brynia* (= O. E. *byrne* f. 'corslet' < **brynne,* cf. M. H. G. *brünne,* Goth. *brunjō*). The ending *-ie* is also a Scandinavian sign (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 177),[1])

[1]) Scand. *-ȝ-* is probably also to be found in N. E. *skerry* (see p. 124) and in N. E. *stithy* (see Scand. *ð*). Other instances of Scand. *-ȝ-* are probably offered by the following words:

M. E. *bary* 'to thresh corn' York. Pl. 334, early N. E. *barowe* 'triturare' Man. Voc., N. E. dial. *barry* 'to thresh corn' (Sc., Nhb.), *berry* 'to beat, cudgel, thresh corn' (Sc., Nhb., Cumb., Yksh.). These forms cannot be derived from O. E. *berian* 'to beat' (Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 400 Anm. 1): the O. E. weak verbs of the first class in *-rian* (cf. Sievers l. c.) end in *-ren* in the Midland and Northern dialects of M. E. (cf. Morsbach, Mittele. Gramm. p. 88). Thus O. E. *erian, derian, spyrian, styrian, swerian, werian* 'to defend', *werian* 'to wear' have become M. E. (Midl. and Northern) *eren* (Ch., Wicl., Mand.), *deren* (Langl. P. Pl., Ch., Hav. etc.), *spiren, speren* (M. H., Pr. P. etc.), *stiren, steren* (Orrm, Langl. P. Pl. etc.), *sweren* (Langl. P. Pl., Ch. etc.), *weren* (Orrm., Hav. etc.). The forms *bary, barowe, barry, berry* are due to O. W. Scand. *berja* (pret. *barða*) 'to beat', O. Swed. *bæria* (pret. *barþe*) 'to beat', and have come to belong to the same class as M. E. *herȝian, herîen, har(o)wen* 'to harry, lay waste, plunder' (< O. E. *herȝian* < **harjōjan,* Sievers § 411 Anm. 4).

N. E. dial. *billy* (Sc., Nhb., Cumb., Yksh.) 'a young fellow, comrade, friend, brother', perhaps from an O. Scand. **byli,* gen. **bylja,* see Bugge, Svenska Landsmålen IV, 2 p. 229.

and the M. Scotch *byrnie* (Gav. Douglas, see Gerken p. 31), depends very probably, on the later shifting of the *r* in the loan-word.

M. E. *fres(s)t* sb. 'time, period, space of time, term, respite' Orrm., C. M., Hav., Pr. P. etc., *frist* sb. A. P., Pr. P., *fresten* vb. 'respite, delay' Pr. P., *fristen* A. P., Tund., Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. *afrist* 'on trust or in a state of delay' (N. E. D.), *frist* sb. : O. W. Scand. *frest* sb., O. Swed. *fræst* sb., *frist* sb., O. W. Scand. *fresta* vb. (= O. E. *fierst, first,* M. E. *first*).

M. E. *frosk* 'rana', but also *frosch* which is not from O. W. Scand. *froskr*. *sk* in *frosk* is no Scand. sign (cf. p. 138) and cannot be used in order to prove *ro* in this form to be due to Scand. influence.

M. E. *fros(s)t* sb. Orrm., Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand., O. Swed., Dan. *frost* sb. (= O. E. *forst* sb. 'frost').

M. E. *feri* sb. Pr. P., N. E. *ferry* sb., is probably from O. W. Scand. *ferja* sb., O. Swed. *færia* sb. 'ferry' (= M. H. G. *vęre*), although, from its form, quite as well from an O. E. **ferie*. M. E. *ferîen*, N. E. *to ferry* cannot be from O. E. *ferian* 'to carry, convey, lead, bring' (Morsbach l. c., cf. *bary*, *berry* etc. above), but is either from the sb. (M. E. *feri*, N. E. *ferry*) or from the Scand. verb (O. W. Scand. *ferja* pret. *farða* and *ferjaða*, not in O. Swed.).

M. E. *fillie* (see N. E. D.), N. E. *filly* sb. : O. W. Scand. *fylja*, Swed. dial. *följa* (< **fuljōn-*). The distribution of the word in the N. E. dial. proves it to be rather from the Scand. word than from an O. E. **fylle* + the dimin. ending *-y*.

N. E. dial. *fitty* sb. 'marsh-land lying between the sea-bank and the sea' (Lincsh.) : O. W. Scand. *fit*, pl. *fitjar* 'marsh-land', O. Swed. *fit* (dat. pl. *fitium*, see Söderwall, Ordbok).

Scand. verbs in *-ja* introduced into English, generally show no distinctive difference from native ones. Thus O. E. *dwelian* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933), M. E. *hülen, hilen, creven* (Pist. of Sw. Sus.), *skil(i)en*, the first of which shows Scand. influence in its sense (cf. N. E. D.), as far as the ending is concerned, might as well be native as Scandinavian (*dvelja, hylja, krefja, skilja*) and may depend on the tendency of the O. E. verbs of the first weak class to pass into the second weak class (Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 400 Anm. 2, Schwerdtfeger, Diss. Marb. 1892—93 p. 49 ff.). It is remarkable that the Orrmulum has *unnhilenn* 'to uncover, reveal', *skiledd* 'divided' but *dwellenn* (not **dwelenn*). Forms like M. E. *dillen* 'to hide' (C. M.), *dwellen, flitten, hüllen, hillen, nitten* (*dylja, dvelja, flytja, hylja, nytja*, see later on) bear no distinctive Scand. stamp, although they — at least in part — depend on Scand. influence.

M. E. *ransaken*, N. E. *to ransack* (see above); cf. O. E. *ærn* 'a house'.

M. E. *rennen* Hav., Langl. P. Pl., A. P., Gaw. etc. (see Dictionaries) (1) strong vb. (also *rinnen*) 'to run' pret. *ran,* pl. *runnen,* p. part. *runnen*), (2) weak vb. 'to run, make to run' : O. W. Scand. *renna,* (1) intr. strong vb., 'to run', (2) tr. weak vb. 'to make to run', O. Swed. *rinna, rænna* intr., *rænna* tr. (cf. O. E. *iernan, ærnan*).

M. E. *renne* sb. 'run, course' Gen. and Ex., Ch., Pr. P., cf. prec. word.



Corrections and Additions to Part I.

Page 2, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: the case with respect to.
„ 10, l. 10, read: identity.
„ 11, l. 10, read *īe* (for *íe*).
„ 11, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: *līesing, lȳsing*.
„ 15, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: peace.
„ 17, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: Scandinavian.
„ 17, foot-note 1. Prof. Morsbach calls my attention to the fact that also in English the suffix *-ande* must — independently of Scand. influence — have been pronounced, with a 'Nebenton' (cf. Mittele. Gramm. § 45, 46). But, I think, this 'Nebenton' must have been weaker than that of the ending in the Scand. languages, in which it had the same stress as the second member of a compound (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 51, 2, Lindgren, Svenska Landsm. XII, 1 p. 46, foot-note 7). And such a strong 'Nebenton' may have been, in this suffix, imported from Scand. into northern English.
„ 18, foot-note 1, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: *lussless*.
„ 21, foot-note 1. *īn* in *Orrmīn* has been explained as depending on French influence, cf. Zupitza, Notes to Guy of Warwick (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. XXV) p. 433, Napier, Academy 1894, I p. 62, Kluge, E. St. XXII p. 181. The length of *ī* in M. E. *Drihhtīn* is explained by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1059.
„ 22, l. 14 f., read: distinctively.
„ 30, foot-note, l. 4 (fr. bot.), read: **arƀio-*. — Concerning the *a* in *arrfname*, cf. M. E. *harîen*, *char* (W. Sax. *čyrr*), *dærne* (Orrm.; W. Sax. *dīerne, dȳrne*).
„ 36, foot-note, l. 2, add: Swed. dial. *klägg* 'tabanus' (Rietz).
„ 38, l. 13, read: p. 26 (for p. 25 f.).
„ 39. Prof. Morsbach writes to me that, in his opinion, O. E. (North.) *hælig*, M. E. *hēlī* (which seems to be exclusively Anglian, cf. Mätzner, N. E. D. s. v. *holy*) are to be considered as doubtless depending on *i*-mutation (not on the influence of O. E. *hæl*, M. E. *hęl*, as has been assumed in Mittele. Gramm. p. 192).
„ 40, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: O. Swed. *besker*.

Page 43. *ei* in O. W. Scand. *greifi* has been explained by Kock, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XL p. 202 as depending on sound-substitution for L. Germ. *ē*. In his Studien z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 26 foot-note 2, Lidén explains *ei* in the Scand. word as alternatively depending on M. L. Germ. *ei* (< *ē* through a secondary and dialectical diphthongisation). Although the Scand. diphthong may in part depend on a L. Germ. diphthongal pronunciation, it does not seem likely that such a diphthongal pronunciation existed in L. Germ. as early as to find its way through Scand. languages into the dialect of the Orrmulum.

The *eȝȝ* in *beȝȝsannz*, *Eȝȝnocc* in the Orrmulum is obscure. The words no doubt rest on some Romance source (cf. Kluge, Et. St. XXII p. 180).

„ 45, foot-note 1. *a* in *haðene*, Vices and Virtues, depends on the dialectal change of *ǣ* > *ā*, cf. p. 85 foot-note 1.

„ 47. The general meaning of N. E. dial. *leikin*, *lakin* is, as Professor Wright kindly informs me, 'a plaything', not 'a sweet-heart'.

„ 49, foot-note 1, read: *mz knutogho repe.*

„ 51, foot-note 4. As Professor Lidén points out to me, O. W. Scand. *ei*, O. Swed. *ē* 'always' (cf. p. 40), proves Teutonic *-aiw-* to have become, under certain circumstances, Scand. *æi*, *ei*; O. W. Scand. *vei* O. Swed. *vē*, are to be considered quite analogous to O. W. Scand. *ei*, O. Swed. *ē* 'always' and therefore are to be explained from a base **waiw-*.

„ 53, l. 15, read: regarded as.

„ 56, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: *kejhåndet.*

„ 57. As Professor Lidén points out to me, *gl-* in M. E. *gleym*, *gleymen* may depend on the influence of M. E. *glü(e)* (< O. Fr. *glu* 'birdlime').

„ 58, foot-note 2, l. 2, read: Beiträge XV.

„ 59, foot-note 1. For the explanation of Dan. *væge*, Swed. *veke*, Norw. *veik(e)*, see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 26 foot-note 2.

„ 63, l. 3. N. E. dial. *rean*, *rane* 'unploughed portions left round the cultivated fields' (see Dial. Prov. p. 18 foot-note 4) is, no doubt from a M. E. *rein*, *rain* < Scand. *rein*.

„ 65, foot-note 3, read: Johansson.

„ 66, l. 1, read: *ȝ* or *ʝ*.

„ 66, l 9, read: XII, 1 p. 118.

„ 67. M. E. *lein*, *leines* in the MS. Cott. Tit. D. XVIII of A. R., where Morton's ed. has *hel*, *heleð* is undoubtedly the Scand. word (O. W. Scand. *løyna*). — The word is still alive in the E. dialects, see Wall p. 109.

„ 67, foot-note, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: Et. Wb. (for Et. D.).

„ 67, introduce between the two last paragraphs: N. E. dial. *rait* 'to soak flax', Wall p. 133 : Norw. dial. *røyta*, Swed. *röta*.

„ 69, foot-note 2, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: Lindgren.

Page 70, add after the second paragraph: M. E. *gauren* 'to stare, to look vacantly' Ch. Tr. and Cr. II v. 1127 (: *folk may seen and gauren on us tweye*), Mill. T. v. 641 (: *the neighebores in ronnen for to gauren on this man*) is from the Scand. word-stem *gaur-* in O. W. Scand. *gaurr* 'a rough, uneducated fellow'. The original meaning of this Scand. word-stem seems to have been 'to gape, to look stupidly and vacantly'; cf. Norw. dial. *gaura* 'a garment with an aperture behind (for children)' (Ross), originally 'something gaping'. This explanation of M. E. *gauren* has been suggested to me by Professor Lidén. Cf. N. E. dial. *goury* 'dull, stupid-looking' p. 81.

„ 72, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: *sauðr.*

„ 72, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: Cursor Studies.

„ 72, l. 1 (fr. bot.) read: *ǫu, au* (for *ou*).

„ 75. The word M. E. *bawlen*, N. E. *to bawl* ought to be given within brackets.

„ 76, add after l. 2: M. E. *braulen*, *brawlen* 'to quarrel noisily and indecently, to chide, scold, to brag or boast loudly', N. E. *to brawl* : Norw. dial. *braula* 'to scream, shout' (cf. Norw. dial. *brauska* 'to brag, boast'). But Swed. dial. *bravla* 'to talk noisily' (Rietz), Norw. dial. *braala* 'to be noisy', O. Dan. *bråle*, Dan. dial. *bralle* (Hellquist, Arkiv f. n. Fil. XIV p. 10) etc. — the mutual relations of which are very obscure[1]) — render an adequate judgment of the English word very diffiicult. It is not probable that the base of the Engl. word contained the Teut. diphthong *au.*

„ 76, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: *hafoc.*

„ 81, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: in which case *ā.*

„ 81, foot-note 2, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: districts.

„ 82, l. 3, 6, 10, read: Teutonic (for Germanic).

„ 82, l. 13 (fr. bot.), read: These words occupy, as it were, an.

„ 82, l. 12f. (fr. bot.), erase 'outward'.

„ 83, l. 16 (fr. bot.), introduce 'p. 75'.

„ 83, foot-note, read: informs.

„ 84, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: cannot, of course, be.

„ 84, l. 2 (fr. bot.), erase comma.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 3, read: transition.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 5, read: neighbourhood.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 6, erase 'every'.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: these texts.

„ 86, l. 3, read: A. S. Chron.

„ 86, foot-note 5, read: Bülbring p. 65.

„ 86, foot-note 7, erase the last sentence, and read: In some monuments *ā* in pret. plur. depends on the dialectal change of *ǣ* > *ā* (p. 85, foot-note 1).

„ 87, l. 8, read: actually (for practically).

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[1]) Dan. *bralle* is probably from **bradle*, see Hellquist l. c.

Page 88, l. 14, read: Soc.
„ 88, l. 9 (fr. bot.), introduce comma after Scand.
„ 88, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: O. E. *brǣdan.*
„ 89, l. 1 f., read: roast meat.
„ 90, l. 16, read: p. 94.
„ 90, l. 4 (fr. bot.) read: O. W. Scand. *lágr.*
„ 91, l. 10, read: *lǽti.*
„ 91, l. 11, read: *lǣte.*
„ 91, l. 14, read: p. 89.
„ 91, l. 4 (fr. bot.), erase *rād.*
„ 91, foot-note 2, read: *ā* (for *a*).
„ 92, l. 11, read: here (for hery).
„ 93, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: on (for after).
„ 94, l. 4, read: = M. E. *wēr.*
„ 94, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: M. E. *ʒāre, ʒǭre.*
„ 95, l. 11, read: (or = *quð̆re, wð̆r*?).
„ 95, l. 5 f. (fr. bot.), read: we should have to expect the form **quǭð* in the texts in which O. E. *ā* is represented by *ǭ.*
„ 95, foot-note 3, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *quāt* etc.
„ 96, foot-note 2, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: Rich. Coeur de Lion.
„ 97. M. E. *strāte* may be from L. Germ.
„ 97, foot-note 2, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: way' (rime-word *hāte* 'heat'),.
„ 98, l. 6, read: Teutonic) and *s.*
„ 98, l. 7, read: § 45, 5, 186, 1).
„ 98, l. 9 f., erase: in prehistoric times.
„ 98, l. 14, read: not native English.
„ 98, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: Scand.
„ 98, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: , *windas,* (*guindas*) sb. m.
„ 99, l. 6, read: (Orrm etc.), .
„ 99, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: Urgerm. Lautl.
„ 99, foot-note 1, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: definite plural form of Scand.
„ 100, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: word being.
„ 100, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: Wülcker.
„ 100, foot-note 1, read: Grundr.[2]
„ 101, l. 4, read: nasal.
„ 102, foot-note 2, l. 1, read: references to.
„ 103, l. 4, read: (< **strawo-,* cf. Kock, Ind. Forsch. V p. 157 = O. E.
„ 103, l. 7, 14, read: speech.
„ 103, l. 16, read: *mæðl.*
„ 103, l. 8 (fr. bot.), read: , owing to similarity in form and.
„ 103, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: *mæðl.*
„ 103, foot-note 1, read: *strewen, strawen.*
„ 104, l. 1 f., read: which, if other circumstances did not make such a supposition improbable, could, as far as the form is concerned be.
„ 104, l. 5, read: distinctly in the same.
„ 104, l. 12, erase: , etc.
„ 104, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: is probably to.

Page 104, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *wirrsenn*.
„ 105, l. 8, read: , would, if English, have been.
„ 105, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: O. Swed. *var* had *ă*, and.
„ 105, l. 1 (fr. bot.), introduce (after therefore,): ought —.
„ 105, foot-note 4, l. 4 (fr. bot.), read: only knows a form representing O. Dan. *văr*.
„ 105, foot-note 4, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *văr*.
„ 106, l. 1, read: to me — to be . . . problematical.
„ 106. For analogous sense-developments from 'mud, mire' into 'sea-, weed, alga', see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 30.
„ 107, l. 7 (fr. bot.), read: **þrōh*.
„ 107, foot-note 1, l. 2, read: *þrōh* adj. (dat. *þrōȝum*, *þrōn*) 'rancidus, bitter' is.
„ 107, foot-note 1, l. 4, read: Karsten l. c. p. 64). Perhaps.
„ 108, l. 13 (fr. bot.), erase: the case.
„ 108, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: (< Teut. **laihnoz*).
„ 108, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: (< Teut. **laihniz*).
„ 110, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: < O. E. *eȝlan*.
„ 111, foot-note 3, read: *fain* : *fawen*.
„ 112, l. 10, read: depends.
„ 112, l. 14, read: in conformity with.
„ 113. O. W. Scand. *toft*, O. Swed. *toft* etc. has been further dealt with by Kock, Arkiv f. nord. fil. XV p. 332 ff., 345 ff.
„ 126, foot-note 1, read: Altschwed. Gramm. § 100 Anm.
„ 129. Professor Lidén calls my attention to Norw. dial. *skarka*, *skjerkna* (Aasen), *skark*, *skarka*, *skjerka*, *skjerkjen* (Ross) as possibly connected with the M. E. *scorrcnenn*, in which case *c* in this word does not depend on an original *p* before *n*.
„ 133, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: N. E. *skull*; ib. l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: skull.
„ 135, foot-note 2. Cf. also Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 199.
„ 138, foot-note 1. Cf. Falk, Sprogl.-hist. stud. tilegnede C. R. Unger, p. 208.
„ 142. Cf. O. W. Scand. *ølrikjörr*, Fritzner s. v. *elri*.
„ 146, l. 10, erase <.
„ 147, foot-note 1, l. 3, read: *slekkenn*.
„ 152, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: O. E. *ȝest-hūs* in Ælfric.
„ 153. The *i*-vowel of M. E. *gile*, *gille* has been explained by Noreen, Svenska etymologier p. 36.
„ 157, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: 109 ff.
„ 159, l. 2, read: Non-initial.
„ 161, l. 5, read: M. E. *kide*, N. E. *kid*; cf. above p. 143.
„ 161. Professor Lidén informs me that O. W. Scand. *frauð*, *froða* have been referred to Ind. *prōthati* and consequently would rest on a Teut. base containing *þ*.
„ 162, l. 8, read: O. H. G. *giburt*.

Printed by Ehrhardt Karras, Germany, Halle a. S.

